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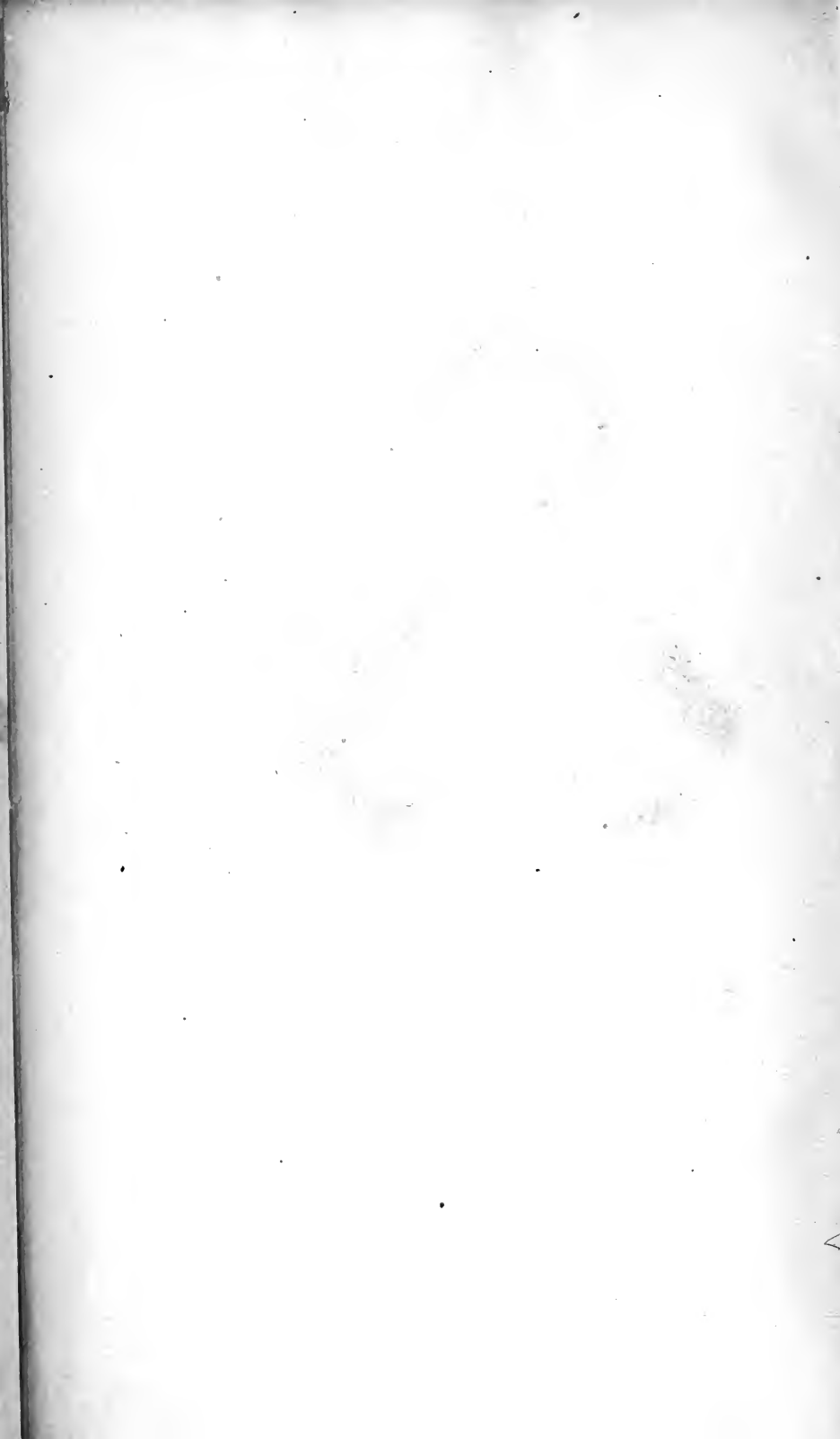
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THE

HISTORY

OF

THE FRENCH REVOLUTION

BY M. A. THIERS,

LATE PRIME MINISTER OF FRANCE.

TRANSLATED,

WITH NOTES AND ILLUSTRATIONS

FROM THE

MOST AUTHENTIC SOURCES,

BY

FREDERICK SHOBERL.

COMPLETE IN FOUR VOLUMES,

WITH ENGRAVINGS.

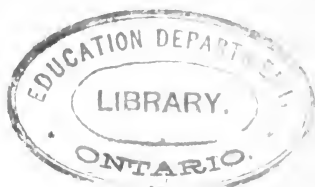
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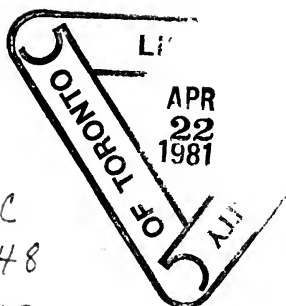
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HISTORY

OF THE

FRENCH REVOLUTION.

THE NATIONAL CONVENTION.

INVASION OF BELGIUM.

Wo to the vanquished when the victors disagree! The latter suspend their own quarrels, and seek to surpass each other in zeal to crush their prostrate enemies. At the Temple were confined the prisoners on whom the tempest of the revolutionary passions was about to burst. The monarchy, the aristocracy, in short all the past, against which the Revolution was furiously struggling, were personified, as it were, in the unfortunate Louis XVI. The manner in which each should henceforth treat him was to be the test of his hatred to the counter-revolution. The Legislative Assembly, too closely succeeding the constitution which declared the King inviolable, had not ventured to decide upon his fate; it had suspended and shut him up in the Temple; it had not even abolished royalty, and had bequeathed to a Convention the duty of judging all that belonged to the old monarchy, whether material or personal. Now that royalty was abolished, the republic decreed, and the framing of the constitution was consigned to the meditations of the most distinguished minds in the Assembly, the fate of Louis XVI. yet remained to be considered.

Six weeks had elapsed, and a crowd of pressing affairs, the supply and superintendence of the armies, the procuring of provisions, then scarce, as in all times of public disturbance, the police, and all the details of the government, which had been inherited from royalty, and transferred to an executive council, merely to be continually reverted to with extreme diffidence; lastly, violent quarrels had prevented the Assembly from turning its attention to the prisoners in the Temple. Once only had a motion been made concerning them, and that had been referred, as we have seen, to the committee of legislation. At the same time, they were everywhere talked of. At the Jacobins the trial of Louis XVI. was every day demanded, and the Girondins were

accused of deferring it by quarrels, in which, however, every one took as great part and interest as themselves. On the first of November, in the interval between the accusation of Robespierre and his apology, a section having complained of new placards instigating to murder and sedition, the opinion of Marat was asked, as it always was. The Girondins alleged that he and some of his colleagues were the cause of all the disorder, and on every fresh circumstance they proposed proceedings against them. Their enemies, on the contrary, insisted that the cause of the troubles was at the Temple; that the new republic would not be firmly established, neither would tranquillity and security be restored to it, till the *ci-devant* King should be sacrificed, and that this terrible stroke would put an end to all the hopes of the conspirators.* Jean de Bry, the deputy, who in the Legislative Assembly had proposed that no other rule of conduct should be followed but the *law of the public welfare*, spoke on this occasion, and proposed that both Marat and Louis XVI. should be brought to trial. "Marat," said he, "has deserved the appellation of man-eater; he would be worthy to be king. He is the cause of the disturbances for which Louis XVI. is made the pretext. Let us try them both, and insure the public quiet by this twofold example." In consequence, the Convention directed that a report on the denunciations against Marat should be presented before the Assembly broke up, and that, in a week at latest, the committee of legislation should give its opinion respecting the forms to be observed at the trial of Louis XVI. If, at the expiration of eight days, the committee had not presented its report, any member would have a right to express his sentiments on this important question from the tribune. Fresh quarrels and fresh engagements delayed the report respecting Marat, which was not presented till long afterwards, and the committee of legislation prepared that which was required of it respecting the august and unfortunate family confined in the Temple.

Europe had at this moment its eyes fixed on France. Foreigners beheld with astonishment those subjects, at first deemed so feeble, now become victorious and conquering, and audacious enough to set all thrones at defiance. They watched with anxiety to see what they would do, and still hoped that an end would soon be put to their audacity. Meanwhile, military events were preparing to double the intoxication of the one, and to increase the astonishment and the terror of the world.

Dumouriez had set out for Belgium at the latter end of October, and, on the 25th, he had arrived at Valenciennes. His general plan was regulated according to the idea which predominated in it, and which consisted in driving the enemy in front, and profiting by the great numerical superiority which our army had over him. Dumouriez would have had it in his power, by following the Meuse with the greater part of his forces, to prevent the junction of Clairfayt, who was coming from Champagne, to take Duke Albert in the rear, and to do what he was wrong not to have done at first, for he neglected to run along the Rhine, and to follow that river to Cleves. But his plan was now different, and he preferred to a scientific march a brilliant action, which would redouble the courage of his troops, already much

* "The Jacobins had several motives for urging this sacrifice. By placing the King's life in peril, they hoped to compel the Girondins openly to espouse his cause, and thereby to ruin them without redemption in the eyes of the people; by engaging the popular party in so decisive a step, they knew that they would best preclude any chance of return to the royalist government. They were desirous, moreover, of taking out of the hands of the Girondins, and the moderate part of the Convention, the formation of a republican government."—*Alison F.*

raised by the cannonade of Valmî, and which overthrew the notion current in Europe for fifty years, that the French, excellent for *coups de main*, were incapable of gaining a pitched battle. His superiority in number admitted of such an attempt, and this idea was profound, as well as the manœuvres which he is reproached for not having employed. He did not, however, neglect to turn the enemy, and to separate him from Clairfayt. Valence, placed for this purpose along the Meuse, was to march from Givet upon Namur and Liege, with the army of the Ardennes, eighteen thousand strong. D'Harville, with twelve thousand, was ordered to move between the grand army and Valence, to turn the enemy at a less distance. Such were the dispositions of Dumouriez on his right. On his left, Labourdonnaye, setting out from Lille, was to march along the coast of Flanders, and to possess himself of all the maritime towns. On reaching Antwerp, he was directed to proceed along the Dutch frontier, and to join the Meuse at Ruremonde. Belgium would thus be enclosed in a circle, the centre of which would be occupied by Dumouriez with forty thousand men, who would thus be able to overwhelm the enemy at any point where they should attempt to make head against the French.

Impatient to take the field and to open for himself the vast career into which his ardent imagination impetuously rushed, Dumouriez pressed the arrival of the supplies, which had been promised him in Paris, and which were to have been delivered on the 25th at Valenciennes. Servan had quitted the ministry of war, and had preferred to the chaos of administration the less arduous functions of commander of an army. He was recruiting his health and his spirits in his camp at the Pyrenees. Roland had proposed, and caused to be accepted as his successor, Pache,* a plain, intelligent, laborious man, who, having formerly left France to reside in Switzerland, had returned at the epoch of the Revolution, resigned a pension which he received from the Marshal de Castrie, and distinguished himself in the office of the interior by extraordinary talent and application. Carrying a piece of bread in his pocket, and never quitting the office to take refreshments, he stuck to business for whole days together, and had pleased Roland by his manners and his assiduity. Servan had made application for him during his difficult administration in August and September, and it was with regret, and only in consideration of the importance of the business of the war department, that Roland had given him up to Servan.

In his new post, Pache rendered as good service as in the former; and

* "Jean Nic. Pache, war minister, and afterwards mayor of Paris, son of the Marshal de Castries's Swiss porter, received a liberal education, and, at the time of the Revolution, went to Paris, and eagerly embraced the new ideas. An air of modesty and disinterestedness, which seemed to exclude all ambition, gave him some weight with the revolutionary party. He connected himself with Brissot, and first began to work under the ministers with a view of becoming one himself. In 1792 he succeeded Servan in the war department. Pache, having chosen his coadjutors from among persons new to office, who were anxious to figure in the Jacobin society rather than to fulfil their duty, frequently gave cause of complaint. In 1793, he was made mayor of Paris, and appeared at the bar of the Convention, at the head of a deputation of the sections, to demand the expulsion of Brissot and others of the Gironde party. Having survived the Reign of Terror, he was accused by the Directory of various arbitrary acts; but contrived to escape prosecution, and, quitting Paris in 1797, lived afterwards in retirement and obscurity."—*Biographie Moderne*. E.

"The peculation, or the profuse expenditure at least, that took place in the war department during Pache's administration, was horrible. In the twenty-four hours that preceded his dismissal, he filled up sixty different places with all the persons he knew of, who were base enough to pay their court to him, down to his very hairdresser, a blackguard boy of nineteen, whom he made a muster-master."—*Madame Roland's Memoirs*. E.

when the place of minister at war became vacant, he was immediately proposed to fill it, as one of those obscure but valuable men to whom justice and the public interest must insure rapid favour.

Mild and modest, Pache pleased everybody, and could not fail to be accepted. The Girondins naturally reckoned upon the political moderation of so quiet, so discreet, a man, and who, moreover, was indebted to them for his fortune. The Jacobins, who found him full of deference for them, extolled his modesty, and contrasted it with what they termed the pride and the harshness of Roland. Dumouriez, on his part, was delighted with a minister who appeared to be more manageable than the Girondins, and more disposed to follow his views. He had, in fact, a new subject of complaint against Roland. The latter had written to him, in the name of the council, a letter, in which he reproached him with being too desirous to force his plans upon the ministry, and in which he expressed a distrust proportionate to the talents that he was supposed to possess. Roland was well-meaning, and what he said in the secrecy of correspondence he would have combated in public. Dumouriez, misconceiving the honest intention of Roland, had made his complaints to Pache, who had received them and soothed him by his flattery for the jealousies of his colleagues. Such was the new minister at war. Placed between the Jacobins, the Girondins, and Dumouriez, listening to the complaints of the one against the other, he won them all by fair words and by deference, and caused all of them to hope to find in him a second and a friend.

Dumouriez attributed to the changes in the offices the delay which he experienced in the supply of the army. Only half of the munitions and accoutrements which had been promised him had arrived, and he commenced his march without waiting for the rest, writing to Pache that it was indispensably requisite that he should be furnished with thirty thousand pair of shoes, twenty-five thousand blankets, camp necessities for forty thousand men, and, above all, two millions in specie, for the supply of the soldiers who, on entering a country where assignats were not current, would have to pay for every thing they purchased in ready money. He was promised all that he demanded; and Dumouriez, exciting the ardour of his troops, encouraging them by the prospect of a certain and speedy conquest, pushed on with them, though destitute of what was necessary for a winter campaign, and in so severe a climate.

The march of Valence, delayed by a diversion upon Longwy and the want of military supplies of all sorts, which did not arrive till November, permitted Clairfayt to pass without obstacle from Luxemburg into Belgium, and to join Duke Albert with twelve thousand men. Dumouriez, giving up for the moment his intention of employing Valence, made General d'Harville's division move towards him, and marching his troops between Quarouble and Quievrain, hastened to overtake the hostile army. Duke Albert, adhering to the Austrian system, had formed a cordon from Tournay to Mons, and though he had thirty thousand men, he had scarcely twenty thousand collected before the city of Mons. Dumouriez, pressing him closely, arrived, on the 3d of November, before the mill of Boussu, and ordered his advanced guard, commanded by the brave Beurnonville, to dislodge the enemy posted on the heights. The attack, at first successful, was afterwards repulsed, and our advanced guard was obliged to retire. Dumouriez sensible how important it was not to fall back on the first onset, again sent Beurnonville forward, carried all the enemy's posts, and on the evening

of the 5th found himself in presence of the Austrians, intrenched on the heights skirting the city of Mons.

On these heights, forming a circular range in front of the place, are situated three villages, Jemappes, Cuesmes, and Berthaimont. The Austrians, who expected to be attacked there, had formed the imprudent resolution of maintaining their position, and had long been taking the greatest pains to render it impregnable. Clairfayt occupied Jemappes and Cuesmes. A little farther, Beaulieu* was encamped above Berthaimont. Rapid slopes, woods, abattis, fourteen redoubts, a formidable artillery ranged stage-wise, and twenty thousand men, protected these positions and rendered approach to them almost impossible. Tyrolese sharpshooters filled the woods which extended at the foot of the heights. The cavalry, posted in the intervals between the hills, and especially in the hollow which separates Jemappes from Cuesmes, were ready to debouch and to rush upon our columns, as soon as they should be staggered by the fire of the batteries.

It was in presence of this camp so strongly intrenched, that Dumouriez established himself. He formed his army in a semicircle parallel to the positions of the enemy. General d'Harville, whose junction with the main body had been effected on the evening of the 5th, was ordered to manœuvre on the extreme right of our line. Skirting Beaulieu's positions on the morning of the 6th, he was to strive to turn them, and then to occupy the heights behind Mons, the only retreat of the Austrians. Beurnonville, forming at the same time the right of our attack, was ordered to march upon the village of Cuesmes. The Duke de Chartres,† who served in our army with the

* "Baron de Beaulieu was an Austrian general of artillery. After having served in the seven years' war, he lived peaceably till 1789, the time of the revolt in Brabant. He there commanded a body of the shattered Austrian army, attacked the rebels, defeated them, and soon put an end to the war. In 1792, Beaulieu defeated a numerous French corps under General Biron, and forced them to draw back towards Valenciennes. In 1794, he commanded in the province of Luxemburg, and gained a battle near Arlon, over a division of Jourdan's Army. In 1796, he took the chief command of the army of Italy, but was constantly beaten by Bonaparte. The same year he quitted his command, and was succeeded by M. de Wurmser, who was still more unfortunate than he had been.—*Biographie Moderne*. E.

† "Louis Philippe, eldest son of the Duke of Orleans (Egalité) and of Marie Adelaide de Bourbon Penthièvre, grand-daughter of a natural son of Louis XIV. by Madame Montespan, was born at Paris in 1773. The line of Bourbon-Orleans was founded by Philippe, brother of the Grand Monarque, who conferred on him the duchy of Orleans. In 1782, the Duke de Chartres's education was intrusted to the Countess de Genlis. In 1792, he fought under Dumouriez at Valmi, and displayed great bravery and judgment. He also distinguished himself highly at the battle of Jemappes. Shortly afterwards, having frankly expressed his horror of the revolutionary excesses in France, a decree of arrest was issued against him. He then quitted the army and his country, and obtained passports for Switzerland, but received notice that no part of the Cantons was safe for him. Alone, however, and on foot, and almost without money, he began his travels in the interior of Switzerland and the Alps; and at length obtained the situation of professor at the college of Reichenau, where he taught geography, history, and the French and English languages, and mathematics, for four months, without having been discovered. It was here he learned the tragical end of his father. On quitting Reichenau, the Duke de Chartres, now become Duke of Orleans, retired to Bremgarten, where he remained, under the name of Corby, till the end of 1794, when, his retreat being discovered, he resolved on going to America; but, being unable to obtain the necessary pecuniary means, he travelled instead through Norway and Sweden, journeyed on foot with the Laplanders, and reached the North Cape in 1795. In the following year he set out for America, and paid a visit to General Washington at Mount Vernon. He afterwards went to England, and established himself, with his brothers, at Twickenham. In 1809 the duke was married at Palermo, to the Princess Amelia daughter

rank of general, and who on that day commanded the centre, was to take Jemappes in front, and to endeavour at the same time to penetrate through the hollow which separates Jemappes from Cuesmes. Lastly, General Ferrand, invested with the command of the left, was directed to pass through a little village named Quaregnon, and to move upon the flank of Jemappes. All these attacks were to be executed in columns by battalions. The cavalry was ready to support them in rear and upon the flanks. Our artillery was so placed as to batter each redoubt in flank, and to silence its fire, if possible. A reserve of infantry and cavalry awaited the result behind the rivulet of Wame.

In the night between the 5th and 6th, General Beaulieu proposed to sally from the intrenchments, and to rush unawares upon the French, in order to disconcert them by a sudden nocturnal attack. This energetic advice was not followed, and, at eight o'clock on the morning of the 6th, the French were in battle full of courage and hope, though under a galling fire and in sight of almost inaccessible intrenchments. Sixty thousand men covered the field of battle, and one hundred pieces of cannon thundered along the fronts of both armies.

The cannonade began early in the morning. Dumouriez ordered Generals Ferrand and Beurnonville to commence the attack, the one on the left, the other on the right, while he himself, in the centre, would await the moment for action, and d'Harville, skirting Beaulieu's positions, was to intercept the retreat. Ferrand attacked faintly, and Beurnonville did not succeed in silencing the fire of the Austrians. It was eleven o'clock, and the enemy was not sufficiently shaken on the flanks to enable Dumouriez to attack him in front. The French general then sent his faithful Thouvenot to the left wing to decide the success. Thouvenot, putting an end to a useless cannonade, passed through Quaregnon, turned Jemappes, and marching rapidly, with bayonets fixed, ascended the side of the hill, and arrived on the flank of the Austrians.

Dumouriez, being apprized of this movement, resolved to commence the attack in front, and pushed on the centre direct against Jemappes. He made his infantry advance in columns, and placed hussars and dragoons to cover the hollow between Jemappes and Cuesmes, from which the enemy's cavalry was about to rush. Our troops formed, and passed without hesitation the intermediate space. One brigade, however, seeing the Austrian cavalry debouching by the hollow, paused, fell back, and uncovered the flank of our columns. At this moment, young Baptiste Renard, who was merely a servant of Dumouriez, impelled by an inspiration of courage and intelligence, ran to the general of that brigade, reproached him with his weakness, and led him back to the hollow. A certain wavering had manifested itself throughout the whole centre, and our battalions began to be thrown into disorder by the fire of the batteries. The Duke de Chartres, throwing himself amidst the ranks, rallied them, formed around him a battalion, which he called the battalion of Jemappes, and urged it on vigorously

of the King of Sicily. After the fall of Napoleon he returned to Paris; and, in 1815, was ordered by Louis to take the command of the army of the North. He soon, however, resigned it, and fixed his residence, with his family, again at Twickenham. After the Hundred Days he went back to Paris: took his seat in the Chamber of Peers, but manifested such liberal sentiments, as to render himself obnoxious to the administration. In consequence of the memorable events of July, 1830, he was proclaimed lieutenant-general of the kingdom, and finally, on the abdication of Charles X., King of the French."—*Encyclopædia Americana*. E.

against the enemy. The battle was thus restored, and Clairfayt, already taken in flank, and threatened in front, nevertheless resisted with heroic firmness.

Dumouriez, observing all these movements, but uncertain of success, hastened to the right, where the combat was yet undecided, in spite of the efforts of Beurnonville. His intention was to terminate the attack abruptly, or else, to make his right wing fall back, and to employ it so as to protect the centre, in case a retrograde movement should be necessary.

Beurnonville had made vain efforts against the village of Cuesmes, and he was about to fall back, when Dampierre,* who commanded one of the points of attack, taking with him a few companies, dashed boldly into the midst of a redoubt. Dumouriez came up at the very moment when Dampierre was making this courageous attempt. He found the rest of his battalions without a commander, exposed to a terrible fire, and hesitating in presence of the imperial hussars, who were preparing to charge them. These battalions were the same that had so strongly attached themselves to Dumouriez in the camp of Maulde. He cheered and encouraged them to stand firm against the enemy's cavalry. A discharge at the muzzles of the guns checked the cavalry, and Berchini's hussars, rushing most seasonably upon them, put them completely to flight. Dumouriez then placing himself at the head of the battalions, and striking up with them the hymn of the Marseillais, led them on against the intrenchments, overthrowing all before him and taking the village of Cuesmes.

No sooner was this exploit achieved, than Dumouriez, still uneasy on account of the centre, returned at full gallop, followed by some squadrons but he was met on the way by the young Duke de Montpensier, who came to inform him of the victory of the centre, owing principally to his brother, the Duke de Chartres. Jemappes being thus taken in flank and front, and Cuesmes having been carried, Clairfayt could make no further resistance, and was obliged to retreat. Accordingly, he quitted the ground, after an admirable defence, and abandoned to Dumouriez a dear-bought victory. It was now two o'clock, and our troops, harassed with fatigue, demanded a moment's rest. Dumouriez granted it them, and halted on the very heights of Jemappes and Cuesmes. He reckoned, for the pursuit of the enemy, upon d'Harville, who had been directed to turn Berthaimont, and to cut off the retreat of the Austrians. But the order being neither sufficiently clear nor rightly understood, d'Harville had stopped before Berthaimont, and had uselessly cannonaded its heights. Clairfayt retreated, therefore, under the protection of Beaulieu, who had not been touched, and both took the road to Brussels, which d'Harville had not intercepted.

The battle had cost the Austrians fifteen hundred prisoners, and four thousand five hundred killed and wounded, and the French nearly as many. Dumouriez disguised his loss, and admitted it to amount only to a few hundred men. He has been censured for not having turned the enemy by

* "Dampierre was an officer in the French guards, afterwards colonel of the 5th dragoon regiment, and finally a republican general. In 1792, he served under Dumouriez, and excited particular notice by his bravery at Jemappes. At the time of Dumouriez's defection, he addressed a proclamation to the army of the North and of Ardennes, urging them to remain faithful to the Convention, for which he was appointed commander-in-chief. In 1793, he had his leg carried away by a cannon-ball while attacking the woods of Ruismes and St. Amand, and died two days afterwards. Dampierre was patronized by the Duke of Orleans, his air was gloomy, and his make heavy; but he united to an extraordinary degree of vivacity the bravery of a soldier."—*Biographie Moderne*. E.

marching upon his right, and not having thus taken him in the rear instead of persisting in the attack of the left and the centre. He had an idea of doing so, when he ordered d'Harville to turn Berthaimont, but he did not adhere to that intention. His vivacity, which frequently prevented reflection, and the desire of achieving a brilliant action, caused him at Jemappes, as throughout the whole campaign, to prefer an attack in front. At any rate, abounding in presence of mind and ardour in the midst of action, he had roused the spirit of our troops and communicated to them heroic courage. The sensation produced by this important battle was prodigious. The victory of Jemappes instantaneously filled all France with joy, and Europe with new surprise. Nothing was talked of but the fact of the coolness with which the Austrian artillery had been confronted, and the intrepidity displayed in storming their redoubts. The danger and the victory were even exaggerated, and throughout all Europe the faculty of gaining great battles was again awarded to the French.

In Paris, all the sincere republicans were overjoyed at the tidings, and prepared grand festivities. Dumouriez's servants, young Baptiste Renard, was presented to the Convention, which conferred on him a civic crown and the epaulette of officer. The Girondins, out of patriotism, out of justice, applauded the success of the general. The Jacobins, though suspecting him, applauded also, because they could not help admiring the successes of the Revolution. Marat* alone, reproaching all the French for their infatuation, asserted that Dumouriez must have misrepresented the number of his slain, that a hill is not to be attacked at so little cost, that he had not taken either baggage or artillery, that the Austrians had gone away quietly, that it was a retreat rather than a defeat, that Dumouriez might have attacked the enemy in a different manner; and, mingling with this sagacity an atrocious rage for calumny, he added that this attack in front had been made merely for the purpose of sacrificing the brave battalions of Paris; that his colleagues in the Convention, at the Jacobins, in short all the French, so ready to admire, were simpletons; and that, for his part, he should admit Dumouriez to be a good general when he should have subdued all Belgium without suffering a single Austrian to escape, and a good patriot when Belgium should be thoroughly revolutionized and rendered completely free. "As for the rest of you," said he, "with that disposition for admiring everything on a sudden, you are liable to fly as suddenly to the contrary extreme. One day you proscribe Montesquieu. You are told on the next that he has conquered Savoy, and you applaud him. Again you proscribe him, and render yourselves a general laughingstock by these inconsistencies. For my part, I am distrustful and always accuse; and, as to the inconveniences of this disposition, they are incomparably less than those of the contrary disposition, for they never compromise the public welfare. They are, no doubt, liable to lead me into mistakes respecting some individuals; but, considering the corruption of the age, and the multitude of enemies to all liberty, from education, from principle, and from interest, I would lay a thousand to one that I shall not be wrong in considering all of them together as intriguers and public scoundrels, ready to engage in any machinations. I am therefore a thousand times less likely to be mistaken respecting the public functionaries; and,

* "In the year 1774 Marat resided at Edinburgh, where he taught the French language, and published, in English, a volume entitled the 'Chains of Slavery;' a work wherein the clandestine and villanous attempts of princes to ruin liberty are pointed out, and dreadful scenes of despotism disclosed; to which is prefixed an address to the electors of Great Britain."—*Universal Biography*. E.

while the mischievous confidence reposed in them enables them to plot against the country with equal boldness and security, the everlasting distrust which the public should entertain for them, agreeably to my principles, would not allow them to take a single step without dread of being unmasked and punished.”*

By this battle Belgium was opened to the French; but there strange difficulties met Dumouriez, and two striking scenes themselves: on the conquered territory the French Revolution acting upon the neighbouring revolutions for the purpose of accelerating or assimilating them to itself; and in our army a demagogue spirit penetrating into the administrations, and disorganizing for the purpose of purifying them. There were in Belgium several parties. The first, that of the Austrian domination, was confined to the imperial armies driven back by Dumouriez. The second, composed of the whole nation, nobles, priests, magistrates, people, unanimously detested a foreign yoke, and desired the independence of the Belgian nation; but this latter was divided into two others: the priests and the privileged persons wished to retain the old states, the old institutions, the demarcations of classes and provinces, in short everything but the Austrian domination, and they had in their favour part of the population still extremely superstitious and strongly attached to the clergy. Lastly, the demagogues, or Belgian Jacobins, were desirous of a complete revolution and the sovereignty of the people. These last demanded the adoption of the French model, and absolute equality. Thus each party desired only just so much of revolution as suited its own purpose. The privileged wanted nothing more of it but their former condition. The plebeians wanted mob supremacy and mob rule.

It is natural to suppose that Dumouriez, with his predilections, must have steered a middle course between these different parties. Discarding Austria, which he was combating with his troops, condemning the exclusive pretensions of the privileged orders, he had nevertheless no wish to transfer the Jacobins of Paris to Brussels, and to cause Chabots and Marats to spring up there. His object therefore was to interfere as little as possible with the former organization of the country, while reforming such parts of it as were too feudal. The enlightened portion of the population was favourable to these views, but it was difficult to mould it into a whole, on account of the little connexion that subsisted between cities and provinces, and, moreover, in forming it into an assembly, he would have exposed it to the risk of being conquered by the violent party. If, however, he could have succeeded, Dumouriez thought, either by means of an alliance or a union, to attach Belgium to the French empire, and thus to complete our territory. He was particularly solicitous to prevent peculations, to secure for himself the immense resources of the country for war, and not to offend any class, that he might not have his army destroyed by an insurrection. He intended more especially to spare the clergy, who still possessed great influence over the minds of the people. He therefore meditated things which the experience of revolutions demonstrates to be impossible, and which all administrative and political genius must renounce beforehand with entire resignation. We shall presently see his plans and his projects unfolding themselves.

On entering the country, he promised, in a proclamation, to respect property, person, and the national independence. He ordered that every thing should remain as it then stood; that the authorities should retain their func-

* *Journal de la République Française*, by Marat, the Friend of the People, No. 42, Monday, November 12, 1792.

tions; that the taxes should continue to be levied; and that primary assemblies should forthwith meet, for the purpose of forming a National Convention, that should decide upon the fate of Belgium.

Serious difficulties of a different nature were starting up against him. Motives of policy, of public welfare, of humanity, might make him desirous of a prudent and moderate revolution in Belgium; but it behoved him to procure subsistence for his army, and this was his personal affair. He was a general, and, above all, he was obliged to be victorious. To this end he had need of discipline and resources. Having entered Mons on the morning of the 7th, amidst the rejoicings of the Brabanters, who decreed crowns to him and to the brave Dampierre, he found himself in the greatest embarrassment. His commissaries were at Valenciennes; none of the supplies promised him had arrived. He wanted clothing for the soldiers, who were half naked, provisions, horses for his artillery, and light carts to second the movement of the invasion, especially in a country where transport was extremely difficult; lastly, specie to pay the troops, because the people of Belgium disliked to take assignats. The emigrants had circulated great quantities of forged ones, and thus thrown discredit on that kind of paper; besides, no nation is fond of participating in the embarrassments of another by taking the paper which represents its debts.

The impetuosity of Dumouriez's character, which was carried to imprudence, would not allow it to be believed that he could have tarried from the 7th to the 11th at Mons, and left the Duke of Saxe-Teschen to retreat unmolested, had not details of administration detained him in spite of his teeth, and engrossed that attention which ought to have been exclusively fixed on military matters. He conceived a very judicious plan, namely, to contract with the Belgians for provisions, forage and other supplies. This course was attended with many advantages. The articles of consumption were on the spot, and there was no fear of delay. These purchases would give many of the Belgians an interest in the presence of the French armies. The sellers, being paid in assignats, would themselves be obliged to favour their circulation; there would thus be no need to enforce that circulation—an important point; for every person into whose hands a forced currency comes, considers himself as robbed by the authority which imposes it; and a way of more universally offending a nation cannot be devised. Dumouriez had some thoughts of another expedient, namely, to raise loans from the clergy under the guarantee of France. These loans would supply him with specie, and though they would put the clergy to momentary inconvenience, yet the very circumstance of negotiating with them would dispel all apprehensions respecting their existence and possessions. Lastly, as France would have to demand of the Belgians indemnities for the expenses of a war undertaken for their liberation, these indemnities would be applied to the payment of the loans; and, by means of a slight balance, the whole cost of the war would be paid, and Dumouriez would have lived, as he had promised to do, at the expense of Belgium, without oppressing or disorganizing that country.

But these were plans of genius, and in times of revolution it seems that genius ought to take a decided part. It ought either to foresee the disorders and the outrages which are likely to ensue, and to retire immediately; or, foreseeing, to resign itself to them, and to consent to be violent in order to continue to be serviceable at the head of the armies or of the state. No man has been sufficiently detached from the things of this world to adopt the former course. There is one who has been great, and who has kept himself pure, while pursuing the latter. It was he who, placed by the side of the

public welfare, without participating in its political acts, confined himself to the concerns of war, and *organized victory**—a thing pure, allowable, and always patriotic under every system of government.

Dumouriez had employed for his contracts and his financial operations Malus, a commissary, to whom he was strongly attached, because he had found him clever and active, without caring much whether he was moderate in his profits. He had also made use of one d’Espagnac,† formerly a libertine abbé, one of those unprincipled men of talent of the old *régime*, who could turn their hands to any trade with abundance of grace and skill, but left behind them an equivocal reputation in all. Dumouriez despatched him to the ministry to explain his plans, and to obtain the ratification of all the engagements which he had contracted. He already afforded ground for censure by the kind of administrative dictatorship which he assumed, and by the revolutionary moderation which he manifested in regard to the Belgians, without as yet compromising himself by his association with men who were already suspected, or who, if they actually were not then, were soon to become so. At this moment, in fact, a general murmur arose against the old administrations, which were full, it was said, of rogues and aristocrats.

Dumouriez, having attended to the supply of his troops, was occupied in accelerating the march of Labourdonnaye. That general, having persisted in lagging behind, had not entered Tournay till very recently, and there he had excited scenes worthy of the Jacobins, and levied heavy contributions. Dumouriez ordered him to march rapidly upon Ghent and the Scheldt, to proceed to Antwerp, and then to complete the circuit of the country to the Meuse. Valence, having at length arrived in line after involuntary delays, was ordered to be, on the 13th or 14th, at Nivelles. Dumouriez, conceiving that the Duke of Saxe-Teschen would retire behind the canal of Vilverden, intended that Valence should turn the forest of Soignies, get behind the canal, and there receive the duke at the passage of the Dyle.

On the 11th he set out from Mons, slowly following the enemy’s army, which was retiring in good order, but very leisurely. Ill served by his conveyances, he could not come up with sufficient despatch to make amends for the delays to which he had been subjected. On the 13th, while advancing in person with a mere advanced guard, he fell in with the enemy at Anderlecht, and had well-nigh been surrounded; but with his usual skill and firmness, he deployed his little force, and made such a show of a few pieces of

* M. Thiers here alludes to Carnot, who, to quote the language of Napoleon, “organized victory.” This eminent republican was a member of the frightful Committee of Public Safety, “but it has been said in his defence,” observes a competent authority, “that he did not meddle with its atrocities, limiting himself entirely to the war department, for which he showed so much talent, that his colleagues left it to his exclusive management. He first daringly claimed for France her natural boundaries; and he conquered by his genius the countries which his ambition claimed.” E.

† “M. R. Sahuguet, Abbé d’Espagnac, was destined for the church, and obtained a canonry in the metropolitan church of the capital. He first drew attention by his literary talents, but his love of money soon swallowed up every other consideration. He connected himself with Calonne, became his agent, and engaged in several lucrative speculations. He was one of the original members of the Jacobin club. In 1791, he became a purveyor to the army of the Alps, and being denounced by Cambon for fraudulent dealings, was ordered to be arrested. He contrived to clear himself from this accusation, and speculated in the baggage-wagons of Dumouriez’s army. Being soon after denounced as an accomplice, and a dishonest purveyor, he was arrested in 1793, and in the following year sent to the guillotine by the revolutionary tribunal. At the time of his death, d’Espagnac was forty-one years of age.—*Riographie Moderne*. E.

artillery that he had with him, as to cause the Austrians to believe that he was on the field of battle with his whole army. He thus succeeded in keeping them off till he had time to be relieved by his soldiers, who, on being apprized of his dangerous situation, advanced at full speed to disengage him.

On the 14th he entered Brussels, and there he was detained by fresh administrative embarrassments, having neither money nor any of the resources requisite for the maintenance of the troops. He there learned that the ministry had refused to ratify the contracts which he had made, excepting one, and that all the former military administrations had been dismissed, and their place supplied by a committee called the committee of contracts. This committee alone was for the future to have a right to purchase supplies for the troops—a business with which the generals were not to be permitted to interfere in any way whatever. This was the commencement of a revolution which was preparing in the administration, and which was about to plunge them for a time into complete disorganization.

The administrations which require long practice as a special application are those which a revolution is longest in reaching, because they excite least ambition, and, besides, the necessity for keeping capable men in them secures them from arbitrary changes. Accordingly, scarcely any change had been made in the staffs, in the scientific corps of the army, in the offices of the different ministers, in the old victualling office, and above all in the navy, which, of all the departments of the military art, is that which requires the most special qualifications. Hence people did not fail to cry out against the aristocrats, with whom those bodies were filled, and the executive council was censured for not appointing others in their stead. The victualling department was the one against which the greatest irritation was excited. Just censures were levelled at the contractors, who, winked at by the state, but more especially under favour of this moment of disorder, required exorbitant prices in all their bargains, supplied the troops with the worst articles, and impudently robbed the public. On all sides one general cry was raised against their extortions. They had a most inexorable adversary in Cambon, the deputy of Montpellier.* Passionately addicted to the study of finance and political economy, this deputy had acquired a great ascendancy in discussions of this nature, and enjoyed the entire confidence of the Assembly. Though a decided democrat, he had never ceased to inveigh against the exactions of the commune, and he astonished those who did not comprehend that he condemned as a financier the irregularities which he would perhaps have excused as a Jacobin. He launched out with still greater energy against all contractors, and followed them up with all the zeal of his disposition. Every day he denounced new frauds and required that a stop should be put to them, and on this point all agreed with him. Honest men, because they

* "J. Cambon, a merchant, born of Protestant parents, eagerly embraced the cause of the Revolution. In the Legislative Assembly he devoted himself chiefly to finance; and to him is owing the formation of the Great Book of the public debt. In 1792, he caused assignats to be issued for thirty millions, and proposed that the statues of the tyrants in the capital should be converted into cannon. Cambon was the last president of the Legislative Assembly. In 1792, his influence obtained the famous decree which set bounds to the power of generals in a hostile country—a measure which removed Dumouriez's mask. In the following year he voted for the immediate death of the King. After the fall of Robespierre, Cambon directed the finance, but was outlawed soon afterwards, and was subsequently restored to liberty. He then went to live in obscurity at Montpellier."—*Biographie Moderne*.

wished rogues to be punished; Jacobins, because they loved to persecute aristocrats; and intriguers, because they wished to make vacant] .

The idea was therefore conceived of forming a committee composed of a few individuals, appointed to make all contracts on behalf of the republic. It was conceived that this committee, sole and responsible, would spare the state the frauds of the host of separate contractors, and that, purchasing alone for all the administrations, it would not cause prices to be raised by competition, as was the case when each minister, and each army, bargained individually for their respective supplies. This measure was adopted with the approbation of all the ministers; and Cambon, in particular, was its warmest partizan, because this new and simple form was agreeable to his absolute mind. It was intimated, therefore, to Dumouriez, that he would have no more contracts to make, and he was ordered to cancel those which he had just signed. The chests of the paymasters were at the same time suppressed; and with such rigour was the execution enforced, that difficulties were made about the payment of a loan advanced by a Belgian merchant to the army upon a bond of Dumouriez.

This revolution in the victualling department, originating in a laudable motive, concurred unfortunately with circumstances that soon rendered its effects disastrous. Servan had, during his ministry, to supply the first wants of the troops hastily collected in Champagne, and it was accomplishing much to have relieved the embarrassments of the first moment. But, after the campaign of the Argonne, the supplies brought together with such difficulty were exhausted: the volunteers, who had left home with a single coat, were almost naked, and it was necessary to furnish each of the armies with a complete equipment; and this renewal of the whole of the *matériel* had to be provided for in the heart of winter, and notwithstanding the rapidity of the invasion of Belgium. Pache, Servan's successor, had consequently a prodigious task to perform, and unluckily, though a man of great intelligence and application, he had an easy and supple disposition, which inducing a desire to please every body, especially the Jacobins, prevented him from commanding any one, and from imparting the requisite energy to a vast administration. If then we add to the urgency, and immense extent of the wants of the troops, to the difficulties of the season, and the necessity for great promptitude, the weakness of a new ministry, the general disorder of the state, and above all, a revolution in the administrative system, we shall have some conception of the utter destitution of the armies, their bitter complaints, and the vehemence of the reproaches between the generals and the ministers.

At the intelligence of these administrative changes Dumouriez was violently enraged. During the interval occupied by the organization of the new system, he saw his army exposed to the risk of perishing from want, unless the contracts which he had concluded were upheld and executed. He therefore took it upon himself to maintain them, and ordered his agents, Malus, d'Espagnac, and a third named Petit-Jean, to continue their operations upon his own responsibility. He wrote at the same time to the minister in so high a tone, as to increase the suspicions entertained by jealous, distrustful demagogues, dissatisfied with his revolutionary lukewarmness, and his administrative dictatorship. He declared that, if he was expected to continue his services, he required to be allowed to provide for the wants of his army. He insisted that the committee of contracts was an absurdity, because it would export laboriously, and from a distance, that which was to be obtained

more easily upon the spot; that the carriage would occasion enormous expense and delays, during which the armies would perish of hunger, cold and privation; that the Belgians would lose all interest in the presence of the French, and no longer assist the circulation of assignats; that the pillage of the contractors would continue just the same, because the facility of robbing the state in the furnishing of supplies always had made, and always would make, men plunderers; and that nothing would prevent the members of the committee of contracts from turning contractors and purchasers, though forbidden to do so by the law; that it was, therefore, a mere dream of economy, which, were it even not chimerical, would produce for a moment a disastrous interruption in the different services. What tended not a little to exasperate Dumouriez against the committee of contracts was, that in the members who composed it, he beheld creatures of Clavières, the minister, and that he regarded the measure as arising from the jealousy felt towards himself by the Girondins. It was, nevertheless, a measure adopted in honest sincerity, and approved of on all sides, without any party motives.

Pache, like a firm and patriotic minister, ought to have endeavoured to satisfy the general, in order to secure the continuance of his services to the republic. To this end he ought to have investigated his demands, ascertained what part of them was just, adopted it, rejected the rest, and have conducted all matters with authority and vigour, so as to prevent reproaches, disputes, and confusion. Instead of this, Pache, already charged by the Girondins with weakness, and unfavourably disposed towards them, suffered himself to be jostled between them, the general, the Jacobins, and the Convention. In the council, he communicated the hasty letters in which Dumouriez openly complained of the distrust of the Girondin ministers in regard to him. In the Convention, he made known the imperative demands of Dumouriez, and the offer of his resignation in case of their refusal. Censuring nothing, but explaining nothing, and affecting a scrupulous fidelity in his reports, he suffered everything to produce its most mischievous effects.

The Girondins, the Convention, the Jacobins, were each irritated in their own way by the high tone of the general. Cambon inveighed against Malus, d'Espagnac, and Petit-Jean, quoted the prices of their contracts, which were exorbitant, dwelt on the prodigal licentiousness of d'Espagnac and the former speculations of Petit Jean, and caused a decree to be issued by the Assembly against all three. He declared that Dumouriez was surrounded by intriguers, from whom it was necessary to deliver him; he maintained that the committee of contracts was an excellent institution; that to take articles of consumption from the theatre of war was depriving French artisans of work, and running the risk of seditions on account of want of employment; that, with regard to assignats, there was no need whatever for contrivance to make them circulate; that the general was wrong not to make them pass current by authority, and not to transport into Belgium the entire revolution, with its form of government, its systems, and its money; and that the Belgians, to whom they were giving liberty, ought along with it to take its advantages and its disadvantages. At the tribune of the Convention, Dumouriez was considered merely as having been duped by his agents; but at the Jacobins, and in Marat's paper, it was flatly asserted that he was a partner with them and shared their gains, of which, however, there was no other proof than the too frequent example of generals.

Dumouriez was therefore obliged to deliver up the three commissaries, and he had the further mortification to see them arrested, in spite of the

guarantee which he had given them. Pache wrote to him with his accustomed mildness, intimating that his demands should be examined, that his wants should be supplied, and that the committee of contracts would make considerable purchases for this purpose. He informed him, at the same time, that large convoys had been despatched, though this was not the case. Nothing arrived, and Dumouriez was perpetually complaining; so that, to read on the one hand the letters of the minister, one would have imagined that there was abundance of everything, while those of the general on the other would induce a belief in absolute destitution. Dumouriez had recourse to expedients, to loans from the chapters of churches; he subsisted upon a contract made by Malus, which he was allowed to maintain, owing to the urgency of the occasion, and he was again detained from the 14th to the 19th at Brussels.

During this interval, Stengel, detached with the advanced guard, had taken Malines. This was an important capture on account of the stores of gunpowder and arms of every kind which that place contained, and which made it the arsenal of Belgium. Labourdonnaye, who had entered Antwerp on the 18th, was organizing clubs, alienating the Belgians by the encouragement which he gave to popular agitators, and meanwhile neglecting to act vigorously in the siege of the castle. Dumouriez, unable to put up any longer with a lieutenant, who attended so much to clubs and so little to war, sent as his successor Miranda, a Peruvian of extraordinary bravery, who had come to France at the epoch of the Revolution, and obtained high rank through the friendship of Petion. Labourdonnaye, deprived of his command, and returning to the department of the North, took pains to inflame the zeal of the Jacobins there against *Cæsar Dumouriez**—the name which began already to be given to the general.

The enemy had at first intended to place himself behind the canal of Vilvorden and to keep in communication with Antwerp. He thus committed the same fault as Dumouriez did when he meant to approach the Scheldt, instead of running along the Meuse, as they ought both to have done, the one to effect, the other to prevent, his retreat. At length Clairfayt, who had assumed the command, felt the necessity of promptly recrossing the Meuse and leaving Antwerp to its fate. Dumouriez then ordered Valence to march from Nivelles upon Namur, and to lay siege to that place. It was a grievous blunder that he committed not to direct him, on the contrary, along the Meuse, in order to cut off the retreat of the Austrians. The defeat of the defensive army would naturally have led to the surrender of the place. But the example of grand strategical manœuvres had not yet been set, and, moreover, Dumouriez in this instance, as on many other occasions, lacked the necessary reflection. He set out from Brussels on the 19th, passed through Louvain on the 20th; overtook the enemy on the 22d at Tirlemont, and killed three or four hundred of his men. Thence, detained once more by absolute want, he did not set out before the 26th. On the 27th he arrived before Liege, and had to sustain a brisk action at Varoux with the rear-guard of the enemy. General Starai, who commanded it, defended himself gloriously, and received a mortal wound. At length, on the morning of the 28th, Dumouriez entered Liege amidst the acclamations of the people, who there

* "Though I were to be called 'Cæsar,' 'Cromwell,' or 'Monk,' I will save my country, in spite of the Jacobins, and the conventional regicides who protect them. I will re-establish the constitution of 1791."—*Dumouriez's Memoirs*. E.

entertained the most Revolutionary sentiments. Miranda had taken the citadel of Antwerp on the 29th, and was enabled to complete the circuit of Belgium, by marching as far as Ruremonde. Valence occupied Namur on the 2d of December. Clairfayt proceeded towards the Roer, and Beaulieu towards Luxemburg.

At this moment all Belgium was occupied as far as the Meuse; but the country to the Rhine still remained to be conquered, and Dumouriez had to encounter great difficulties. Either owing to the difficulty of conveyance or the negligence of the offices, nothing reached his army; and though there were considerable stores at Valenciennes, yet there was a want of everything on the Meuse. Pache, in order to gratify the Jacobins, had opened his office to them, and the utmost confusion prevailed there. Business was neglected, and from inattention the most contradictory orders were issued. All duty, therefore, was rendered nearly impossible, and, while the minister believed that convoys were despatched, nothing of the sort had been done. The institution of the committee of contracts had served to increase the disorder.

The new commissary, named Ronsin,* who had succeeded Malus and d'Espagnac on denouncing them, was in the utmost embarrassment. Most unfavourably received by the army, he had been deterred from fulfilling his commission, and, in spite of the recent decisions, continued to make contracts on the spot. The army had, in consequence, been supplied with bread and butcher's meat; but it was absolutely destitute of clothing, the means of transport, ready money, and forage, and all the horses were dying of hunger. Another calamity thinned that army, namely, desertion. The volunteers, who, in the first enthusiasm, had hastened to Champagne, had cooled after the moment of danger was past. They were moreover disgusted by the privations of all kinds which they had to endure, and deserted in great numbers. The corps of Dumouriez alone had lost at least ten thousand, and was daily losing more. The Belgian levies, which the French flattered themselves with the prospect of raising, were not brought to bear, because it was almost impossible to organize a country where the different classes of the population and the different provinces of the territory were by no means disposed to agree. Liege was deeply imbued with the spirit of the Revolution; but Brabant and Flanders beheld with distrust the ascendancy of the Jacobins in the clubs which efforts had been made to establish in Ghent, Antwerp, Brussels, and other towns. The people of Belgium were not on the best terms with our soldiers, who wanted to pay in assignats. Nowhere would they take our paper money, and Dumouriez refused to give it a forced circulation. Thus, though victorious and in possession of the country, the army was in an unfortunate situation, owing to want, desertion, and the uncertain and almost unfavourable disposition of the inhabitants. The Convention, puzzled by the contradictory reports of the general, who most bitterly complained, and the minister, who declared with modesty but with confidence, that abundant supplies had been despatched, sent four commissioners, selected from among its members, to ascertain with their own eyes

* "Ronsin was born at Soissons in 1752. He figured in the early scenes of the Revolution, and in 1789 brought out a tragedy at one of the minor Paris theatres, which, though despicable in point of style, had a considerable run. Being denounced by Robespierre, he was guillotined in 1794. His dramatic pieces were collected, and published after his death."

Scott's Life of Napoleon. E.

the real state of affairs. These four commissioners were Danton, Camus,* Lacroix,† and Cossuin.

While Dumouriez had employed the month of November in occupying Belgium as far as the Meuse, Custine, still overrunning the environs of Frankfort and the Mayne, was threatened by the Prussians, who were ascending the Lahn. He had been desirous that the whole stress of the war should take place in his direction, for the purpose of covering his rear, and protecting his silly incursions in Germany. Accordingly he was incessantly complaining of Dumouriez, because he did not arrive at Cologne, and of Kellermann for not proceeding to Coblenz. We have seen what difficulties prevented Dumouriez from advancing more expeditiously, and rendering Kellermann's movement possible. Custine,‡ relinquishing incursions which drew forth acclamations from the tribune of the Jacobins and the newspapers, must have confined himself within the boundary of the Rhine, and, fortifying Mayence, made up his mind to descend to Coblenz. But he wished everything to be done in his rear, that he might have the honour of taking the offensive in Germany. Urged by his solicitations and complaints, the executive council recalled Kellermann, appointed Beurnonville his successor, and gave the latter tardy instructions to take Treves, in a very advanced season, and in a country not only poor, but difficult to occupy. There had never been more than one good way of executing this enterprise, namely, to march at first, between Luxemburg and Treves, and thus reach Coblenz, while Custine should proceed thither along the Rhine. The Prussians, still disheartened by their defeat in Champagne, would thus have been crushed; and at the same time a hand would have been lent to Dumouriez, who would have reached Cologne, or who would have been assisted to reach it, if not already there.

In this manner Luxemburg and Treves, which it was impossible to take by main force, must have fallen through famine and want of succour. But Custine, having persisted in his excursions in Wetteravia, and the army of the Moselle having continued in its cantonments, it was too late at the end of November to proceed thither for the purpose of supporting Custine against the Prussians, who had recovered their confidence, and were ascending the Rhine. Beurnonville did not fail to urge these reasons; but people were in the mood to conquer; they wished to punish the elector of Treves for his conduct towards France; and Beurnonville was ordered to make an attack,

* "A. G. Camus, deputy to the States-general, and to the National Convention, was counsel for the clergy at Paris, at the period of the Revolution. In 1792, he was deputed to go into Holland to inquire into the truth of the complaints brought by Dumouriez against the war-minister and the commissioners of the treasury, when he obtained the adoption of plans to improve the commissariat department. In the following year he voted for the king's death. Being appointed one of five commissioners to arrest Dumouriez, he was anticipated by that general, who delivered up him and his colleagues to the Austrians. He was, however, soon afterwards exchanged for the daughter of Louis XVI. Camus died at Paris of an apoplectic attack, in 1804."—*Biographie Moderne*. E.

† "Lacroix, who was condemned to death by the revolutionary tribunal in 1794, was originally a country lawyer; in two or three months he became a colonel and a major-general, acquired wealth, was the accomplice of Danton, long held a secret correspondence with Dumouriez, whom he pretended to denounce; favoured the tribunes and the tumults of the sections, was one of the opposers of the Convention by caressing the anarchical commune, and defending it with his stentorian voice."—*Mercier's Nouveau Paris*. E.

‡ "Custine, a general who had done much for the republic, used, when his fortune began to fail him, to account for his ill luck by saying, 'Fortune was a woman, and his hairs were growing gray.'"—*Scott's Life of Napoleon*. E.

which he attempted with as much ardour as if he had approved of it. After several brilliant and obstinate actions, he was obliged to relinquish the enterprise and to fall back upon Lorraine. In this situation, Custine found himself compromised on the banks of the Mayne; but he would not, by retiring, acknowledge his rashness and the insolidity of his conquest; and he persisted in maintaining himself there without any well-defended hope of success. He had placed in Frankfort, a garrison of two thousand four hundred men, and, though this force was wholly inadequate in an open place and amidst a population irritated by unjust contributions, he ordered the commandant to maintain his position; while he himself, posted at Ober Yssel and Haimburg, a little below Frankfort, affected a ridiculous firmness and determination. Such was the state of the army at this point, at the end of November, and the beginning of December.

Nothing was yet accomplished along the Rhine. At the Alps, Montesquiou, whom we have seen negotiating with Switzerland, and striving at the same time to bring Geneva and the French ministry to reason, had been obliged to emigrate. An accusation had been preferred against him, because, it was alleged, he had compromised the dignity of France, by admitting into the plan of convention an article according to which our troops were to withdraw, and above all, by carrying this article into execution. A decree was launched against him, and he sought refuge at Geneva. But his work was rendered durable by its moderation; and while he was subjected to a decree of accusation, negotiations were carrying on with Geneva upon the bases which he had fixed. The Bernese troops retired; the French troops cantoned themselves at the distance agreed upon; the neutrality of Switzerland, so valuable to France, was secured, and one of her flanks was protected for several years. This important service had not been appreciated, owing to the declamation of Clavières, and owing likewise to the susceptibility of upstarts occasioned by our recent victories.

In the county of Nice we had gloriously recovered the post of Sospello, which the Piedmontese had for a moment taken from us, and which they had again lost, after sustaining a considerable check. This success was due to the ability of General Brunet. Our fleets, which commanded the Mediterranean, sailed to Genoa, to Naples, where a branch of the house of Bourbon reigned, and to all the Italian states, to obtain their recognition of the new French Republic. After a cannonade off Naples, its rulers recognized the republic, and our fleet returned proud of the concession which they had extorted. At the Pyrenees absolute immobility prevailed; and, owing to the want of means, Servan had the greatest difficulty to recompose the army of observation. Notwithstanding the enormous expenditure of from one hundred and eighty to two hundred millions per month, all the armies of the Pyrenees, the Alps, and the Moselle, were in the same distress, from the disorganization of the services, and the confusion pervading the war department. Amidst all this wretchedness, however, the nation was not the less proud of, and intoxicated with, victory. At this moment, when men's imaginations were heated by Jemappes, by the capture of Frankfort, by the occupation of Savoy and Nice, by the sudden revulsion of European opinion in our favour, they fancied that they could hear the crash of monarchies, and for a moment indulged the notion that all other nations were about to overturn thrones, and to form themselves into republics. "Oh! that it were but true," exclaimed a member of the Jacobins, with reference to the annexation of Savoy to France, "that it were but true that the awakening of nations had arrived: that it were but true that the overthrow of all thrones should be the

speedy consequence of the success of our armies and of the revolutionary volcano ; that it were true that the republican virtues should at length avenge the world for all the crimes of crowned heads ; that every country, become free, should then frame a government conformable to the greater or less extent which nature has given to it ; and that a certain number of extraordinary deputies from all these national conventions should form at the centre of the globe one general convention, to watch constantly over the maintenance of the rights of man and the universal freedom of commerce !”*

At this moment, the Convention, being apprized of certain harsh proceedings of the Duke of Deux-Ponts against some of his subjects, passed, in a fit of enthusiasm, the following decree :

“The National Convention declares that it will grant succour and fraternity to all the nations that shall be desirous of recovering their liberty ; and it charges the executive power to give orders to the generals of the French armies to aid those citizens who have been, or who shall be, harshly treated on account of liberty.

“The National Convention orders the generals of the French armies to cause the present decree to be printed and posted in all places to which they shall carry the arms of the republic.

“Paris, November 19, 1792.”

- * Speech of Milhaud, deputy of the Cantal, delivered at the Jacobins in November, 1792.

THE TRIAL OF LOUIS THE SIXTEENTH.

THE Trial of Louis the Sixteenth was at length about to commence, and the parties awaited this occasion for measuring their strength, disclosing their intentions, and for forming a definite judgment of one another. The Girondins, in particular, were closely watched by their adversaries, who were intent on detecting in them the slightest emotion of pity, and accusing them of royalism, in case they should betray the least feeling for fallen greatness.

The party of the Jacobins, which made war upon all monarchy in the person of Louis XVI., had certainly made progress, but it still met with strong opposition in Paris, and still greater in the rest of France. It domineered in the capital, by means of its club, the commune and the sections; but the middle class resumed courage, and still made some resistance to it. Petion having refused the mayoralty, Chambon, the physician, had obtained a great majority of votes, and had reluctantly taken upon himself an office, which was by no means suited to his moderate and unambitious disposition. This selection proves the power which the *bourgeoise* still possessed even in Paris. In the rest of France its power was much greater. The landed proprietors, the tradesmen, in short, all the middle classes, had not yet forsaken either the municipal councils, the councils of departments, or the popular societies, and sent addresses to the majority of the Convention, in harmony with the laws and in a spirit of moderation. Many of the affiliated societies of the Jacobins censured the mother society, and loudly demanded the erasure of Marat, and some even that of Robespierre, from the list of its members. Lastly, new federalists were setting out from the Bouches du Rhône, Calvados, Finistère, and La Gironde, and, anticipating the decrees as on the 10th of August, were coming to protect the Convention and to insure its independence.

The Jacobins were not yet masters of the armies. From these the staffs and the military organization continued to keep them aloof. They had, however, secured to themselves one department of the administration—that of war. This had been thrown open to them by Pache from weakness, and he had dismissed all his old *employés* to make room for members of the club.

These *thou'd* one another in his office, appeared there in squalid apparel, and made motions: among them were a great number of married priests, introduced by Audouin, Pache's son-in-law, and himself a married priest. One of the heads of this department was Hassenfratz, formerly resident at Metz, expatriated on account of bankruptcy, and who, like many others, had raised himself to a high office by displaying extraordinary democratic zeal. While the administrations of the army were thus renewed, all possible pains were taken to fill the army itself with a new class of persons, and with new opinions. Hence it happened that, while Roland was an object of the sworn hatred of the Jacobins, Pache was a favourite and highly extolled by them. They lauded his mildness, his modesty, his extraordinary capacity, and contrasted them with the austerity of Roland, which they termed pride.

Roland, in fact, had not allowed the Jacobins any access to the office of his department. To superintend the reports of the constituted bodies, to bring back within bounds those which overstepped them, to maintain the public tranquillity, to watch the popular societies, to attend to the supply of provisions, to protect trade and property; in short, to supervise the whole internal administration of the state—such were his immense duties, and he performed them with uncommon energy. Every day he denounced the commune, condemned the excess of its powers, its peculations, and its despatch of commissioners. He stopped its correspondence, as well as that of the Jacobins, and, instead of their violent papers, he substituted others replete with moderation, which everywhere produced the best effect. He superintended all the property of emigrants which had devolved to the state, bestowed particular attention on the supply of the prime necessities of life, repressed disturbances of which they were the occasion, and multiplied himself, so to speak, to oppose law and force whenever he could to the revolutionary passions. It is easy to conceive what a difference the Jacobins must have made between Pache and Roland. The families of the two ministers contributed themselves to render this difference the more striking. Pache's wife and daughters went to the clubs and the sections; they even visited the barracks of the federalists, for the purpose of gaining them over to the cause, and distinguished themselves by a low Jacobinism from the polished and proud wife of Roland, who was moreover surrounded by those orators so eloquent and so detested.

Pache and Roland were, therefore, the two persons around whom the members of the council rallied. Clavières, at the head of the finances, though he was frequently embroiled with both from the extreme irritability of his temper, always returned to Roland when he was appeased. Lebrun, a weak man, but attached by his talents to the Girondins, received much assistance in business from Brissot; and the Jacobins called the latter an intriguer, and asserted that he was the master of the whole government, because he aided Lebrun in his diplomatic labours. Garat, contemplating parties from a metaphysical elevation, was content to judge, and did not deem himself bound to combat them. He seemed to think that, because he discovered faults in the Girondins, he was justified in withholding his support from them, and a really wise course was the result of his weakness. The Jacobins, however, accepted the neutrality of so distinguished a mind as a valuable advantage, and repaid it with some commendations. Lastly, Monge,* an eminent mathematician, and a decided patriot, not very favourably disposed towards the somewhat vague theories of the Girondins, followed the example of Pache, suffered his office to be overrun by the Jacobins, and without disavowing the Girondins to whom he owed his elevation, he received the praises of their adversaries, and shared in the popularity of Pache.

Thus the Jacobin party finding two complaisant tools in Pache and Monge, an indifferent metaphysician in Garat, but an inexorable adversary in Roland, who rallied about him Lebrun and Clavières, and frequently brought over the others to his way of thinking—the Jacobin party had not in its hands the government of the state, and everywhere repeated that in

* "G. Monge was a member of the Academy of Sciences, and afterwards of the French Institute. In 1793, acting as war minister for Servan, he signed the order for the execution of Louis. In the following year he was made secretary and president of the Jacobin club. Having attached himself to the fortunes of Bonaparte, he was appointed in 1804 to the situation of grand officer of the Legion of Honour. Monge was the author of several scientific works."—*Biographie Moderne*. E.

the new order of things there was only a king the less, but that, with this single exception, there existed the same despotism, the same intrigues, and the same treasons. They asserted that the Revolution would not be complete and irrevocable, till the secret author of all machinations and of all resistance, confined in the Temple, should be destroyed.

We observe what was the respective force of the parties, and the state of the Revolution, at the moment when the trial of Louis XVI. commenced. This prince and his family occupied the great tower of the Temple. The communes, having the disposal of the armed force and the superintendence of the police of the capital, had also the guard of the Temple; and to its jealous, restless, and ungenerous authority the royal family was subjected. That unfortunate family, being guarded by a class of men far inferior to that of which the Convention was composed, could not look either for that moderation or that respect which a good education and polished manners always inspire for adversity. It had at first been placed in the little tower, but afterwards removed to the larger, because it was thought that it could be watched there with greater ease and security. The King occupied one floor, and the princesses, with the children, had another. In the daytime they were allowed to pass together the sorrowful moments of their captivity. A single attendant had obtained permission to follow them to their prison. This was the faithful Clery,* who, having escaped the massacres of the 10th of August, had returned to Paris to serve in misfortune those whom he had formerly served in the splendour of their power. He was accustomed to rise at daybreak, and strove by his assiduities to supply the place of the numerous servants who had once surrounded his employers. They breakfasted at nine o'clock in the King's apartment. At ten the whole family met in that of the Queen. Louis XVI. then occupied himself in instructing his son. He made him learn by heart passages in Racine and Corneille, and taught him the first rudiments of geography, a science which he had himself cultivated with great ardour and success. The Queen, on her part, attended to the education of her daughter, and then spent some time with her sister in working tapestry. At one o'clock, when the weather was fine, the whole family was conducted into the garden, to take air and exercise. Several members of the municipality and officers of the guard accompanied them, and at times they met with kind and humane, at others with harsh and contemptuous faces.

Uncultivated men are rarely generous, and with them greatness when it has fallen, is not to be forgiven. Let the reader figure to himself rude and ignorant artisans, masters of that family, whose power they reproached themselves with having so long endured, and whose profusion they had contributed to supply, and he will be able to conceive what low revenge they must sometimes have wreaked upon it.† The King and Queen were fre-

* "Clery we have seen and known, and the form and manners of that model of pristine faith and loyalty can never be forgotten. Gentleman-like and complaisant in his manners, his deep gravity and melancholy features announced that the sad scenes in which he had acted a part so honourable, were never for a moment out of his memory. He died at Hitzing, near Vienna, in 1809. In the year 1817, Louis XVIII. gave letters of nobility to his daughter."—*Scott's Life of Napoleon*. E.

† "Louis XVI. was attended during the whole term of his imprisonment, and in his last moments, by his old servant, Clery, who never left him. The names of those who are faithful in misfortune, are sacred in the page of history!"—*Hazlitt*. E.

† "A man named Simon, a shoemaker and municipal officer, was one of the six commissioners appointed to inspect the works and the expenses of the Temple. This man, whenever he appeared in the presence of the royal family, always treated them with the vilest

quently doomed to hear cruel remarks, and found upon the wall of the courts and corridors the expressions of the hatred which the former government had often merited, but which neither Louis XVI. nor his consort had done anything to excite.* Sometimes, however, they found relief in furtive demonstrations of interest, and they continued these painful walks on account of their children, who needed such exercise. While they sadly traversed the court of the Temple, they perceived at the windows of the neighbouring houses a great number of old subjects still attached to their sovereign, and who came to survey the narrow space in which the fallen monarch was confined.† At two o'clock the walk finished, and dinner was served. After dinner, the King lay down, and, during his nap, his wife, sister, and daughter worked in silence, while Clery, in another room, exercised the young prince in the games suitable to his age. The family afterwards read some book together, then supped, and retired to their respective apartments, after a sorrowful adieu, for they never parted without grief. The King read for some hours longer. Montesquieu, Buffon, Hume's History, the Imitation of Jesus Christ, and some Latin and Italian classics, were the books that he usually read. He had finished about two hundred and fifty volumes when he quitted the Temple.

Such was the life of this monarch during his sad captivity. Reduced to private life, he was restored to all his virtues, and proved himself worthy of the esteem of all honest hearts. His very enemies, had they but seen him, so simple, so calm, so pure, would not have been able to suppress an involuntary emotion, and would have forgiven the faults of the prince on account of the virtues of the man.

The committee, in the excess of its distrust, resorted to the most irksome precautions. Municipal officers never suffered any of the members of the royal family to be out of their sight; and it was only when their prisoners retired to rest that they suffered a locked door to interpose them. They then placed a bed against the entrance of each apartment, so as to prevent all

insolence; and would frequently say to me, so near the King, as to be heard by him, 'Clery, ask Capet if he wants anything, that I mayn't have the trouble of coming up twice.' One of the doorkeepers of the tower, whose name was Rocher, accounted as a pioneer, with long whiskers, a black hairy cap, a huge sabre, and a belt to which hung a bunch of great keys, came up to the door when the King wanted to go out, but did not open it till his majesty was quite close, when, pretending to search for the key among the many which he had, and which he rattled in a terrible manner, he designedly kept the royal family waiting, and then drew the bolts with a great clatter. After doing this, he ran down before them, and fixing himself on one side of the last door, with a long pipe in his mouth, puffed the fumes of the tobacco at each of the royal family, as they went out, and chiefly at the Queen and princesses. Some national guards, who were amused with these indignities, came about him, burst into fits of laughter at every puff of smoke, and used the grossest language; some of them went so far as to bring chairs from the guard-room, to sit and enjoy the sight, obstructing the passage, which was itself sufficiently narrow."—*Clery*.

* "One of the soldiers within wrote one day, on the King's chamber-door, and that, too, on the inside, 'The guillotine is permanent, and ready for the tyrant Louis.' The walls were frequently covered with the most indecent scrawls, in large letters, that they might not escape notice. Among others were 'Madame Veto shall swing.'—'The little wolves must be strangled.'—Under a gallows with a figure hanging, were these words: 'Louis taking an air-bath,' and similar ribaldry."—*Clery*. E.

† "During the hour allowed for walking, a sight was presented to the royal family that often awakened their sensibilities, and moved them to tears. Many of their faithful subjects, placing themselves at the windows of the houses round the garden of the Temple, took the opportunity of this short interval to see their King and Queen; and it was impossible to be deceived in their sentiments and their wishes. In particular, they would anxiously follow the dauphin with their eyes, when he ran to any distance from their majesties."—*Clery*.

egress, and there passed the night. Santerre, with his staff, made every day a general visit of inspection throughout the whole tower, and rendered a regular account of it. The municipal officers on duty formed a kind of permanent council, which, placed in an apartment of the tower, was authorized to issue orders and to return answers to all the demands of the prisoners. Pen, ink, and paper, had at first been left in the prison, but these articles were soon taken away, as well as all sharp instruments, such as razors, scissors, or penknives, and the strictest and most offensive search was made to discover any such implements that might have been concealed. This was a great affliction for the princesses, who were thenceforward deprived of their needlework, and could no longer repair their apparel, which was in a very bad state, as they had not been supplied with anything new since their transfer to the Temple. The wife of the English ambassador sent body-linen to the Queen, and on the application of the King, the commune directed some to be made for the whole family. As for outer garments, neither the King nor the Queen* cared to ask for them; but no doubt they would have obtained them had they expressed any wish to that effect. With respect to money, the sum of two thousand francs was given to them in September for their petty expenses, but they were not supplied with more, for fear of the use which might be made of it. A sum was placed in the hands of the governor of the Temple, and, on the application of the prisoners, the different articles which they needed were purchased for them.

We must not exaggerate the faults of human nature, and suppose that, adding an execrable meanness to the fury of fanaticism, the keepers of the imprisoned family imposed on it unworthy privations, with the intention of rendering the remembrance of its past greatness the more painful. Distrust was the sole cause of certain refusals. Thus, while the dread of plots and secret communications prevented them from admitting more than one attendant into the interior of the prison, a numerous establishment was employed in preparing their food. Thirteen persons were engaged in the duties of the kitchen, situated at some distance from the tower. The reports of the expenses of the Temple, where the greatest decency is observed, where the prisoners are mentioned with respect, where their sobriety is commended, where Louis XVI. is justified from the low reproach of being too much addicted to wine—these reports, which are not liable to suspicion, make the total expense for the table amount in two months to 28,745 livres. While thirteen domestics occupied the kitchen, one only was allowed to enter the prison, and to assist Cléry in waiting upon the prisoners at table. So ingenious is captivity that it was by means of this domestic, whose sensibility Cléry had contrived to excite, that news from without sometimes penetrated into the Temple. The unfortunate prisoners had always been kept in ignorance of the occurrences outside that building. The representatives of the commune had merely sent to them the newspapers which recorded the victories of the republic, and which thus deprived them of every hope.

Cléry had devised a clever expedient to make them acquainted with circumstances as they occurred, and which had succeeded tolerably well. By means of communications which he had formed outside the prison, he had caused a public hawker to be engaged and paid. This man came daily be-

* "I have heard Mr. Northcote describe the Queen, in her happier and younger days, as entering a small ante-room where he was standing, with her large hoop sideways, and gliding by him from one end to the other as if borne on a cloud. It was possibly to 'this air with which she trod, or rather disdained the earth,' as if descended from some higher sphere, that she owed the indignity of being conducted to the scaffold."—*Hazlitt*. E

neath the windows of the Temple, and, under pretext of selling newspapers, he bawled out with all his might the principal details contained in them. Clery, who had fixed the hour for his coming, was sure to be at the window above, noted all that he heard, and at night, stooping over the King's bed, at the moment when he drew his curtains, he communicated to him the intelligence which he had thus obtained. Such was the condition of the illustrious family thrust from the throne into a prison, and the manner in which the ingenious zeal of a faithful servant baffled the jealous caution of its gaolers.

The committees had at length presented their report relative to the trial of Louis XVI. Dufriche-Valazé had made a first report on the charges alleged against the monarch, and the documents that could furnish proofs of them. This report, too long to be read through, was printed by order of the Convention and sent to each of its members. On the 7th of November, Mailhe, in the name of the committee of legislation, presented the report on the great question to which the trial gave rise:

Can Louis XVI. be tried?

What tribunal shall pronounce judgment?

Such were the two essential questions, which were about to engage all minds, and to agitate them profoundly. The report was ordered to be printed immediately. Being translated into all languages, and numerous copies circulated, it was soon spread throughout France and Europe. The discussion was adjourned till the 13th, in spite of Billaud-Varennes, who insisted that the Assembly should decide by acclamation the question of bringing the King to trial.

Now was about to ensue the last conflict between the ideas of the Constituent Assembly and the ideas of the Convention; and this conflict was destined to be the more violent, inasmuch as the life or death of the King was to be the result of it. The Constituent Assembly was democratic in its ideas and monarchical in its sentiments. Thus, while it constituted the entire state of a republic, from a remnant of affection and delicacy towards Louis XVI., it retained royalty with the attributes invariably allotted to it in the system of a well regulated feudal monarchy. Hereditary succession, executive power, participation in the legislative power, and above all inviolability—such are the prerogatives assigned to the throne in modern monarchies, and which the first assembly had left to the reigning house. Participation in the legislative power and the executive power, are functions which may vary in their extent, and which do not constitute modern royalty so essentially, as hereditary succession and inviolability. Of these two latter, the one insures the perpetual and natural transmission of royalty; the second places it beyond all attack in the person of every heir: and both make it something perpetual, which is never interrupted, and something inaccessible, which no penalty can reach. Doomed to act solely by ministers, who are responsible for its actions, royalty is accessible only in its agents; and thus there is a point where it may be struck without being shaken. Such is feudal monarchy, successively modified by time, and reconciled with the degree of liberty which modern nations have attained.

The Constituent Assembly, however, had been induced to lay a restriction on this royal inviolability. The flight to Varennes, and the enterprises of the emigrants, had led it to think that the ministerial responsibility would not guarantee a nation from all the faults of royalty. It had therefore provided for the case when a monarch should put himself at the head of a hostile army to attack the constitution of the state, or else should not oppose by

a *formal act*, an enterprise of this nature undertaken in his name. In this case it had declared the monarch not amenable to the ordinary laws against felony, but to have forfeited the crown. He was *deemed to have abdicated royalty*. Such is the precise language of the law which it had passed. The proposal to accept the constitution made by it to the King, and the acceptance on the part of the King, had rendered the contract irrevocable, and the Assembly had bound itself by a solemn engagement to hold sacred the person of the monarchs.

It was in the presence of such an engagement that the Convention found itself when deciding upon the fate of Louis XVI. But these new constituents, assembled under the name of Convention, did not conceive themselves to be more bound by the institutions of their predecessors, than these latter imagined themselves to be by the old institutions of feudalism. Men's minds had been hurried along with such rapidity, that the laws of 1791 appeared as absurd to the generation of 1792 as those of the thirteenth century had appeared to the generation of 1789.* The Conventionals, therefore, did not deem themselves bound by a law which they regarded as absurd, and they declared themselves in insurrection against it, as the States-general did against that of the three orders.

As soon, therefore, as the discussion commenced, two systems were seen in decided opposition to each other. Some maintained the inviolability, others absolutely rejected it. Such had been the change of ideas that no member of the Convention durst defend the inviolability as good in itself, and even those who were in favour of it defended it solely as an anterior arrangement, the benefit of which was guaranteed to the monarch, and of which the Assembly could not dispossess him without violating a national engagement. Nay, there were but very few deputies who supported it as an engagement contracted, and the Girondins even condemned it in this point of view. They abstained, however, from taking part in the debate, and coldly watched the discussion raised between the rare partisans of inviolability and its numerous adversaries.

"In the first place," said the adversaries of inviolability, "in order that an engagement shall be binding, it is requisite that the party contracting such engagements shall have a right to bind himself. Now, the national sovereignty is inalienable, and cannot bind itself for the time to come. The nation may certainly, in stipulating the inviolability, have rendered the executive power inaccessible to the attacks of the legislative power. It is a politic precaution, the motive of which may be easily conceived, in the system of the Constituent Assembly; but, if it has rendered the King inviolable for the constituted bodies, it cannot have rendered him inviolable for itself, for it never can renounce the faculty of doing and willing anything at all times. This faculty constitutes its omnipotence, which is inalienable. The nation, therefore, cannot have bound itself in regard to Louis XVI., and it cannot be met with an engagement which it had not the power to make.

"Secondly, even supposing the engagement possible, it would be requisite that it should be reciprocal. Now it never has been so on the part of Louis

* "One of the most eminent members of the Gironde party contradicts this assertion. "It must not be dissembled," he says, "that the majority of Frenchmen desired royalty and the constitution of 1791. There were only a few noble and elevated minds who felt themselves worthy to be republicans. The rest of the nation, with the exception of the ignorant wretches, without either sense or substance, who vomited abuse against royalty, as at another time they would have done against a commonwealth, and all without knowing why—the rest of the nation were all attached to the constitution of 1791."—*Cuzot's Memoirs*. E

XVI. That constitution, on which he now wishes to support himself, he never liked, he always protested against; he has continually laboured to destroy it, not only by internal conspiracies, but by the sword of enemies. What right has he then to avail himself of it?

"Let us even admit the engagement as possible and reciprocal, it is further requisite, in order that it should have any validity, that it be not absurd. Thus we can readily conceive the inviolability which applies to all the ostensible acts for which a minister is responsible instead of the King. For all acts of this kind there exists a guarantee in the ministerial responsibility; and inviolability, not being impunity, ceases to be absurd. But for all secret acts, such as underhand machinations, correspondence with the enemy; in short, treason, is there a minister at hand to countersign and to be responsible? And should these latter acts nevertheless pass unpunished, though the most important and the most culpable of all? This is inadmissible, and it must be acknowledged that the King, inviolable for the acts of his administration, ceases to be so for the secret and criminal acts which attack the public safety. Thus a deputy, inviolable for his legislative functions, an ambassador for his diplomatic functions, are not so for all the other acts of their private life. Inviolability, therefore, has limits, and there are points at which the person of the King ceases to be unassailable. Will it be urged that forfeiture of the throne is the penalty pronounced against perfidies for which a minister is not responsible? That is to say, is the mere privation of power the only punishment to be inflicted on the monarch for having so atrociously abused it? Shall the people whom he has betrayed, given up to the sword of foreigners, and to every scourge at once, do no more than say to him, 'Get you gone?' This would be an illusory justice, and a nation cannot fail so egregiously in its duty to itself as to leave unpunished the crime committed against its existence and its liberty.

"There is required," added the same speakers, "there is indeed required a known punishment, enacted by an anterior law, before it can be applied to a crime. But, are there not the ordinary penalties against treason? Are not these penalties alike in all codes? Is not the monarch forewarned by the morality of all ages and of all countries that treason is a crime; and by the legislature of all nations that this crime is punished with the most terrible of punishments? Besides a penal law, there must be a tribunal. But here is the sovereign nation, which unites in itself all powers, that of trying as well as that of enacting laws, and of making peace and war; here it is with its omnipotence, with its universality, and there is no function but it is capable of fulfilling. This nation is the Convention which represents it, commissioned to do everything on its behalf, to avenge, to constitute, and to save it. The Convention, then, is competent to try Louis XVI. It possesses sufficient powers. It is the most independent, the most elevated tribunal, that an accused person can choose; and, unless he needs partisans or hirelings of the enemy in order to obtain justice, the monarch cannot wish for other judges. True, he will have the same men for accusers and judges. But if, in the ordinary tribunals, exposed in a lower sphere to individual and particular causes of error, the functions are separated, and care has been taken that the accusation shall have other judges than those who have supported it, in the general council of the nation, which is placed above all individual interests and motives, the same precautions are not necessary. *The nation can do no wrong*, and the deputies who represent it partake of its inviolability and its powers.

"Thus," proceeded the adversaries of the inviolability, "the engagement

contracted in 1791 being incapable of binding the national sovereignty, that engagement being without any reciprocity, and containing moreover an absurd clause, that of allowing treason to pass unpunished, is absolutely null, and Louis XVI. can be put on his trial. With respect to the punishment, it has been known in all ages, it is specified in all laws. As for the tribunal, it is in the Convention, invested with all the powers, legislative, executive, and judicial." These speakers therefore demanded, with the committee, that Louis XVI. should be tried; that he should be tried by the National Convention; that a statement declaratory of the acts imputed to him should be drawn up by commissioners appointed for the purpose; that he should appear personally to answer the charges; that counsel should be assigned him to defend himself; and that, immediately after he should be heard, the National Convention should pronounce judgment by putting the question to the vote.*

The defenders of the inviolability had left none of these reasons unanswered, and had refuted the whole system of their adversaries.

"It is alleged," said they, "that the nation had not the power to alienate its sovereignty and to interdict itself from punishing a crime committed against itself; that the inviolability enacted in 1791 bound the legislative body alone, but not the nation itself. In the first place, if it be true that the national sovereignty cannot be alienated, and that it cannot interdict itself from renewing its laws, it is likewise true that it has no power over the past. It cannot therefore make that which has been not be. It cannot prevent the laws which it has enacted from having had their effect, and that which they absolved from being absolved. It certainly can for the future declare that monarchs shall be no longer inviolable; but, with reference to the past, it cannot prevent their being so, since so it has declared them to be; it cannot, above all, break engagements contracted with third persons, towards whom it became a simple party in treating with them. Thus, then, the national sovereignty possessed the power of binding itself for a time. It determined to do so in an absolute manner, not only for the legislative body, to which it interdicted all judicial action against the King, but also for itself, for the political aim of the inviolability would have been missed, if royalty had not been placed beyond all attack whatever, on the part of the constituted authorities as well as on the part of the nation itself.

"With regard to the want of reciprocity in the execution of the engagement, that was all foreseen," argued the same speakers. "The want of fidelity to the engagement, was provided for by the engagement itself. All the modes of failing in it are comprised in one alone, the most heinous of all, war against the nation, and are punished by forfeiture, that is to say, by the dissolution of the contract between the nation and the King. The want of reciprocity is not then a reason which can release the nation from the promise of inviolability.

"The engagement being, then, real and absolute, common to the nation as to the legislative body, the want of reciprocity was foreseen, and cannot be a cause of nullity. It will be perceived, in short, that in the system of the monarchy, this engagement was not unreasonable, and that it cannot be set aside on account of absurdity. In fact, this inviolability left not, as has

* "It was by means of a chain of the most ingenious sophisms that the committee transformed the Convention into a tribunal. The party of Robespierre showed itself much more consistent, in urging only reasons of state, and rejecting forms as illusory."—*Mignet*. E

been asserted, any crime unpunished. The ministerial responsibility extended to all the acts, because a king can no more conspire than govern without agents, and thus public justice always had something to lay hold of. Lastly, those secret crimes, differing from the ostensible delinquencies of administration, were provided for and punished by forfeiture, for every fault on the part of the King was reduced in this legislation to the cessation of his functions. Against this it has been argued that forfeiture is no punishment, that it is only the privation of an instrument which the monarch has abused. But, in a system where the royal person was to be unassailable, the severity of the punishment was not the most important matter. The essential point was its political result, and this result was attained by the privation of power.

“ Besides, was not the loss of the first throne in the world a punishment? Can a man without extreme pain lose a crown, which at his birth he found upon his head, with which he has passed his life, and under which he has been adored for twenty years? To minds bred to sovereignty is not this punishment equal to that of death? Moreover, were the punishment too mild, it is so agreeably to an express stipulation, and an insufficiency of punishment cannot be in any law a cause of nullity. It is a maxim in criminal legislation that the accused ought to have the benefit of all the faults of the legislation, because the feeble and disarmed ought not to be made to suffer for the errors of the strong. Thus, then, the engagement, being demonstrated to be valid and absolute, involves nothing absurd. No impunity was stipulated in it, and treason was to find its punishment. There is no reason then to recur to the law of nature or to the nation, since the forfeiture is already pronounced by an anterior law. This penalty the King has undergone, without any tribunal to pronounce it, and according to the only possible form, that of a national insurrection. As he is dethroned at this moment, beyond all possibility of acting, France can do nothing more against him, than take measures of police for his safety. Let her banish him from her territory for her own security; let her detain him, if she will, till the peace; or let her suffer him to remain in her bosom! to become a man again, by the practice of private life. That is all she ought to do—all she can do. There is no occasion, then, to constitute a tribunal, to inquire into the competence of the Convention. On the 10th of August, all was accomplished for Louis XVI. On the 10th of August, he ceased to be King. On the 10th of August, he was tried, sentenced, deposed, and all was consummated between him and the nation.”

Such was the answer with which the advocates of the inviolability met their adversaries. The national sovereignty being understood as people then understood it, their answers were victorious, and all the arguments of the committee of legislation were but laboured sophisms, without frankness and without truth.

The reader has just seen what was said on both sides in the regular discussion. But from the agitation of minds and passions sprang another system and another opinion. At the Jacobins, in the ranks of the Mountain, people already asked if there was any need for a discussion, for sentence, for forms, in short, in order to rid themselves of what they called a tyrant, taken with arms in his hand, and spilling the blood of the nation. This opinion found a terrible organ in the young St. Just,* a cold and austere

* “ St. Just was austere in manners, like Robespierre, but more enthusiastic; and the image of a thousand religious or political fanatics, who, being of a gloomy temperament, and

fanatic, who at the age of twenty was devising a perfectly ideal state of society, in which absolute equality, simplicity, austerity, and an indestructible force should reign. Long before the 10th of August, he had brooded in the recesses of his gloomy mind over this supernatural society, and he had arrived through fanaticism at that extremity of human opinions, to which Robespierre had arrived solely by dint of hatred. New to the Revolution, upon which he had scarcely entered, as yet a stranger to all its struggles, to all its wrongs, to all its crimes, ranged in the party of the Mountain by the violence of his opinions, delighting the Jacobins by the boldness of his sentiments, captivating the Convention by his talents, still he had not yet acquired popular reputation. His ideas, always favourably received, but not always comprehended, had not their full effect till they had become, through the plagiarisms of Robespierre, more common, more clear, and more declamatory.

He spoke after Morisson, the most zealous of the advocates for the inviolability; and without employing personalities against his adversaries, because he had not yet had time to contract personal enmities, he appeared at first to be indignant only at the meanness of the Assembly and the quibblers of the discussion. "What," said he, "you, the committee, his adversaries, are laboriously seeking forms for the purpose of trying the *ci-devant* King! You are striving to make a citizen of him, to raise him to that quality, that you may find laws which are applicable to him! And I, on the contrary, I say that the King is not a citizen, that he ought to be tried as an enemy, that we have rather to fight than to try him. and that, telling for nothing in the contract which unites the French, the forms of the proceedings are not in the civil law, but in the *law of nations*."

Thus, then, St. Just discovered in the proceedings not a question of justice, but a question of war. "Try a king like a citizen!" he exclaimed: "that word will astonish cool posterity. To try is to apply the law; a law is a relation of justice: what relation of justice is there, then, between humanity and kings?"

"To reign is of itself a crime, a usurpation, which nothing can absolve, which a nation is culpable in suffering, and against which every man has an entirely personal right. It is impossible to reign innocently! The madness of the thing is too great. This usurpation ought to be treated as kings themselves treat that of their pretended authority. Was not the memory of Cromwell brought to trial for having usurped the authority of Charles I.? And assuredly one was no more a usurper than the other; for when a nation is so base as to suffer itself to be ruled by tyrants, domination is the right of the first comer, and is not more sacred, more legitimate, on the head of one, than on that of the other!"

Passing to the question of forms, St. Just discovered in it only fresh and

full of visionary aspirations, think that good is always to be worked out of evil, and are ready to sacrifice themselves and the whole world to any scheme they have set their minds upon. St. Just was nicknamed the Apocalyptic."—*Hazlitt's Life of Napoleon*. E.

"St. Just exhibited the true features of gloomy fanaticism; a regular visage, dark and lank hair, a penetrating and severe look, a melancholy expression of countenance, revived the image of those desperate Scottish enthusiasts of whom modern genius has drawn so graphic a picture. Simple and unostentatious in his habits, austere in private, and indefatigable in public, St. Just was the most resolute, because the most sincere, of the Decemvirs. Enthusiastic in his passion for the multitude, he disdained to imitate its vices, or pander to its desires. Steeled against every sentiment of pity, he demanded the execution of victims in the same manner as the supply of armies."—*Alison*. E.

inconsistent errors. Forms in the trial are but hypocrisy. It is not the mode of procedure which has justified all the recorded vengeance of nations against kings; but the right of force against force.

"Some day," said he, "people will be astonished that we, in the 18th century, were less advanced than the Romans in the time of Cæsar. Then the tyrant was immolated in full senate, without any other formality than twenty-three dagger wounds, and without any other law than the liberty of Rome. And now we set most respectfully about the trial of a man, the assassin of the people taken in the very fact!"

Considering the question in a different point of view, without any reference to Louis XVI., St. Just inveighed against subtle arguments and nice distinctions, which were injurious, he said, to great things. 'The life of Louis XVI. was nothing.' It was the mind which his judges were going to give proof of, that alarmed him. It was the measure which they were about to furnish of themselves that struck him. "The men who are going to try Louis have a republic to found, and those who attach any importance to the just punishment of a king will never found a republic. . . . Since the presentation of the report, a certain wavering has manifested itself. Each approaches the trial of the King with his own particular views. Some seem apprehensive of having hereafter to pay the penalty of their courage; others have not renounced monarchy: these dread an example of virtue which would be a bond of unity.

"We all judge each other with severity. I will even say with fury. We think only how to modify the energy of the people and of liberty; while the common enemy is scarcely accused; and all, either filled with weakness or steeped in crime, look at one another before they venture to strike the first blow.

"Citizens, if the Roman people, after six hundred years of virtue and hatred of kings, if Great Britain after Cromwell's death, beheld kings restored in spite of their energy, what ought not the good citizens, the friends of liberty, among us to fear, on seeing the axe quivering in our hands, and a nation on the very first day of its liberty respecting the memory of its fetters? What republic will you establish amidst our private quarrels and our common weaknesses? I shall never cease to bear in mind that the spirit in which the King is tried will be the same as that in which the republic shall be established. The measure of your philosophy in this judgment will be also the measure of your liberty in the constitution!"

There were, however, minds which, less tinctured with fanaticism than that of St. Just, strove to place themselves in a less false position, and to bring the Assembly to consider things in a more just point of view. "Look," said Rouzet, "at the real situation of the King in the constitution of 1791. He was placed in presence of the national representation for the purpose of being a rival to it. Was it not natural that he should seek to recover as much as possible of the power which he had lost? Was it not you who threw open to him these lists, and called him to battle there with the legislative power? Well, then, in these lists he has been vanquished. He is alone, disarmed, trampled under foot by twenty-five millions of men, and would these twenty-five millions of men be guilty of such unprofitable baseness as to immolate the conquered? Moreover," added Rouzet, "has not Louis XVI. repressed in his bosom, more than any sovereign in the world, that everlasting love of rule, a feeling which fills the hearts of all men? Did he not make, in 1789, a voluntary sacrifice of part of his authority? Has he not renounced part of the prerogatives which his predecessors permitted.

themselves to exercise? Has he not abolished servitude in his dominions? Has he not called to his councils philosophic ministers, and even those empirics whom the public voice designated to him? Has he not convoked the States-general, and restored to the third estate a portion of its rights?"

Fauve, deputy of the Seine-Inférieure, had displayed still greater boldness. Referring to the conduct of Louis XVI., he had ventured to awaken the recollection of it. "The will of the people," said he, "might have dealt severely with Titus, as well as with Nero, and it might have found crimes in him, were they but those committed before Jerusalem. But where are those which you impute to Louis XVI.? I have paid the utmost attention to the papers that have been read against him; I find in them nothing but the weakness of a man who suffers himself to be led away by all the hopes held out to him of recovering his former authority; and I maintain that all the monarchs who died in their beds were more culpable than he. The good Louis XII. himself, in sacrificing fifty thousand Frenchmen in Italy, for his own private quarrel, was a thousand times more criminal. Civil list, *veto*, choice of ministers, women, relatives, courtiers—here are Caput's seducers! And what seducers! I appeal to Aristides, Epictetus—let them say if their firmness would have been proof against such trials. It is on the hearts of frail mortals that I found my principles, or my errors. Exalt yourselves, then, to all the greatness of the national sovereignty. Conceive all the magnanimity that ought to comport with such power. Summon Louis XVI., not as a criminal, but as a Frenchman, and say to him, Those who once lifted thee upon the shield and called thee their king, now set thee down; thou hast promised to be their father, and thou hast not been such. . . . Make amends by thy virtues as a citizen for the conduct which thou hast pursued as a king."

In the extraordinary exaltation of men's minds, each was led to consider the question under different bearings. Fauchet,* the constitutional priest, who had gained celebrity in 1789 for having used in the pulpit the language of the Revolution, asked if society had a right to inflict the punishment of death. "Has society," said he, "a right to deprive a man of life which it has not given to him? It is its duty, undoubtedly, to provide for its own conservation; but is it true that it cannot do so but by the death of the criminal? And if it can do it by other means, has it not a right to employ them? In this cause," added he, "more than in any other, this truth is peculiarly applicable. What! is it for the public interest, for the invigoration of the nascent republic, that you would sacrifice Louis XVI.? But is his whole family to perish by the same stroke that is to fall upon him? According to the system of hereditary succession, does not one king immediately step into the place of another! Will you release yourselves by the death of Louis XVI. from the rights to which a whole family deems itself entitled by a possession of several centuries? The destruction of one only is therefore useless. On the contrary, let the present head, who shuts the door to all others, continue to live. Let him live with the hatred which he excites in all aristocrats for his vacillation and his concessions. Let him live with the reputation of his weakness, with the debasement of his defeat, and you will have less to fear from him than from any other. Let this dethroned King wander

* "Cl. Fauchet, a priest born at Dorne, embraced the principles of the Revolution with eagerness, and distinguished himself at the taking of the Bastille, where he appeared at the head of the assailants with a sabre in his hand. At the time of Louis's trial, he declared that he had indeed deserved death, but that, nevertheless, he ought to be saved. Fauchet was condemned to death as a Girondin, in his forty-ninth year."—*Biographie Moderne*. E.

through the vast extent of your republic, without that train which attended him in the days of his grandeur; show how insignificant a king is, when reduced to his own person; manifest a profound disdain for the remembrance of what he was, and that remembrance will no longer be a subject of apprehension: you will have given a great lesson to mankind; you will have done more for the security and the instruction of the republic, than by spilling blood which does not belong to you. As for the son of Louis XVI.," proceeded Fauchet, "if he can become a man we will make him a citizen, like young Egalité. He shall fight for the republic, and we shall have no fear that a single soldier of liberty will ever second him, if he should be mad enough to think of turning a traitor to the country. Let us thus show other nations that we are afraid of nothing; let us prevail on them to follow our example; let all together form a European congress, let them depose their sovereigns, let them send those contemptible creatures to drag on their obscure lives in wandering through the republics, and let them even allow them small pensions, for those beings are so destitute of faculties, that necessity itself would not teach them to earn their bread. Set, then, this great example of the abolition of a barbarous punishment. Suppress that iniquitous way of spilling blood, and, above all, wean the people from the habit of spilling it. Strive to allay in them that thirst which perverse men would fain excite, in order to make it subservient to the overthrow of the republic. Remember that barbarous men are demanding of you one hundred and fifty thousand more heads, and that, after you have granted them that of the *cit-devant* King, you will not have it in your power to refuse them any. Prevent crimes which would agitate for a long time the bosom of the republic, dishonour liberty, retard its progress, and prove a bar to the acceleration of the happiness of the world."

This discussion had lasted from the 13th to the 30th of November, and had excited general agitation. Those whose imaginations were not entirely swayed by the new order of things, and who still retained some recollection of 1789, of the benevolence of the monarch, and of the affection that had been felt for him, could not comprehend how it was that this king, suddenly transformed into a tyrant, should be consigned to the scaffold. Admitting even his secret concert with foreigners, they imputed this fault to his weakness, to the persons around him, to the invincible fondness for hereditary power; and they were shocked at the idea of an ignominious punishment. They durst not, however, openly take up the defence of Louis XVI. The danger to which the country had been exposed by the invasion of the Prussians, and the opinion generally entertained that the court had brought them upon the frontiers, had excited an irritation, the effects of which fell upon the unfortunate monarch, and which nobody durst condemn. They contented themselves with opposing in a general manner those who demanded vengeance. They characterized them as the instigators of disturbances, as Septembrisers, who wanted to cover France with blood and ruins. Without defending Louis XVI. by name, they recommended moderation towards fallen enemies, and vigilance against an hypocritical energy, which, while appearing to defend the republic by executions, sought only to rule it by terror, or to compromise it with the rest of Europe. The Girondins had not yet spoken. Their opinion was surmised rather than known, and the Mountain, in order to have occasion to accuse them, asserted that they wished to save Louis XVI. They were, however, undecided in this cause. On the one hand, rejecting the inviolability, and regarding Louis XVI. as the accomplice of foreign invasion; on the other, moved by the sight of

great misfortune, and inclined on every occasion to oppose the violence of their adversaries ; they knew not what course to steer, and maintained an equivocal and threatening silence.

Another question at this moment agitated people's minds, and produced not less perturbation than the preceding. It related to the supply of provisions, which had been a great cause of discord in all the epochs of the Revolution.

We have already seen what uneasiness and what trouble this subject had caused to Bailly and Necker, at its commencement in 1789. The same difficulties had recurred, but with increased urgency, at the conclusion of 1792, and had been attended with the most dangerous disturbances. The stagnation of trade in all articles not of the first necessity may certainly be injurious to industry, and eventually to the labouring classes ; But when corn, the prime necessary of life, becomes scarce, distress and disturbance immediately ensue. Accordingly, the old police had, in the list of its duties, ranked attention to the supply of the markets as one of the objects that most concerned the public tranquillity.

The corn crop in 1792 was not a bad one ; but the harvest had been retarded by the weather, and the thrashing of the grain delayed by want of hands. The great cause of the scarcity, however, was to be sought elsewhere. In 1792, as in 1789, the state of insecurity, the fear of pillage by the way, and the extortions in the markets, had prevented the farmers from bringing their commodities. An outcry was instantly raised against forestalling. People inveighed most bitterly against the wealthy farmers, whom they called aristocrats, and whose too extensive farms ought, they said, to be divided. The greater the irritation expressed against them, the less they were disposed to show themselves in the markets, and the more the dearth increased. The assignats had likewise contributed to produce it. Many farmers, who sold merely for the purpose of hoarding, disliked to accumulate a variable paper, and preferred keeping their corn. As, moreover, corn daily became scarce, and assignats more abundant, the disproportion between the sign and the thing kept constantly increasing, and the dearth became more and more sensibly felt. By an accident common in all kinds of scarcity, precaution being augmented by fear, every one wished to lay in supplies ; families, the municipalities, the government, made considerable purchases, and rendered provisions still scarcer and dearer. In Paris especially, the municipality committed a very serious and a very old blunder. It bought up corn in the neighbouring departments, and sold it under the regular price, with the two-fold intention of relieving the lower classes and increasing its popularity. The consequence was that the dealers, ruined by this new rivalry, withdrew from the market, and the country-people, attracted by the low price, came and absorbed part of the supplies which the police had collected at great cost. These vicious measures, resulting from false economical ideas, and from an excessive ambition of popularity, were destructive to trade, more necessary in Paris than in any other place, and where it is requisite to accumulate a greater quantity of corn in a small space than any where else. The causes of the dearth were, therefore, very numerous ; namely, terror, which drove the farmers from the markets, the rise in price occasioned by the assignats, the mania for laying in stores of provisions, and the interference of the Parisian municipality, which injured trade by its powerful competition.

In such difficulties, it is easy to guess what course would be pursued by the two classes of men who divided between them the sovereignty of France.

The violent spirits, who were for putting down all opposition by destroying the opposers ; who, in order to prevent the conspiracies which they dreaded, had sacrificed all those whom they suspected of being adverse to themselves—such spirits could think of only one way of putting an end to the dearth, and that again was force. They proposed that the farmers should be roused from their inertness, that they should be compelled to attend the markets, and there sell their commodities at a price fixed by the communes ; that the corn should not be removed from the spot, or go to be stowed away in the granaries of what were called the forestallers. They insisted therefore on forced presence in the markets, a fixed price or *maximum*, the prohibition of all circulation, and, lastly, the obedience of commerce to their desires, not from the ordinary motive of profit, but from the fear of punishments and death.

Men of moderate sentiments proposed, on the contrary, that the administration should leave commerce to resume its course, by dispelling the fears of the farmers, by allowing them to fix their own prices, by offering them the inducement of a free, sure, and advantageous exchange, and by permitting the circulation from one department to another, in order to accommodate those which grew no corn. They thus proscribed a fixed price and prohibitions of every kind, and demanded, with the economists, the complete freedom of the trade in corn throughout all France. On the suggestion of Barbaroux, who was conversant in such matters, they recommended that exportation to foreign countries should be subjected to a duty, which should increase whenever the prices rose, and which would thus act as a check upon the sending of corn abroad at those times when it was most wanted at home. They demanded administrative interference solely for the establishment of certain markets, destined for extraordinary cases. They were for employing severity against such riotous persons only as should molest the farmers on the high roads and in the markets. Lastly, they proscribed the use of punishments in regard to trade ; for fear may be a medium of repression, but it is never a medium of action ; it paralyzes men, but it never encourages them.

When a party becomes master in a state, it becomes the government, forms its wishes, and contracts its prejudices ; it wishes to advance all things, at any price, and to employ force as the universal medium. Hence it was that the ardent friends of liberty had the predilection of all governments for prohibitive systems, and that they found adversaries in those who, more moderate, desired liberty not only in the end but in the means, and claimed security for their enemies, deliberation in the forms of justice, and absolute freedom of commerce.

The Girondins, therefore, were advocates of all the systems devised by speculative minds against official tyranny. But these new economists, instead of encountering, as formerly, a government ashamed of itself and always condemned by public opinion, found minds intoxicated with the idea of the public welfare, and which believed that force employed for this end was but the energy of virtue.

This discussion led to another subject of severe reproaches. Roland daily accused the commune of wasting money in the purchase of provisions, and of increasing the dearth at Paris, by reducing the prices out of a vain ambition of popularity. The party of the Mountain answered Roland by accusing him of misapplying considerable sums granted to his office for the purchase of corn, of being the chief of the forestallers, and of making himself the real dictator of France, by getting into his hands the whole stock of the prime necessities of life.

While this subject was under discussion in the Assembly, the inhabitants of certain departments, particularly in that of the Eure and Loire, were in a state of insurrection. The country people, excited by the want of bread, and by the instigations of the *curés*, upbraided the convention with being the cause of all their sufferings, and, while they complained that it would not fix a *maximum* price for corn, it accused it at the same time of an intention to overthrow religion. It was Cambon who furnished occasion for the latter charge. A passionate hunter after savings, which did not bear upon the war department, he had declared that the expense of the church establishment should be suppressed, and that *those who wanted mass might pay for it*. Accordingly, the insurgents failed not to say that religion was undone, and, from a singular contradiction, they reproached the Convention on the one hand with moderation on the subject of provisions, and on the other with violence in regard to the church.

Two members, sent by the Convention, found in the neighbourhood of Courville an assemblage of several thousand peasants, armed with pitchforks and fowling pieces, and to save their lives they were obliged to sign an order fixing the price of grain. Their compliance was censured by the Convention. It declared that they ought to have suffered death, and annulled the order which they had signed. The armed force was sent to disperse the rioters. Thus did the disturbances in the West commence, owing to want and attachment to religion.

On the motion of Danton, the Assembly, in order to appease the people of the West, declared that it had no intention to abolish religion; but it persisted in rejecting the *maximum*. Thus, still firm amid storms, and preserving a sufficient freedom of mind, the majority of the Convention declared for liberty of commerce against the prohibitory systems. If we then consider what was passing in the armies, in the administrations, and in respect of the trial of Louis XVI., we shall behold a terrible and a singular spectacle. Hotheaded enthusiasts wanted to renew *in toto* the composition of the armies and the administrations, in order to turn out of them such as were lukewarm or suspected; they wanted to employ force against commerce, to prevent it from standing still, and to wreak terrible vengeance for the purpose of daunting all enemies. Moderate men, on the other hand, were afraid of disorganizing the armies by renewing them, of ruining commerce by using constraint, of revolting minds by employing terror; but their adversaries were irritated even by these fears, and were still more enthusiastically bent on their scheme for renewing, forcing, and punishing, without exception. Such was the spectacle presented at this moment by the left against the right side of the Convention.*

* Here is the picture of the two sides of the Convention, drawn by Garat, the acutest observer we have had of the actors in the Revolution:

"To this side of the Convention almost all the men of whom I have been just speaking belonged: I could never discover in them any other spirit than that which I had known in them. There I saw, then, both that republicanism of sentiment which does not consent to obey any man, unless that man speaks *in the name* of the nation, and *as* the law itself, and that much more rare republicanism of thought, which has taken to pieces and put together again all the springs of the organization of a society of men, alike in rights as in nature; which has found out by what happy and profound contrivance it is possible to associate in a great republic what appears inassociable—equality and submission to the magistrates, the agitation fertile in minds and souls, and a constant, immutable order; a government, whose power shall always be absolute over individuals and over the multitude, and always submissive to the nation; and executive power, whose show and forms of useful splendour shall always awaken ideas of the splendour of the republic, and never ideas of the greatness of a person.

The sitting of the 30th had been very stormy, owing to the complaints of Roland against the misconduct of the municipality in regard to provisions,

"On this same side I beheld seated the men best acquainted with those doctrines of political economy, which teach how to open and to enlarge all the channels of private and of national wealth; how to combine the public revenue with the precise portions due to it from the fortune of every citizen; how to create new sources and new rivers for private fortunes by a good use of what they have poured into the coffers of the republic; how to protect and to leave unshackled all the branches of industry, without favouring any; how to regard great properties, not as those sterile lakes which absorb and retain all the waters poured by the mountains into their bosom, but as reservoirs necessary for multiplying and cherishing the germs of universal fecundity, for the purpose of diffusing them farther and farther over all those places which would otherwise be left dry and sterile—admirable doctrines, which introduced liberty into the arts and commerce before it existed in governments, but peculiarly adapted by their essence to the essence of republics, alone capable of giving a solid foundation to *equality*, not in a general *frugality*, which is always violated, and which shackles desires much less than industry, but in a universal opulence, in those labours, whose ingenious variety and continual revival can alone absorb, happily for liberty, that turbulent activity of democracies, which, after it had long agitated, at length swept away the ancient republics amidst the storms and tempests in which their atmosphere was constantly enveloped.

"On the right side, there were five or six men whose genius was capable of conceiving those grand theories of social and of economic order, and a great number whose understandings could comprehend and diffuse them. On that side, too, were ranged a certain number of spirits, in times past extremely impetuous, extremely violent, but who having run the entire round of their demagogic extravagances, aspired only to disavow and to combat the follies which they had propagated. There also sat, as the pious kneel at the foot of the altar, those men whom mild passions, a decent fortune, and an education which had not been neglected, disposed to honour with all the private virtues that republic which permitted them to enjoy their repose, their easy benevolence, and their happiness.

"On turning my eyes from this right side to the left, on casting them upon the Mountain, what a contrast struck me! There I saw a man agitating himself with all possible emotions, whose face, of a copper-yellow hue, made him look as if he had issued from the blood-stained caves of cannibals, or from the scorching threshold of hell; a man whom, by his convulsive, abrupt, and unequal gait, you recognised as one of those murderers who had escaped from the executioner but not from the furies, and who seem desirous of annihilating the human race, to spare themselves the dread which the sight of every man excites in them. Under despotism, which he had not covered with blood as he had liberty, this man had cherished the ambition of producing a revolution in the sciences; and he had attacked, in systems more daring than ingenious, the greatest discoveries of modern times and of the human mind. His eyes, roving through the history of ages, had dwelt upon the lives of four or five great exterminators who converted cities into deserts, for the purpose of repeopling those deserts with a race formed in their own image or in that of tigers; this was all that he had retained of the annals of nations, all that he knew and that he cared to imitate. From an instinct resembling that of ravenous beasts rather than from any deep vein of perversity, he had perceived into how many follies and crimes it is possible to lead an immense people, whose religious and political chains have just been broken. This is the idea which dictated all his writings, all his words, all his actions. And he fell but by the dagger of a woman! and more than fifteen thousand images of him were set up throughout the republic!

"Beside him were seated men who would not, themselves, have conceived such atrocities, but who, thrown along with him, by an act of extreme audacity, into events whose height turned them dizzy, and whose dangers made them shudder, while disavowing the maxims of the monster, had perhaps already followed them, and were not sorry that it should be feared that they could follow them still. They abhorred Marat, but they did not abhor making use of him. They placed him in their midst, they put him in their van, they bore him as it were, upon their breast, like a head of Medusa. As the horror of such a man was everywhere, you fancied that you perceived him everywhere; you almost imagined that he was the whole Mountain, or that the whole Mountain was, as it were, he. Among the leaders, in fact, there were several who found no other fault of the misdeeds of Marat but that they were too undisguised.

"But among these leaders—and here nothing but truth makes me differ in opinion from many worthy men—among these leaders themselves were a great number of persons who, connected with others by events much more than by their sentiments, turned their eyes and

and to the report of the commissioners sent into the department of Eure and Loire. Every thing is recollected at once when a person commences the catalogue of his grievances. On the one hand mention had been made of the massacres, and of the inflammatory publications; on the other, of the vacillation, the relics of royalism, and the delays opposed to the national vengeance. Marat had spoken and excited a general murmur. Robespierre commenced a speech amidst the noise. "He was about to propose," he said, "a more effective medium than any other for restoring the public tranquillity, a medium which would bring back impartiality and concord amidst the Assembly, which would impose silence on all libellers, on all the authors of placards, and sweep away their calumnies."—"What is it?" inquired a member, "what is this medium?"—Robespierre resumed. "It is to condemn to-morrow the tyrant of the French to suffer the penalty of his crimes, and thus to destroy the rallying-point of all the conspirators. The next day you will decide what is to be done in the matter of provisions, and on the following, you will lay the foundations of a free constitution."

This manner, at once emphatic and astute, of proclaiming the means of national salvation, and of making them consist in a measure opposed by the right side, roused the Girondins, and forced them to speak out on the great question of the trial. "You talk of the King," said Buzot; "the fault of the disturbances lies at the door of those who wished to step into his place. When the time comes for expressing my sentiments concerning his fate, I shall do it with the severity which he has deserved; but that is not the question now. The question before us relates to the disturbances, and they pro-

their regrets towards wisdom and humanity; who would have had many virtues, and might have rendered many services at the moment when they should have begun to be thought capable of them. To the Mountain repaired, as to military posts, those who had much passion for liberty and little theory, those who deemed equality threatened or even violated by grandeur of ideas and elegance of language; those who, elected in hamlets and in workshops, could not recognise a republican in any other costume than that which they wore themselves; those who, entering for the first time upon the career of the Revolution, had to signalize that impetuosity and that violence in which the glory of almost all the great revolutionists began; those who, still young, and better qualified to serve the republic in the field than in the sanctuary of the laws, having seen the republic start into existence amid the crash of thunder, conceived that it was with the crash of thunder that it ought to maintain itself and promulgate its decrees. On this side also several of those deputies sought an asylum rather than a seat, who, having been brought up in the proscribed castes of the nobility and the priesthood, though always pure, were always liable to suspicions, and fled to the top of the Mountain from the charge of not attaining the height of principles. Thither repaired, to feed their suspicions and to live among phantoms, those austere and melancholy characters who, having too frequently seen falsehood united with politeness, believe in virtue only when it is gloomy, and in liberty when it is wild. There ranged themselves some of those minds who had borrowed from the exact sciences stiffness at the same time with rectitude, who, proud of possessing knowledge immediately applicable to the mechanical arts, were glad to separate themselves by their place as well as by their disdain from those scholars, those philosophers, whose acquirements are not so promptly beneficial to the weaver or to the smith, and do not reach individuals until they have enlightened society in general. There, lastly, those liked to vote, whatever might be in other respects their sentiments and their talents, who, from the springs of their character being too tightly wound up, were disposed to go beyond rather than to fall short of the limit that it was necessary to set to revolutionary energy and enthusiasm.

"Such was the idea which I formed of the *elements* of the two sides of the National Convention.

"To judge of each side from the majority of its elements, both appeared to me capable of rendering, in different ways and degrees, great services to the republic: the right side for organizing the interior with wisdom and grandeur; the left, for infusing from their own souls into the souls of all Frenchmen those republican and popular passions so necessary to a nation assailed on all sides by the league of kings and the soldiery of Europe."

ceed from anarchy. Anarchy proceeds from non-execution of the laws. The non-execution of the laws will subsist so long as the Convention shall do nothing to insure order." Legendre* immediately succeeded Buzot, conjured his colleagues to abstain from all personality, and to direct their attention exclusively to the public welfare and the disturbances, which, having no other object than to save the King, would cease when he should be no more. He proposed, therefore, to the Assembly to direct that the opinions drawn up respecting the trial should be laid upon the bureau, printed, and sent to all the members, and that they should then decide whether Louis XVI. ought to be tried, without wasting time in hearing too long speeches. Jean-Bon-St.-André† exclaimed that there was not even need for these preliminary questions; and that all they had to do, was to pronounce immediately the condemnation and the form of the execution. The Convention at length adopted Legendre's proposal, and decreed that all the speeches should be printed. The discussion was adjourned to the 3d of December.

On the 3d there were calls from all quarters for the putting upon trial, the drawing up of the act of accusation, and the determination of the forms according to which the proceedings were to be conducted. Robespierre asked leave to speak, and though it had been decided that all the opinions should be printed and not read, yet he obtained permission, because he meant to speak not concerning the proceedings, but against any proceedings at all, and for a condemnation without trial.

He insisted that to commence a process was to open a deliberation; that to admit of deliberation was to admit of doubt, and even of a solution favourable to the accused. Now, to make the guilt of Louis XVI. problematical was to accuse the Parisians, the federalists; in short, all the patriots who had achieved the Revolution of the 10th of August. It was to absolve Louis XVI., the aristocrats, the foreign powers, and their manifestoes. It was, in one word, to declare royalty innocent, and the public guilty.

"Observe, too," continued Robespierre, "what audacity the enemies of liberty have acquired since you have proposed to yourselves this doubt. In the month of August last, the King's partisans hid themselves. Whoever had dared to undertake his apology would have been punished as a traitor. . . Now, they lift up their audacious heads with impunity; now, insolent writings inundate Paris and the departments; armed men, men brought within these walls, unknown to you and contrary to the laws, have made this city ring

* "The revolutionary life of Legendre is more original than one would suppose, when considered from the time of his connexion with the Lameths. His drinking tea at the house of Mirabeau and Robert of Paris, with Orleans; the twenty or thirty soldiers whom he received at his house; his intimacy with Marat and Danton; his behaviour on the death of the latter, the part he played in the Mountaineer faction and the Jacobin society; the defence he would have afforded Robespierre by interposing his own body; and his fetching the keys to shut up the hall of the Jacobins,—form a string of events which show a man not wholly incapable, and of singular versatility of character."—*Proudhomme*. E.

† "Jean-Bon-Saint-André, a Protestant minister, and deputy to the Convention, declared against an appeal to the people on the King's trial, and voted for his death. He was one of the members of the Committee of Public Safety during the reign of the Mountain, and took possession of the marine department. Being despatched on a mission to Brest, he filled the prisons; put the public authorities into the hands of the Jacobins; admitted all the galley-slaves to depose against the soldiers and the citizens; and caused the erection of two permanent guillotines. He also converted two of the churches into temples of Reason. He was afterwards present, in the French fleet, at the celebrated battle of the First of June, in which Lord Howe was victorious; and, being slightly wounded, withdrew into a frigate, where he remained in the hold to have his wound dressed. In the time of the consulate, Saint-André was made prefect of the department of Mont Tonnerre."—*Bibliographie Moderne*. E.

with seditious cries, and are demanding the impunity of Louis XVI. All that you have left to do is to throw open this place to those who are already canvassing for the honour of defending him. What do I say?—this very day Louis divides the representatives of the people. They are speaking for or against him. Two months ago, who could have suspected that here the question would be raised whether he is inviolable? But,” added Robespierre, “since citizen Petion has submitted as a serious question, and one that ought to be separately discussed, the question whether the King could be tried, the doctrines of the Constituent Assembly have again made their appearance here. O crime! O shame! The tribune of the French people has rung with the panegyric of Louis XVI.! We have heard the virtues and the beneficence of the tyrant extolled. While we have had the greatest difficulty to screen the best citizens from the injustice of a precipitate decision, the cause of the tyrant alone is so sacred that it cannot be discussed either at too great length or with too much freedom! If we may credit his apologists, the trial will last several months; it will continue till next spring, when the despots are to make a general attack upon us. And what a career opened to conspirators! . . . what food given to intrigue and aristocracy! . .

“Just Heaven! the ferocious hordes of despotism are preparing to rend afresh the bosom of our country in the name of Louis XVI.! Louis XVI. is still fighting against us from the recesses of his prison, and we doubt whether he is guilty, whether it is right to treat him as an enemy! We ask what are the laws which condemn him! We invoke the constitution in his behalf! The constitution forbade what you have done; if he could be punished by deposition only, you could not have pronounced it without trying him; you have no right to keep him in prison; he has a right to demand damages and his enlargement. The constitution condemns you. Throw yourselves at the feet of Louis and implore his clemency!”

These declamations, full of gall, which contained nothing that St. Just had not already said, nevertheless produced a profound sensation in the Assembly, which was for coming to an immediate determination. Robespierre had demanded that Louis XVI. should be tried forthwith: but Petion and several other members insisted that before the form of the proceedings was fixed, the putting upon trial should at least be pronounced; for that, they asserted, was an indispensable preliminary, with whatever celerity they might wish that proceeding to be carried through. Robespierre desired to speak again, and seemed determined to be heard; but his insolence was offensive, and he was forbidden the tribune. The Assembly at length (December 3d) passed the following decree:

“The National Convention declares that Louis XVI. shall be tried by it.”

On the 4th the forms of the trial were taken into consideration. Buzot, who had heard a great deal said about royalism, claimed permission to speak upon a motion of order, and to obviate, as he said, all suspicion, he demanded the punishment of death against any one who should propose the re-establishment of royalty in France. Such are the means frequently adopted by parties to prove that they are incapable of what is laid to their charge. This useless motion was hailed with numerous plaudits; but the party of the Mountain, who, according to their system, ought not to have offered any impediment, opposed it out of spleen. Bazire desired to be heard against it. Cries of *Vote! Vote!* ensued. Philipeaux, joining Bazire, proposed that they should not attend to any other subject than Louis XVI., and that they should hold a permanent sitting till his trial was over. It was then asked what motive the opposers of Buzot's proposition had for

rejecting it, for there was none who could regret royalty. Lejeune replied that it was reviving a question which had been decided at the time when royalty was abolished. "But," said Rewbel,* "the point under consideration is the addition of a penal clause to the decree of abolition. It is not therefore reviving a question which has already been decided."

Merlin, more clumsy than his predecessors, moved an amendment, and proposed to make one exception to the punishment of death, namely, in case the proposal for the re-establishment of royalty should be brought forward in the primary assemblies. At these words cries arose from all quarters. "There!" it was said, "the secret is out! They want a king, but one taken from among the primary assemblies, from which Marat, Robespierre, and Danton have sprung." Merlin endeavoured to justify himself by alleging that he meant to pay homage to the sovereignty of the people. He was silenced by being told that he was a royalist, and it was proposed to call him to order. Guadet, with an insincerity which the most honourable men sometimes carry into a rancorous debate, insisted that the Assembly ought to respect the freedom of opinion, to which it owed the discovery of an important secret, and which furnished a key to a great machination. "The Assembly," he added, "ought not to regret having heard this amendment, which demonstrates to it that a new despotism was intended to succeed the despotism which had been destroyed, and we ought to thank Merlin instead of calling him to order." An explosion of murmurs succeeded the speech of Guadet. Bazire, Merlin, Robespierre, cried out against calumny; and it is quite true that the charge of a design to substitute a plebeian king instead of the dethroned monarch, was just as absurd as that of federalism preferred against the Girondins. The Assembly at length decreed the penalty of death against any one who should propose the restoration of royalty in France under any denomination whatever.

The consideration of the forms of the trial and the proposal for a permanent sitting was then resumed. Robespierre again insisted that judgment should be immediately pronounced. Petion, still victorious through the support of the majority, induced the Assembly to determine that the sitting should not be permanent, that the judgment should not be instantaneous, but that, setting aside all other business, the Assembly should devote its exclusive attention to this subject from eleven till six o'clock every day.

The following days were occupied by the reading of the papers found at Laporte's, and others more recently discovered in the palace in a secret closet which the King had directed to be constructed in a wall. The door was of iron, whence it was afterwards known by the name of the *iron chest*. The workman employed to construct it, gave information of the circumstance to Roland, who, being anxious to ascertain the truth of the statement, had the imprudence to hasten to the spot unaccompanied by witnesses selected from the Assembly, which gave his enemies occasion to assert that he had

* "Rewbel, born at Colmar in 1746, chief of the barristers in the supreme council of Alsace, was long the agent of several German princes who had possessions in Alsace, and afterwards undertook different causes against them, which, at the time of the Revolution, he represented as a mark of patriotism. In 1791 he presided in the National Assembly, and next to Robespierre, was the member who most plainly showed his desire for a republic. In the following year he earnestly pressed the King's trial, and demanded that the Queen should be included in the same decree of accusation. Rewbel took care to keep in the back-ground during the stormiest period of Robespierre's reign, and after his fall, declared loudly against the Jacobins. He was a violent man, and terminated his legislative career at the overthrow of the Directory, under which his eldest son was adjutant-general."—*Biographie Moderne*

abstracted some of the papers.* There Roland found all the documents relative to the communications which the court had held with the emigrants and with different members of the assemblies. The negotiations with Mirabeau were there detailed, and the memory of the great orator was about to be proscribed, when, at the suggestion of Manuel, his passionate admirer, the committee of public instruction was directed to make a more minute examination of those documents. A commission was afterwards appointed to draw up from these papers a declaration of the facts imputed to Louis XVI. This declaration when prepared was to be submitted to the approval of the Assembly. Louis XVI. was then to appear in person at the bar of the Convention, and to be interrogated by the president upon every article of the declaration. After this examination, two days were to be allowed for his defence, and on the following day judgment was to be pronounced by the vote. The executive power was directed to take all necessary measures for insuring the public tranquillity during the passage of the King to and from the Assembly. These arrangements were decreed on the 9th.

On the 10th the declaration was presented to the Assembly, and the appearance of Louis XVI. was fixed for the following day, December the 11th.†

The unfortunate monarch was thus about to appear before the National Convention, and to undergo an examination concerning all the acts of his reign. This intelligence had reached Clery by the secret means of correspondence which he had secured outside the prison, and it was with trembling that he imparted it to the disconsolate family. Not daring to tell the King himself, he had communicated it to Madame Elizabeth, and had moreover informed her that during the trial the commune had determined to separate Louis XVI. from his family. He agreed with the princess upon a method of corresponding during this separation. This method consisted in a handkerchief which Clery, who was to remain with the King, was to transmit to the princesses, if Louis XVI. should be ill. This was all that the unfortunate prisoners could calculate upon communicating to one another. The King was apprized by his sister of his speedily required appearance, and of the separation which they were to undergo during the trial. He received the tidings with perfect resignation, and prepared to encounter with firmness that painful scene.

The commune had given directions that early in the morning of the 11th all the administrative bodies should meet; that all the sections should be under arms; that the guard of all the public places, chests, dépôts, &c., should be augmented by two hundred men for each post; that numerous reserves should be stationed at different points, with a strong artillery; and that an escort of picked men should accompany the carriage.

Accordingly, on the morning of the 11th, the *generale* announced to the

* "Roland acted very imprudently in examining the contents of the chest, alone and without witnesses, instead of calling in the commissioners who were in the palace at the time. One document of importance was found, which the Jacobins turned into an implement against the Girondins. It was an overture from that party addressed to Louis XVI. shortly before the 10th of August, engaging to oppose the motion for his forfeiture, provided he would recall to his councils, the three discarded ministers of the Girondin party."—*Scott's Life of Napoleon*. E.

† "Early on that day, the dauphin, who often prevailed on his majesty to play a game of Siam with him, was so pressing, that the King, in spite of his situation, could not refuse him. The young prince lost every game, and twice he could get no farther than *sixteen*. 'Whenever,' cried he, in a little pet, 'I get to the point of *sixteen*, I am sure not to win the game.' The King said nothing, but he seemed to feel the singular coincidence of the words."—*Clery*. E

capital this novel and melancholy scene. Numerous troops surrounded the Temple, and the din of arms and the tramp of horses reached the prisoners, who affected ignorance of the cause of all this bustle. At nine in the morning, the family repaired as usual to the King's apartment to breakfast. The municipal officers, more vigilant than ever, prevented, by their presence, any outpouring of affection. The family was at length separated. In vain the King desired that his son should be left with him for a few moments. In spite of his entreaties, the young prince was taken away, and he remained alone for about two hours.* The mayor of Paris, and the *procureur* of the commune then arrived, and communicated to him the decree of the Convention, summoning him to its bar by the name of Louis Capet. "Capet," replied the prince, "was the name of one of my ancestors, but it is not mine." He then rose, and entered the carriage of the mayor, which was waiting for him. Six hundred picked men surrounded the vehicle. It was preceded by three pieces of cannon and followed by three more. A numerous body of cavalry formed the advance and the rear guard. A great concourse of people surveyed in silence this sad cavalcade, and suffered this rigour as it had long submitted to that of the old government. There were some shouts, but very few. The prince was not moved by them, and calmly conversed upon the objects that presented themselves on the way. Having arrived at the Feuillans, he was placed in a room to await the orders of the Assembly.

During this interval, several motions were made relative to the manner in which Louis XVI. should be received. It was proposed that no petition should be heard, that no deputy should be allowed to speak, that no token of approbation or disapprobation should be given to the King. "We must awe him," said Legendre, "by the silence of the grave." Murmurs condemned these cruel words. Defermont proposed that a seat should be provided for the accused. This motion was deemed too just to be put to the vote, and a seat was placed at the bar. Out of a ridiculous vanity, Manuel proposed to discuss the question on the order of the day, that they might not appear to be wholly occupied with the King, even though, he added, they should make him wait at the door. They began accordingly to discuss a law concerning the emigrants.

At length, Santerre communicated the arrival of Louis XVI. Barrère was president. "Citizens," said he, "the eyes of Europe are upon you. Posterity will judge you with inflexible severity; preserve then the dignity and the dispassionate coolness befitting judges. Recollect the awful silence which accompanied Louis, when brought back from Varennes."

* "At eleven o'clock, when the King was hearing the dauphin read, two municipal officers walked in, and told his majesty that they were come to carry the young Louis to his mother. The King desired to know why he was taken away; the commissioners replied, that they were executing the orders of the council of the commune. The King tenderly embraced his son, and charged me to conduct him. On my return, I assured his majesty that I had delivered the prince to the Queen, which appeared a little to relieve his mind. His majesty afterwards for some minutes walked about his room in much agitation, then sat down in an arm-chair at the head of the bed. The door stood ajar, but the officer did not like to go in, wishing, as he told me, to avoid questions; but half an hour passing thus in dead silence, he became uneasy at not hearing the King move, and went softly in; he found him leaning with his head upon his hand, apparently in deep thought. The King, on being disturbed, said, 'What do you want with me?'—'I was afraid,' answered the officer, 'that you were unwell.' 'I am obliged to you,' replied the King, in an accent replete with anguish, 'but the manner in which they have taken my son from me cuts me to the heart.' The municipal officer withdrew, without saying a word."—*Cléry*. E.

It was about half-past two when Louis appeared at the bar. The mayor and Generals Santerre and Wittengoff were at his side. Profound silence pervaded the Assembly. All were touched by the dignity of Louis, by the composure of his looks, under so great a reverse of fortune. The deputies of the centre and the Girondins were deeply affected. Even St. Just, Marat, and Robespierre, felt their fanaticism fail them, and were astonished to find a man in the King whose execution they demanded.

"Be seated,"* said Barrère to Louis, "and answer the questions that shall be put to you." Louis seated himself, and listened to the reading of the *acte énonciatif*, article by article. All the faults of the court were there enumerated and imputed to Louis XVI. personally. He was charged with the interruption of the sittings of the 20th of June, 1789, with the bed of justice held on the 23d of the same month, the aristocratic conspiracy thwarted by the insurrection of the 14th of July, the entertainments of the life-guards, the insults offered to the national cockade, the refusal to sanction the declaration of rights, as well as several constitutional articles; lastly, all the facts which indicated a new conspiracy in October and which were followed by the scenes of the 5th and 6th; the speeches of reconciliation which had succeeded all these scenes, and which promised a change that was not sincere; the false oath taken at the Federation of the 14th of July; the secret practices of Talon and Mirabeau to effect a counter-revolution; the money spent in bribing a great number of deputies; the assemblage of the "knights of the dagger" on the 28th of February, 1791; the flight of Varennes; the fusillade of the Champ de Mars; the silence observed respecting the treaty of Pilnitz; the delay in the promulgation of the decree which incorporated Avignon with France; the commotions at Nîmes, Montauban, Mende, and Jalès; the continuance of their pay to the emigrant life-guards and the disbanded constitutional guard; the insufficiency of the armies assembled on the frontiers; the refusal to sanction the decree for the camp of twenty thousand men; the disarming of the fortresses; the tardy communication of the march of the Prussians; the organization of secret societies in the interior of Paris; the review of the Swiss and the troops composing the garrison of the palace on the morning of the 10th of August; the doubling of that guard; the summoning of the mayor to the Tuileries; and, lastly, the effusion of blood, which had been the consequence of these military dispositions.

By refusing to admit as natural regret for his former power, every point in the conduct of the king was capable of being turned into a crime; for his conduct was but one long regret, mingled with some timid efforts to recover what he had lost. After each article the president paused and said; "What have you to answer?" The King, always answering in a firm voice, denied some of the facts, imputed others to his ministers, and constantly supported

* When the president, Barrère, said to his King, 'Louis, asseyez vous,' we feel more indignation even than when he is accused of crimes which he never committed. One must have sprung from the very dust not to respect past obligations, particularly when misfortune has rendered them sacred; and vulgarity joined to crime inspires us with as much contempt as horror."—*Madame de Staël*. E.

"Barrère escaped during the different ebullitions of the Revolution, because he was a man without principle or character, who changed and adapted himself to every side. He had the reputation of being a man of talent, but I did not find him so. I employed him to write, but he displayed no ability. He used many flowers of rhetoric, but no solid argument."—*Napoleon's Conversations with O'Meara*. E.

nimself upon the constitution, from which he declared that he had never deviated. His answers were all very temperate; but to the charge, *You spilt the blood of the people on the 10th of August*, he exclaimed with emphasis: "No, sir, no; it was not I!"

All the papers were then shown to him, and, availing himself of a respectable privilege, he refused to avow part of them, and disputed the existence of the iron chest. This denial produced an unfavourable effect, and it was impolitic, because the fact was demonstrated. He then demanded a copy of the act of accusation and of the other papers, and counsel to assist him in his defence.

The president signified that he might retire. He partook of some refreshment provided for him in the next room, and then getting into the carriage, was conveyed back to the Temple. He arrived there at half-past six, and the first thing he did was to ask to see his family. This favour was refused, and he was told that the commune had ordered the separation during the proceedings. At half-past eight, when supper was announced, he again desired to kiss his children. The jealousy of the commune rendered all his keepers hardhearted, and this consolation was again denied him.

The Assembly was meanwhile thrown into a tumult in consequence of the application of Louis XVI. for the assistance of counsel. Petion strongly insisted that this application ought to be granted. It was opposed by Tallien,* Chabot, Merlin, and Billaud-Varennes,† who said that it was nothing but an attempt to delay judgment by means of chicanery. The Assembly in the end granted counsel. A deputation was sent to communicate the circumstance to Louis XVI., and to ask whom he would choose. The King named Target, or, if he could not have him, Tronchet,‡ and both if possible. He also desired to be furnished with pen, ink, and paper, in order to prepare his defence, and to be permitted to see his family. The Convention forthwith decided that he should be supplied with materials for writing, that intimation should be given to the two advocates whom he had chosen, that he should be allowed to communicate freely with them, and that he should be allowed to see his family.

Target refused the commission given to him by Louis XVI., assigning as

* "Jean Lambert Tallien, son to the porter of a nobleman, became afterwards an attorney's clerk, and, lastly, corrector of the press in the Moniteur office. On the 10th of August, 1792, he was named secretary-general for the commune, and, from that time, began to play a conspicuous part in the Revolution. He warmly urged the trial of Louis XVI., and opposed the granting him counsel. During the year 1793 he was out on missions, and everywhere conducted himself like a zealous partizan of revolutionary measures. Love, however, appeared all at once to change his character. Madame de Fontenai, whose maiden name was Cabarrus, had come to Bordeaux in order to embark for Spain, whither she was going to join her husband; she was imprisoned, and, fearing to increase the number of victims, she, in order to save her life, flattered the violent passion with which she had inspired Tallien, who, from that time, entirely given up to luxury and pleasure, not only ceased to persecute, but, in 1794, dissolved the military and revolutionary tribunals in Bordeaux. In the same year he was one of those who materially assisted in bringing Robespierre to the scaffold. In 1806, Tallien was commissioner of the board of trade at Alicant."—*Biographie Moderne*. E.

† "Of all the sanguinary monsters, observed Napoleon, who reigned in the Revolution, Billaud de Varennes was the worst."—*Voice from St. Helena*. E.

‡ "One of Napoleon's first acts on becoming First Consul, was to place Tronchet at the head of the Court of Cassation. 'Tronchet,' he said, 'was the soul of the civil code, as I was its demonstrator. He was gifted with a singularly profound and correct understanding, but he could not descend to developments.' Tronchet died in 1806."—*Las Cases*. E.

a reason that he had been obliged to discontinue his practice ever since the year 1785.* Tronchet immediately wrote that he was ready to undertake the defence committed to him; and, while the Assembly was considering of the appointment of a new counsel, a letter was received from a citizen of seventy, the venerable Malesherbes,† the friend and companion of Turgot, and the most respected magistrate in France. The noble veteran wrote as follows to the president: "I have been twice called to be counsel for him who was my master, in times when that duty was coveted by every one: I owe him the same service now that it is a duty which many people deem dangerous." He requested the president to inform Louis XVI. that he was ready to devote himself to his defence.

Many other citizens made the like offers, which were communicated to the King. He declined them all; accepting only Tronchet and Malesherbes. The commune decided that the two counsel should undergo the strictest search before they were admitted to their client. The Convention, which had directed *free communication*, renewed its order, and they were allowed to enter the Temple freely. On seeing Malesherbes, the King ran forward to meet him. The venerable old man sank at his feet and burst into tears. The King raised him, and they remained long clasped in each other's embrace.‡ They immediately fell to work upon his defence. Commissioners of the Assembly brought the documents every day to the Temple, and had directions to communicate them, but not to let them go out of their possession. The King perused them with great attention, and with a composure which every time excited more and more astonishment in the commissioners.

The only consolation which he had solicited, that of seeing his family, had not yet been granted him, notwithstanding the decree of the Convention. The commune, continuing to raise obstacles, had demanded a copy of the decree. "It is to no purpose to order," said Tallien to the Convention; "if the commune does not choose to comply, nothing will come of it." These insolent words had raised a violent tumult. The Assembly, however, modifying its decree, ordered that the king should be allowed to have his two children with him, but on condition that they should not return to their mother till the trial was over. The King, sensible that they were more necessary to their mother, would not take them from her, and submitted to this new sorrow with a resignation which no circumstances could shake.

The further the proceedings advanced, the more the importance of the

* "Cambaceres declared that Target's example endangered public morality. Target attempted in vain to repair the disgrace, by publishing a short defence of the King."—*Lacretelle*. E.

† "Christian William de Lamoignon de Malesherbes, an eminent French statesman, was the son of the Chancellor of France, and was born at Paris in 1721. In the year 1750 he succeeded his father as president of the court of aids, and was also made superintendent of the press, in both which offices he displayed a liberal and enlightened policy. On the banishment of the parliaments and the suppression of the court of aids, Malesherbes was exiled to his country-seat. In 1775 he was appointed minister of state. He took no part in the proceedings which led to the overthrow of the monarchy; but on the decree of the Convention for the King's trial, he emerged from his retreat to become the voluntary advocate of his sovereign. Malesherbes was guillotined in 1794, and almost his whole family were exterminated by their merciless persecutors."—*Encyclopædia Americana*. E.

‡ "The first time M. Malesherbes entered the Temple, the King clasped him in his arms and said, 'Ah, is it you, my friend? You fear not to endanger your own life to save mine; but all will be useless; they will bring me to the scaffold; no matter—I shall gain my cause, if I leave an unspotted memory behind me.'"—*Hue*. E.

question was felt. Some were aware that, to proceed against ancient royalty by regicide, was to involve themselves in an inexorable system of vengeance and cruelty, and to declare war to the death against the old order of things. They would fain abolish that state of things, but they had no wish to destroy it in so violent a manner. Others, on the contrary, were desirous of engaging in this war to the death, which admitted of no weakness, no turning back, and placed an abyss between the monarchy and the Revolution. In this comprehensive question, the person of the King was almost entirely lost sight of; and the inquiry was confined to this one point, whether they ought or ought not to break entirely with the past by a signal and terrible act. They fixed their eyes on the result only, regardless of the victim upon which the stroke was about to fall.

The Girondins, persevering in their attacks on the Jacobins, were continually reminding them of the crimes of September, and holding them up as anarchists who wished to rule the Convention by terror, and to sacrifice the King for the purpose of setting up triumvirs in his stead. Guadet well-nigh succeeded in driving them from the Convention, by procuring a decree that the electoral assemblies of all France should be convoked, in order to confirm or to cashier their deputies. This proposition, decreed and reported in a few minutes, had exceedingly alarmed the Jacobins. Other circumstances annoyed them still more. The federalists continued to arrive from all quarters. The municipalities sent a multitude of addresses, in which, while approving of the republic and congratulating the Assembly on having instituted it, they condemned the crimes and the excesses of anarchy. The affiliated societies still continued to reproach the mother society for harbouring in its bosom bloody-minded men, who perverted the public morals, and were ready to attempt the overthrow of the Convention itself. Some of them denied their mother, declared that they renounced all connection with her, and that at the first signal they would fly to Paris to support the Convention. All of them particularly insisted on the erasure of Marat's name, and some even of that of Robespierre also.

The alarmed Jacobins acknowledged that public opinion was indeed changing for the worse in France; they recommended to each other to keep united, and to lose no time in writing to the provinces for the purpose of enlightening their misled brethren; they accused the traitor Roland of intercepting their correspondence and substituting for it hypocritical papers which perverted people's minds. They proposed a voluntary donation for circulating good papers, and particularly the *admirable* speeches of Robespierre, and sought means for transmitting them in spite of Roland, who, they said, violated the liberty of the post. They agreed, however, on one point, that Marat compromised them by the violence of his writings; and it was necessary, according to them, that the mother society should declare to France, what difference it found between Marat, whose inflammatory disposition carried him beyond all bounds, and the wise and virtuous Robespierre, who, always keeping within proper limits, desired, without weakness, but without exaggeration, what was just and possible. A vehement quarrel ensued between these two. It was admitted that Marat was a man of strong, bold mind, but too hotheaded. He had been serviceable, it was said, to the cause of the people, but he knew not where to stop. Marat's partisans replied that he did not deem it necessary to execute all that he had said, and that he knew better than any one else where to stop. They quoted various expressions of his. Marat had said, "There needs but one Marat in a republic."—"I demand the greater to obtain the less."—"My hand should wither rather

than write, if I thought that the people would literally execute all that I advise."—"I cheat the people, because I know that it is driving a bargain with me." The tribunes had supported this justification of Marat by their applause. The society, however, had resolved to issue an address, in which, describing the characters of Marat and Robespierre, it would show what difference it made between the sound sense of the one, and the vehemence of the other.* After this measure, they purposed adopting several

* Among the singular opinions expressed concerning Marat and Robespierre, must not be omitted that which was put forth by the society of the Jacobins, at their sitting of Sunday, December 23, 1792. I know nothing that furnishes a better picture of the spirit and dispositions of the moment than the discussion which took place relative to the character of those two persons. Here follows an extract from it:

"Desfieux read the correspondence. A letter from a society, whose name has escaped us, gave rise to a warm discussion, which cannot fail to suggest some very important reflections. This society informed the mother society that it was invariably attached to the principles of the Jacobins; it observed that it had not suffered itself to be blinded by the calumnies circulated so profusely against Marat and Robespierre, and that it retained all its esteem and all its veneration for those two incorruptible friends of the people.

"This letter was loudly applauded, but it was followed by a discussion which Brissot and Gorsas, who are most assuredly prophets, had predicted on the preceding day.

"*Robert.*—It is very astonishing that the names of Marat and Robespierre are always coupled together. How corrupt the public mind must be in the departments, since no difference is made between these two defenders of the people! Both possess virtue, it is true. Marat is a patriot, he has estimable qualities, I admit, but how different is he from Robespierre! The latter is discreet, moderate in his means, whereas Marat is exaggerated, and has not that discretion which characterizes Robespierre. It is not sufficient to be a patriot; in order to serve the people usefully, it is necessary to be reserved in the means of execution, and most assuredly Robespierre surpasses Marat in the means of execution.

"It is high time, citizens, to tear off the veil which hides the truth from the eyes of the departments. It is high time that they should know that we can distinguish between Robespierre and Marat. Let us write to the affiliated societies what we think of those two citizens; for I confess I am a staunch partisan of Robespierre, and yet I am not a partisan of Marat. (*Murmurs in the tribunes and in part of the hall.*)

"*Bourdon.*—We ought long since to have acquainted the affiliated societies with our opinion of Marat. How could they ever connect Marat and Robespierre together! Robespierre is a truly virtuous man, with whom we have no fault to find from the commencement of the Revolution. Robespierre is moderate in his means, whereas Marat is a violent writer, who does great harm to the Jacobins (*murmurs*); and, besides, it is right to observe that Marat does us great injury with the National Convention. The deputies imagine that we are partisans of Marat; we are called Maratists; if we show that we duly appreciate Marat, then you will see the deputies draw nearer the Mountain where we sit, you will see them come into the bosom of this society, you will see the affiliated societies that have gone astray return and rally anew around the cradle of liberty. If Marat is a patriot, he must accede to the motion that I am going to make. Marat ought to sacrifice himself to the cause of liberty. I move that his name be erased from the list of the members of this society."

"This motion excited some applause, violent murmurs in part of the hall, and vehement agitation in the tribunes.

"It will be recollected, that a week before this scene of a new kind, Marat had been covered with applause in the society; the population of the tribunes, which has a memory, recollected this circumstance perfectly well; it could not conceive that so speedily a change had been wrought in opinions; and, as the moral instinct of the people is always just, it was highly indignant at the motion of Bourdon: the people therefore defended their *virtuous friend*; they did not imagine that in a week he could have forfeited his claim to the regard of the society; for, though it may be said that ingratitude is a virtue of republics, it will be very difficult to accustom the French people to this kind of virtue.

"The coupling of the names of Marat and Robespierre was not revolting to the people. Their ears had long been accustomed to their being so united in the correspondence; and, after witnessing the indignation of the society on several occasions, when the clubs of the other departments demanded the expulsion of Marat, they did not deem it right on this day to support the motion of Bourdon.

others, and in particular they intended to demand continually the departure of the federalists for the frontiers. If news arrived that the army of Dnmouriez was weakened by desertion, they cried out that it was indispensably necessary to send off federalists to reinforce it. Marat wrote that the volunteers who had first marched had been gone above a year, and that it was time to send off those who were sojourning in Paris to relieve them. Intelligence had just been received that Custine had been obliged to give up Frankfort, and that Beurnonville had unsuccessfully attacked the electorate of Treves; and the Jacobins maintained that, if these two generals had had with them the federalists who were uselessly loitering in the capital, they would not have experienced these checks.

The various accounts of the useless attempt of Beurnonville, and the check sustained by Custine, had strongly agitated the public mind. Both these circumstances might easily have been foreseen, for Beurnonville, attacking inaccessible positions in an unfavourable season and without sufficient means, could not possibly succeed; and Custine, persisting in not falling back spontaneously upon the Rhine, lest he should confess his temerity, was sure to be forced to a retreat upon Mayence. Public misfortunes furnish parties with occasions for reproach. The Jacobins, hating the generals suspected of aristocracy, declaimed against them, and accused them of being Feuillans, and Girondins. Marat did not fail to inveigh anew against the mania of conquest, which, he said, he had always condemned, and which was nothing but a disguised ambition of the generals to attain a formidable degree of power. Robespierre, directing the censure according to the suggestions of his hatred, maintained that it was not the generals who ought to be accused,

"A citizen of an affiliated society pointed out to the society how dangerous it was in fact to join together the names of Marat and Robespierre. 'In the departments,' said he, 'a great difference is made between Marat and Robespierre; but they are surprised at the silence of the society concerning the differences which exist between those two patriots. I propose to the society, after it has decided the fate of Marat, to make no further mention of affiliation—a word that ought never to be uttered in a republic—but to employ the term *fraternization*.'

"*Dufourny*.—'I oppose the motion for expelling Marat from the society. (*Vehement applause*.) I will not deny the difference that exists between Marat and Robespierre. These two writers, who may resemble one another in patriotism, have very striking differences. They have both served the cause of the people, but in different ways. Robespierre has defended the true principles with method, with firmness, and with all becoming discretion; Marat, on the contrary, has frequently passed the bounds of sound reason and prudence. Still, though admitting the difference that exists between Marat and Robespierre, I am not in favour of the erasure: it is possible to be just without being ungrateful to Marat. Marat has been useful to us; he has served the Revolution with courage. (*Vehement applause from the society and the tribunes*.) There would be ingratitude in striking him out of the list. (*Yes, yes, from all quarters*.) Marat has been a necessary man. Revolutions have need of strong heads, capable of uniting states; and Marat is one of those rare men who are necessary for the overthrow of despotism. (*Applause*.) I conclude with proposing that the motion of Bourdon be rejected, and that merely a letter be written to the affiliated societies to acquaint them with the difference that we make between Marat and Robespierre.' (*Applause*.)

"The society resolved that it will cease to use the term affiliation, deeming it offensive to republican equality, and substitute the word fraternization in its stead. The society then resolved that Marat should not be erased from the list of its members, but that a circular shall be sent to all the societies having the right of fraternization, in which shall be detailed the resemblances and the differences, the conformities and the difformities, which may be found between Marat and Robespierre, that all those who fraternize with the Jacobins may be able to pronounce, with a thorough knowledge of circumstances, respecting those two defenders of the people, and that they may at length learn to separate two names which they invariably but erroneously couple together."

but the infamous faction which controlled the Assembly and the executive power. The traitor Roland, the intriguing Brissot, the scoundrels Louvet, Guadet, and Vergniaud, were the authors of all the calamities of France. He longed to be the first whom they should murder, but he desired above all things to have the pleasure of denouncing them. Dumouriez and Custine, he added, knew them, and took care not to class themselves along with them;—but everybody feared them, because they had at their disposal money, places, and all the resources of the republic. Their intention was to make themselves its masters; to this end they fettered all genuine patriots; they prevented the developement of their energy, and thus exposed France to the risk of being conquered by her enemies. Their principal intention was to destroy the society of the Jacobins and to butcher all who should have the courage to oppose them. “And for my part,” exclaimed Robespierre, “I desire to be assassinated by Roland!” (Sitting of the 12th of December.)

This furious hatred, spreading throughout the society, agitated it like a stormy sea. It promised itself a mortal combat against the faction. It renounced beforehand all idea of reconciliation, and as there had been talk of a fresh plan of compromise, its members bound themselves never on any account to *kiss and be friends*.

Similar scenes were occurring in the Assembly during the time allowed to Louis XVI. for preparing his defence. Every opportunity was seized for repeating that the royalists were everywhere threatening the patriots and circulating pamphlets in favour of the King. Thuriot proposed an expedient which was to punish with death any one who should conceive the design of breaking the unity of the republic, or separating any portion from it. This was a decree directed against the fable of federalism, that is, against the Girondins. Buzot lost no time in replying by another decree, and insisted on the exile of the Orleans family. The parties charged each other with falsehood, and revenged themselves for calumnies by other calumnies. While the Jacobins accused the Girondins of federalism, the latter reproached the former with destroying the throne for the Duke of Orleans, and with desiring the sacrifice of Louis XVI. merely for the purpose of rendering it vacant.

The Duke of Orleans* lived in Paris striving in vain to make himself be forgotten in the bosom of the Convention. This place most assuredly was not suited to him, amidst furious demagogues. But whither was he to fly? In Europe, the emigrants were ready for him, and insult, nay, perhaps even death, threatened this kinsman of royalty, who had repudiated his birthright and his rank. In France, he strove to disguise that rank under the humblest titles, and he called himself *Egalité*. But still there remained the ineffaceable remembrance of his former existence, and the ever-present testimony of his immense wealth. Unless he were to put on rags, and render himself

* “The conduct of this nobleman all through the Revolution was, in my opinion, uncalled for, indecent, and profligate, and his fate not unmerited. Persons situated as he was, cannot take a decided part one way or the other, without doing violence either to the dictates of reason and justice, or to all their natural sentiments; unless they are characters of that heroic stamp, as to be raised above suspicion or temptation; the only way for all others is to stand aloof from a struggle, in which they have no alternative, but to commit a parricide on their country, or their friends; and to await the issue in silence and at a distance. No confidence can be placed in those excesses of public principle, which are founded on the sacrifice of every private affection and of habitual self-esteem.”—*Hazlitt's Life of Napoleon*. E.

contemptible by dint of cynicism, how was he to escape suspicion? In the ranks of the Girondins, he would have been undone the very first day, and all the charges of royalism preferred against them would have been justified. In those of the Jacobins, he would have the violence of Paris for a support, but he could not have escaped the accusations of the Girondins; and this it was that actually befel him. The latter, never forgiving him for having joined the ranks of their enemies, supposed that, to make himself endurable, he lavished his wealth on anarchists, and lent them the aid of his mighty fortune.

The suspicious Louvet thought better of him, and sincerely believed that he still cherished the hope of royalty. Without sharing that opinion, but for the purpose of combating the sally of Thuriot by another, Buzot ascended the tribune. "If," said he, "the decree proposed by Thuriot is calculated to restore confidence, I am going to propose one which will do so in no less a degree. The monarchy is overthrown, but it still lives in the habits, in the memory, of its ancient creatures. Let us imitate the Romans. They expelled Tarquin and his family: like them let us expel the family of the Bourbons. One part of that family is in confinement; but there is another, far more dangerous, because it was more popular—I mean that of Orleans. The bust of Orleans was paraded through Paris. His sons, boiling with courage, are distinguishing themselves in our armies, and the very merits of that family render it dangerous to liberty. Let it make a last sacrifice to the country by exiling itself from her bosom; let it carry elsewhere the misfortune of having stood near the throne, and the still greater misfortune of bearing a name which is hateful to us, and which cannot fail to shock the ear of a free man."

Louvet followed Buzot, and, apostrophizing Orleans himself, reminded him of the voluntary exile of Collatinus, and exhorted him to follow his example. Lanjuinais referred to the elections of Paris, at which Orleans was returned, and which were held under the daggers of the anarchical faction. He referred to the efforts that had been made to appoint a chancellor of the house of Orleans to the post of minister at war, and to the influence which the sons of that family had acquired in the army; and for all these reasons he moved the banishment of the Bourbons. Bazire, St. Just, and Chabot, opposed the motion, rather out of opposition to the Girondins than kindness for Orleans. They maintained that it was not the moment to persecute the only one of the Bourbons who had conducted himself with sincerity towards the nation; that they must first punish the Bourbon prisoner, then frame a constitution, and afterwards turn their attention to such citizens as had become dangerous; that, at any rate, to send Orleans out of France was to send him to death, and they ought at least to defer that cruel measure. Banishment was nevertheless decreed by acclamation. The only point, then, was to fix the period of banishment in drawing up the decree. "Since you resort to the ostracism against Egalité," said Merlin, "employ it against all dangerous men, and first and foremost I demand it against the executive power."—"Against Roland!" exclaimed Albitte. "Against Roland and Pache!" added Barrère, "who are become a cause of dissension among us. Let them both be banished from the ministry, to give us back tranquillity and union." Kersant, however, was apprehensive lest England should take advantage of this disorganization of the ministry to commence a disastrous war against us, as she did in 1757, when d'Argenson and Mackau were dismissed.

Rewbel asked if a representative of the people could be banished, and if Philip Egalité did not belong in that quality to the nation which had deputed him.

These different observations checked the excitement. The Assembly stopped short, reverted to the original motion, and, without revoking the decree of banishment against the Bourbons, adjourned the discussion for three days, to allow men's minds time to become calm and to weigh more maturely the question whether Egalité could be banished, and whether the two ministers of the interior and of war could be superseded without danger.

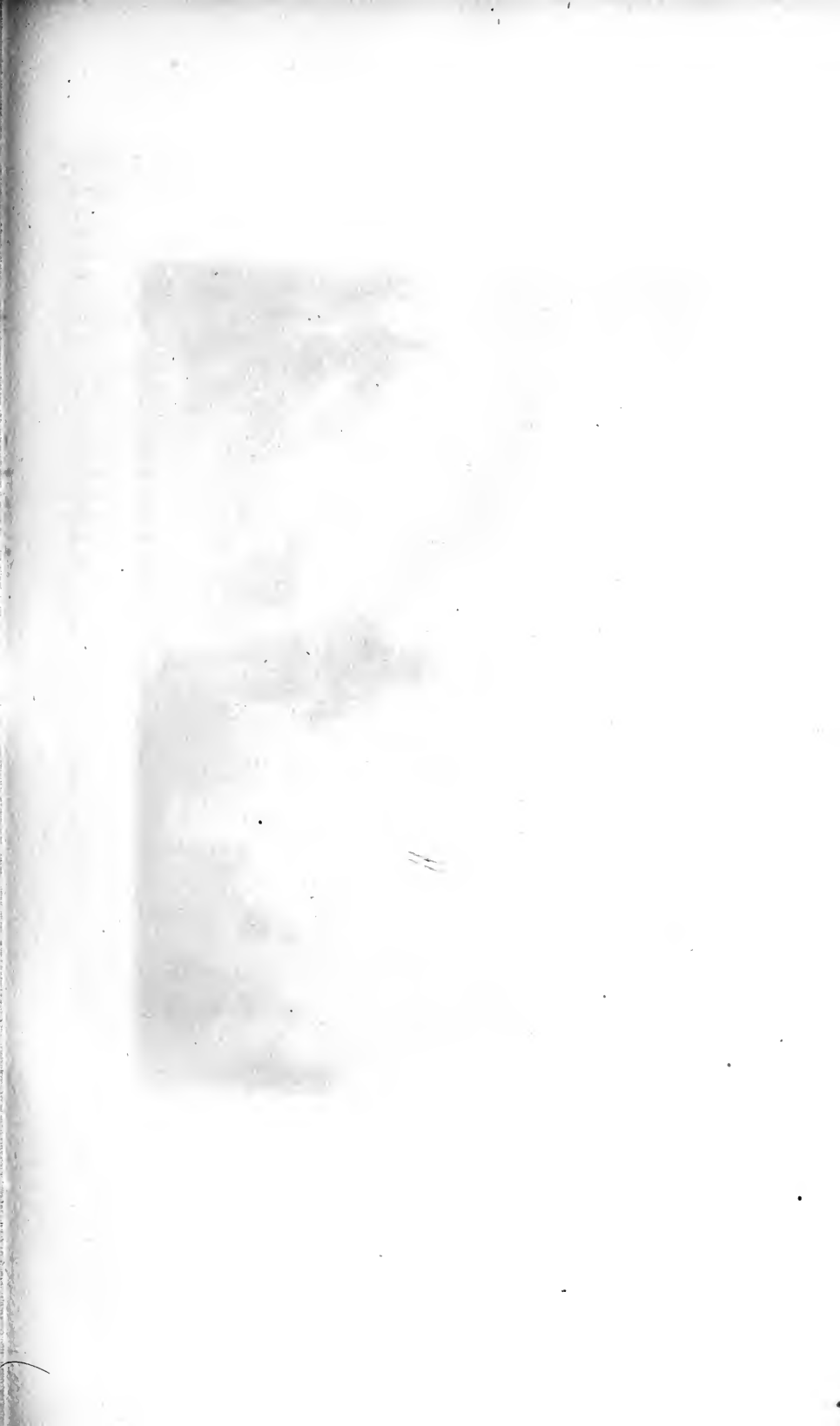
It is easy to conceive the tumult that prevailed in the sections, at the commune, and at the Jacobins, after this discussion. On all sides the ostracism was called for, and petitions were prepared, praying for the resumption of the discussion. The three days having elapsed, the discussion was resumed. The mayor came at the head of the sections to apply for the report of the decree. The Assembly passed to the order of the day, after the reading of the address; but Petion, seeing what a tumult this question excited, proposed its adjournment till after the trial of Louis XVI. This sort of compromise was adopted, and then the victim against whom all passions were whetted was anew assailed. The celebrated trial was therefore immediately resumed.

The time granted to Louis XVI. for preparing his defence was scarcely sufficient for the examination of the immense mass of materials upon which it was to be founded. His two defenders demanded permission to associate with themselves a third, younger and more active, to draw up and to deliver the defence, while they would seek and prepare matter for it. This young adjunct was Desèze,* the advocate, who had defended Bezenval after the 14th of July. The Convention, having granted the defence, did not refuse an additional counsel, and Desèze, like Malesherbes and Tronchet, had free access to the Temple. The papers were carried thither every day by a commission, and shown to Louis XVI., who received them with great coolness, "just as if the proceedings concerned some other person," said a report of the commune. He showed the greatest politeness to the commissioners, and had refreshments brought for them when the sittings lasted longer than usual. While he was thus engaged with his trial, he had devised a method of corresponding with his family. The papers and pens furnished for the purpose of his defence enabled him to write to it, and the princesses pricked their answer upon the paper with a pin. Sometimes these notes were doubled up in balls of thread, which an attendant belonging to the kitchen threw under the table when he brought in the dishes; sometimes they were let down by a string from one story to the other. The unhappy prisoners thus acquainted each other with the state of their health, and it was a great consolation to them to know that they were all well.

At length, M. Desèze, labouring night and day, completed his defence. The King insisted on retrenching from it all that was too rhetorical, and on confining it to the mere discussion of the points which it was essential to urge.† On the 26th, at half-past nine in the morning, the whole armed force

* "Raymond Desèze was of an ancient family. His father was a celebrated parliamentary advocate at Bordeaux, in which town Raymond was born in 1750. He displayed uncommon talents in the legal profession, and was intrusted with the defence of Louis XVI. which was considered a masterpiece. He survived the Reign of Terror, and refused all office under Napoleon. On the return of the Bourbons, he was appointed first president of the court of cassation, and grand treasurer of the royal order. He was afterwards made a peer of France. Desèze died at Paris in 1828."—*Encyclopædie Americana*. E.

† "When the pathetic peroration of M. Desèze was read to the King, the evening before



THE RECEPTION OF THE AMERICAN DELEGATION.



Illustration.

was in motion to conduct him from the Temple to the Feuillans, with the same precautions and in the same order as had been observed on the former occasion. Riding in the carriage of the mayor, he conversed on the way with the same composure as usual; talked of Seneca, of Livy, of the hospitals; he even addressed a very neat joke to one of the municipal officers who sat in his carriage with his hat on.* Arrived at the Feuillans, he showed great anxiety for his defenders; he seated himself beside them in the Assembly, surveyed with great composure the benches where his accusers and his judges sat, seemed to examine their faces with the view of discovering the impression produced by the pleading of M. Desèze, and more than once he conversed smiling with Tronchet and Malesherbes. The Assembly received his defence in sullen silence and without any tokens of disapprobation.

The advocate considered in the first place the principles of law, and in the second the facts imputed to Louis XVI. Though the Assembly, in deciding that the King should be tried by it, had explicitly decreed that the inviolability could not be invoked, M. Desèze very ably demonstrated that nothing could limit the defence, and that it remained intact even after the decree; that, consequently, if Louis deemed the inviolability maintainable, he had a right to lay stress on it. He was obliged at the outset to admit the sovereignty of the people; and with all the defenders of the constitution of 1791, he insisted that the sovereignty, though absolute mistress, could bind itself; that it had chosen to do so in regard to Louis XVI. in stipulating the inviolability; that it had not willed an absurd thing according to the system of the monarchy; that, consequently, the engagement ought to be executed; and that all possible crimes, had the king been guilty of them, could not be punished otherwise than by dethronement. He asserted that without this the constitution of 1791 would be but a barbarous snare laid for Louis XVI., since a promise would have been made him with the secret intention of not performing it. He then said that, if Louis was denied his rights as King, those of citizen ought at least to be left him; and he asked where were the conservative forms which every citizen had a right to claim, such as the distinction between the jury of accusation and that of judgment, the faculty of rejection, the majority of the two-thirds, the secret vote, and the silence of the judges while forming their opinions.

He added with a boldness that met with nothing but absolute silence, that he sought everywhere for judges, and found none but accusers. He then proceeded to the discussion of the facts, which he classed under two heads, those which had preceded, and those which had followed, the acceptance of the constitutional act. The former were shielded by the acceptance of that act; the latter by the inviolability. Still, he refused not to discuss them, and he did so with advantage, because a multitude of insignificant circumstances had been collected, in default of precise proof of concert with foreigners, of which people felt persuaded, but of which no positive evidence had yet been obtained. He repelled victoriously the charge of shedding French blood on the 10th of August. On that day, in fact, the aggressor was not Louis XVI., but the people. It was lawful for Louis XVI., when attacked, to strive to

it was to be delivered to the Assembly, 'I have to request of you,' he said, 'to make a painful sacrifice; strike out of your pleading the peroration. It is enough for me to appear before such judges, and show my entire innocence; I will not move their feelings.'—*Lacretelle*. E.

* "When Santerre took the King to his trial, he kept on his hat the whole way; on which his majesty jocularly remarked, 'The last time, sir, you conveyed me to the Temple, in your hurry you forgot your hat, and now, I perceive, you are determined to make up for the omission.'—*Hazlitt's Life of Napoleon*. E.

defend himself and to take the necessary precautions. The magistrates themselves had approved this course, and had given the troops a formal order to repel force by force. Notwithstanding this, said M. Desèze, the King, unwilling to avail himself of this authority, which he held both from nature and the law, had withdrawn into the bosom of the legislative body, for the purpose of avoiding bloodshed. With the conflict that followed he had nothing to do. Nay, it ought to earn him thanks rather than vengeance, since it was in compliance with an order from his hand, that the Swiss gave up the defence of the palace, and their lives. It was, therefore, a crying injustice to charge Louis XVI. with having spilt French blood. On that point he had been irreproachable. He had, on the contrary, proved himself to be full of delicacy and humanity.

The advocate concluded with this brief and just passage ; the only one in which the virtues of Louis XVI. were touched upon :

“ Louis ascended the throne at the age of twenty, and at the age of twenty he gave, upon the throne, an example of morality. He carried to it no culpable weakness, no corrupting passion. In that station he was economical, just, and severe, and proved himself the constant friend of the people. The people wished for the abolition of a disastrous impost which oppressed them ;—he abolished it. The people demanded the abolition of servitude ;—he began by abolishing it himself in his domains. The people solicited reforms in the criminal legislation to alleviate the condition of accused persons ;—he made those reforms. The people desired that thousands of Frenchmen, whom the rigour of our customs had till then deprived of the rights belonging to the citizens, might either acquire or be restored to those rights ;—he extended that benefit to them by his laws. The people wanted liberty ; and he conferred it. He even anticipated their wishes by his sacrifices ; and yet it is in the name of this very people that men are now demanding—Citizens, I shall not finish—I pause before history. Consider that it will judge your judgment, and that its judgment will be that of ages !”

As soon as his defender had finished, Louis XVI. delivered a few observations which he had written. “ My means of defence,” said he, “ are now before you. I shall not repeat them. In addressing you, perhaps for the last time, I declare that my conscience reproaches me with nothing, and that my defenders have told you the truth.

“ I was never afraid that my conduct should be publicly examined ; but it wounds me to the heart to find in the act of accusation the imputation that I caused the blood of the people to be spilt, and, above all, that the calamitous events of the 10th of August are attributed to me.

“ I confess that the multiplied proofs which I have given at all times of my love for the people, and the manner in which I have always conducted myself, ought in my opinion to demonstrate that I was not afraid to expose myself in order to prevent bloodshed, and to clear me for ever from such an imputation.”*

The president then asked Louis XVI. if he had anything more to say in his defence. Louis having declared that he had not, the president informed him that he might retire. Conducted to an adjoining room with his counsel,

* “ The example of Charles I., who had proceeded to extremities with the parliament and lost his head, prevented Louis on many occasions from making the defence which he ought to have done against the Revolutionists. When brought to trial, he ought merely to have said that by the law, he could do no wrong, and that his person was sacred. It would have had no effect in saving his life, but he would have died with more dignity.”—*Voice from St Helena*. E.

he showed great anxiety about young Desèze, who appeared to be fatigued with the long defence. In riding back, he conversed with the same serenity with those who accompanied him, and reached the Temple at five o'clock.

No sooner had he left the hall of the Convention, than a violent tumult arose there. Some were for opening the discussion. Others, complaining of the everlasting delays which postponed the decision of this process, demanded the vote immediately, remarking that, in every court, after the accused had been heard, the judges proceed to give their opinion. Lanjuinais harboured from the commencement of the proceedings an indignation, which his impetuous disposition no longer suffered him to repress.* He darted to the tribune, and, amidst the cries excited by his presence, he demanded not the postponement of the discussion, but the annulling of the proceedings altogether. He exclaimed that the days of ferocious men were gone by, that the Assembly ought not to be so dishonoured as to be made to sit in judgment on Louis XVI., that no authority in France had that right, and the Assembly in particular had no claim to it; that if it resolved to act as a political body, it could do no more than take measures of safety against the *ci-devant* King; but that if it was acting as a court of justice it was overstepping all principles, for it was subjecting the vanquished to be tried by the very conqueror: since most of the present members had declared themselves the conspirators of the 10th of August. At the word *conspirators*, a tremendous uproar arose on all sides. Cries of *Order! To the Abbaye! Down with the Tribune!* were heard. Lanjuinais strove in vain to justify the word *conspirators*, saying that he meant it to be taken in a favourable sense, and that the 10th of August was a glorious conspiracy. He proceeded amidst noise, and concluded with declaring that he would rather die a thousand deaths than condemn, contrary to all laws, even the most execrable of tyrants.

A great number of speakers followed, and the confusion kept continually increasing. The members, determined not to hear any more, mingled together, formed groups, abused, and threatened, one another. After a tempest of an hour's duration, tranquillity was at last restored, and the Assembly, adopting the opinion of those who demanded the discussion on the trial of Louis XVI., declared that the discussion was opened, and that it should be continued to the exclusion of all other business, till sentence should be passed.

The discussion was, therefore, resumed on the 27th. The numerous speakers who had already been heard again appeared at the tribune. Among these was St. Just. The presence of Louis XVI., humbled, vanquished, and still serene in misfortune, had caused some objections to arise in his mind. But he answered these objections by calling Louis a modest and supple tyrant, who had oppressed with modesty, who defended himself with modesty, and against whose insinuating mildness it was necessary to be guarded with the greatest care. He convoked the States-general, but it was

* "J. D. Lanjuinais, an advocate and professor of civil law, was one of the original founders of the Breton club, which afterwards became the Jacobin society. In 1792 he was deputed to the Convention; but, in proportion to the increasing horrors of the Revolution, he became more moderate in his principles. On the King's trial, he declared that his majesty was guilty, and voted for his imprisonment, and his exile when a peace should take place. In 1794 the Convention outlawed him, but, having evaded all research, he solicited to be reinstated in the legislative body, and was recalled in 1795. In the year 1800, Lanjuinais became a member of the conservative senate, and showed himself, on several occasions, the inflexible defender of the true principles of morality and justice."—*Biographie Moderne*. E

with a view to humble the nobility and to reign by causing division. Accordingly, when he saw the power of the States rising so rapidly, he strove to destroy it. On the 14th of July, and on the 5th and 6th of October, he was seen secretly amassing means for crushing the people; but every time that his plots were thwarted by the national energy, he pretended to change his conduct, and manifested a hypocritical joy—a joy that was not natural, at his own defeat and the victory of the people. Subsequently, having it no longer in his power to employ force, he plotted with foreigners, and placed his ministers in the most embarrassing situation, so that one of them wrote to him, “Your secret relations prevent me from executing the laws, and I shall resign.” In short, he had employed all the means of the deepest perfidy till the 10th of August; and now he still put on a feigned mildness, to warp his judges, and to escape from their hands.

It was in this light that the very natural indecision of Louis XVI. appeared to a violent mind, which discovered a wilful and premeditated perfidy where there was nothing but weakness and regret of the past. Other speakers followed St. Just, and considerable impatience was felt that the Girondins should express their sentiments. They had not yet spoken, and it was high time for them to explain themselves. We have already seen how undecided they were, how disposed to be moved, and how prone to excuse in Louis XVI. a resistance, which they were more capable of comprehending than their adversaries. Vergniaud admitted, with a few friends, how deeply his feelings were affected.* The others, without being so sensibly touched, perhaps, were all disposed to interest themselves in behalf of the victim; and in this situation they devised an expedient which evinces their sympathy and the embarrassment of their position. That expedient was an appeal to the people. To rid themselves of a dangerous responsibility, and to throw upon the nation the charge of barbarity if the King should be condemned, or that of royalism if he should be acquitted, was the aim of the Girondins; and this was an act of weakness. Since they were touched by the sight of the deep distress of Louis XVI., they ought to have had the courage to defend him themselves, and not kindle civil war by referring to the forty-four thousand sections into which France was divided, a question that was likely to array all the parties against one another, and to rouse the most furious passions. They ought to have seized the authority with a strong hand, and to have had the courage to employ it themselves, without shifting from their own shoulders to those of the multitude an affair of which it was incapable, and which would have exposed the country to frightful confusion.† Here

* “It is known that, throughout the King’s trial, the deputy Vergniaud seemed in despair, and passed the whole night immediately after the monarch’s condemnation in tears; and it is probable that the same night was as dreadful to all his colleagues, if we except a small number, who, in their absurd ferocity, declared in the National Assembly that Louis XVI. deserved death for the single crime of being a king, and condemned him merely because they wished to destroy royalty.”—*Bertrand de Molleville*. E.

† “The Girondins, said Napoleon, condemned the King to death, and yet the majority of them had voted for the appeal to the people, which was intended to save him. This forms the inexplicable part of their conduct. Had they wished to preserve his life, they had the power to do so; nothing more would have been necessary than to adjourn the sentence, or condemn him to exile or transportation. But to condemn him to death, and at the same time endeavour to make his fate depend on a popular vote, was the height of imprudence and absurdity; it was, after having destroyed the monarchy, to endeavour to tear France in pieces by a civil war. It was this false combination which ruined them. Vergniaud, their main pillar, was the very man who proclaimed, as president, the death of Louis; and he did this at the moment when the force of their party was such in the Assembly, that it required

the Girondins gave their adversaries an immense advantage, by authorizing them to assert that they were fomenting civil war, and giving them reason to suspect their courage and their sincerity. Hence some did not fail to say at the club of the Jacobins, that those who wished to acquit Louis XVI. were more sincere and more estimable than those who were for appealing to the people. But such is the usual conduct of moderate parties. Behaving on this occasion as on the 2d and 3d of September, the Girondins hesitated to compromise themselves for a king whom they considered as an enemy, and who, they were persuaded, had meant to destroy them by the sword of foreigners; yet, moved at the sight of this vanquished enemy, they strove to defend him, they were indignant at the violence committed in regard to him, and they did enough to ruin themselves without doing sufficient to save him.

Salles,* who, of all the members of the Assembly, lent himself most readily to the fancies of Louvet, and who even surpassed him in the supposition of imaginary plots, first proposed and supported the system of appeal to the people in the sitting of the 27th. Giving up the conduct of Louis XVI. to all the censure of the republicans, and admitting that it deserved all the severity that it was possible to exercise, he insisted nevertheless that it was not an act of vengeance, but a great political act that it was incumbent on the Assembly to perform. He maintained, therefore, that it was with reference to the public interest that the question ought to be decided. Now, in both cases, of acquittal or of condemnation, he perceived prodigious inconveniences. Acquittal would be an everlasting cause of discord, and the King would become the rallying-point of all the parties. The Assembly would be continually reminded of his attempts by way of reproach for its indulgence: this impunity would be a public scandal, which might perhaps occasion popular commotions and furnish a pretext to all the agitators. The atrocious wretches who had already convulsed the state by their crimes would not fail to avail themselves of this impunity to perpetrate fresh horrors, as they had availed themselves of the listlessness of the tribunals to commit the massacres of September. In short, the Convention would be accused on all sides of not having had the courage to put an end to so many agitations, and to found the republic by an energetic and terrible example.

If condemned, the King would bequeath to his family all the pretensions of his race, and bequeath them to brothers more dangerous, because they were in less disrepute for weakness. The people, seeing no longer the crimes but the punishment, would perhaps begin to pity the fate of the King, and the factions would find in this disposition another medium of exaspe-

several months' labour, and more than one popular insurrection, to overturn it. That party might have ruled the Convention, destroyed the Mountain, and governed France, if they had at once pursued a manly, straightforward conduct. It was the refinements of metaphysicians which occasioned their fall."—*Las Cases*. E.

* "J. B. Salles, a physician at Vezelise, was a man of an enlightened mind and acute penetration, and showed himself a warm partizan of the Revolution. After the overthrow of monarchy on the 10th of August, he was appointed deputy to the National Convention, and became one of the founders of the Republic. In this Assembly he voted for the confinement of Louis XVI., and his banishment, on the conclusion of peace. In 1793, he boldly denounced Marat as exciting the people to murder and pillage, and as having solicited them, especially in his journal, to hang monopolizers at the doors of their magazines. Being outlawed by the Jacobin faction, Salles wandered for a long time from asylum to asylum, and from cavern to cavern, but was at length seized at the house of Guadet's father, tried at Bordeaux, and executed in 1794. Salles was thirty-four years of age."—*Biographie Moderne*. E.

rating them against the National Convention. The sovereigns of Europe would keep a dead silence, awaiting an event, which must, they would hope, awaken general indignation; but the moment the head of the King should have fallen, that moment all of them, profiting by this pretext, would rush at once upon France to tear her in pieces. Then, perhaps, France, blinded by her sufferings, would reproach the Convention for an act which had brought upon her a cruel and disastrous war.

"Such," said Salles, "is the dire alternative offered to the National Convention. In such a situation, it is for the nation itself to decide and to fix its own fate in fixing that of Louis XVI. The danger of civil war is chimerical; for civil war did not break out when the primary assemblies were convoked for the purpose of appointing a convention, which was to decide upon the fate of France; and as little apprehension of it appears to be entertained on an occasion quite as momentous, since to these same primary assemblies is referred the sanction of the constitution. It is idle to oppose the delays and difficulties of a new deliberation in forty-four thousand assemblies; for the point is not to deliberate, but to choose without discussion between two courses proposed by the Convention. Let the question be thus propounded to the primary assemblies: 'Shall Louis XVI. be punished with death, or detained till the peace?—and let them answer in these words; *Detained or Put to death.* With extraordinary couriers, the answers may arrive in a fortnight from the remotest extremities of France.'

Very different were the feelings with which this opinion was listened to. Serres, deputy of the Hautes Alpes, retracted his first opinion, which was in favour of judgment, and demanded the appeal to the people. Barbaroux combatted the justification of Louis XVI. without adopting any conclusions, for he durst not acquit contrary to the opinion of his constituents, nor condemn against that of his friends. Buzot declared for the appeal to the people, but he modified the proposition of Salles, desiring that the Convention should itself take the initiative by voting for death, and requiring of the primary assemblies the mere sanction of that sentence. Rabaut St. Etienne,* the Protestant minister, who had already distinguished himself by his talents in the Constituent Assembly, was indignant at the accumulation of powers ogated to itself by the Convention. "For my part," said he, "I am weary of my portion of despotism. I am fatigued, harassed, tormented, with the tyranny which I exercise for my share, and I long for the moment when you shall have created a tribunal that shall divest me of the forms and the look of a tyrant. You seek reasons of policy. Those reasons are in history. Those people of London, who had so strongly urged the execution of the King, were the first to curse his judges, and to fall pros-

* "J. P. Rabaut St. Etienne, a lawyer, a man of letters, and a minister of the reformed religion, was an ardent convert of the Revolution, and a sworn enemy to the Catholic clergy. He was one of those whose sectarian spirit added greatly to the Revolutionary enthusiasm. When, however, he had only monarchy to contend against, he became more moderate. On the occasion of the King's trial, he forcibly combatted the opinion of those who desired that the Convention should itself try Louis. At the time of the nominal appeal concerning the punishment to be inflicted on the King, St. Etienne voted for his confinement, and his banishment in the event of a peace, as well as for the appeal to the people to confirm the sentence. In 1793, he was president of the National Convention; but, opposing the Terrorist party, a decree of outlawry was passed against him, and he was executed at Paris, having been delivered up by an old friend, of whom he went to beg an asylum. Rabaut St. Etienne was fifty years of age, and a native of Nîmes. He was the author of 'Letters on the Primitive History of Greece,' and of an 'Historic Summary of the French Revolution.' He also assisted in editing the 'Moniteur.'"—*Biographie Moderne.* E.

trate before his successor. When Charles II. ascended the throne, the City gave him a magnificent entertainment, the people indulged in the most extravagant rejoicings, and ran to witness the execution of those same judges whom Charles sacrificed to the manes of his father. People of Paris, parliament of France, have ye heard me?"

Faure moved for copies of all the decrees issued relative to the trial. At length, the gloomy Robespierre again came forward, full of wrath and bitterness. He, too, he said, had been touched, and had felt republican virtue waver in his heart, at the sight of the culprit, humbled before the sovereign power. But the last proof of devotedness due to the country was to stifle every movement of sensibility. He then repeated all that he had said on the competence of the Convention, on the everlasting delays thrown in the way of the national vengeance, on the indulgence shown to the tyrant, while the warmest friends of liberty were attacked without any kind of reserve. He declared that this appeal to the people was but a resource similar to that devised by Guadet, when he moved for the purificatory scrutiny, that this perfidious resource was designed to unsettle everything—the actual deputation, and the 10th of August, and the republic itself. Constantly reverting to himself and his enemies, he compared their existing situation with that of July, 1791, when it was proposed to try Louis XVI. on account of his flight to Varennes. On that occasion, Robespierre had acted an important part. He recounted his dangers as well as the successful efforts of his adversaries to replace Louis XVI. on the throne, the fusilade of the Champ de Mars which had followed, and the perils in which Louis XVI., when replaced on the throne, had involved the public weal. He perfidiously ranked his adversaries of that day with those of former times, and represented himself and France as being in one and the same danger, and still from the intrigues of those scoundrels who called themselves exclusively the honest men. "Now," added Robespierre, "they have nothing to say upon the most important interests of the country; they abstain from pronouncing their opinion concerning the last King; but their underhand and baneful activity produces all the disturbances which agitate the country; and in order to mislead the sound, but frequently mistaken, majority, they persecute the most ardent patriots under the designation of the factious minority. The minority," he exclaimed, "has often changed into a majority, by enlightening the deluded assemblies. Virtue was always in a minority upon earth! But for this the earth would be peopled by tyrants and slaves. Hampden and Sidney were in the minority, for they expired on a scaffold.* A Cælius, an Anitus, a Cæsar, a Clodius, were in the majority; but Socrates was in the minority—for he swallowed hemlock: Cato was in the minority—for he plunged his sword into his bowels." Robespierre then recommended quietness to the people, in order to take away every pretext from their adversaries, who represented the mere applause bestowed on its faithful deputies as rebellion. "People!" cried he, "restrain your plaudits. Shun the theatre of our debates. Out of your sight we shall not fight the less stoutly." He concluded by demanding that Louis XVI. should be immediately declared guilty, and condemned to death.

There was a constant succession of speakers from the 28th to the 31st. Vergniaud at length ascended the tribune for the first time, and an extraordinary eagerness was manifested to hear the Girondins express their sentiments

* "It is scarcely necessary to point out this palpable historical blunder, as every English reader knows that Hampden fell in battle with Prince Rupert, at Chalgrove in Oxfordshire. F

by the lips of their greatest orator, and break that silence of which Robespierre was not the only one to accuse them.

Vergniaud commenced by expounding the principles of the sovereignty of the people, and distinguished the cases in which it was the duty of the representatives to appeal to it. It would be too long, too difficult, to recur to a great nation for all the legislative acts : but, in regard to certain acts of extraordinary importance, the case is totally different. The constitution, for example, has been destined beforehand to be submitted to the national sanction; but this object is not the only one that deserves an extraordinary sanction. The trial of Louis possesses such grave characteristics, either from the accumulation of powers exercised by the Assembly, or from the inviolability which had been constitutionally granted to the monarch; or, lastly, from the political effect which must result from a condemnation, that it is impossible to deny its high importance, and the necessity of submitting it to the nation itself. After developing this system, Vergniaud, who refuted Robespierre in particular, at length came to the political inconveniences of the appeal to the people, and touched upon all the great questions which divided the two parties.

He first considered the disturbances which were apprehended from referring to the people the sanction of the sentence passed upon the King. He repeated the reasons adduced by other Girondins, and maintained that, if no fear of civil war was felt in convoking the primary assemblies for the purpose of sanctioning the constitution, he did not see why such a result should be dreaded from calling them together in order to sanction the sentence upon the King. This reason, frequently repeated, was of little weight, for the constitution was not the real question of the Revolution. It could but be the detailed regulation of an institution already decreed and assented to—the republic. But the death of the King was a formidable question. The point was to decide if, in proceeding by the way of death against royalty, the Revolution would break irretrievably with the past, and advance, by vengeance and an inexorable energy, to the goal which it proposed to itself. Now, if so terrible a question produced such a decided division in the Convention and Paris, there would be the greatest danger in again proposing it to the forty-four thousand sections of the French territory. Tumultuous disputes took place at all the theatres, in all the popular societies; and it was requisite that the Convention should have the nerve to decide the question itself, that it might not have to refer it to France, which would perhaps have resolved it by arms.

Vergniaud, holding the same opinion as his friends on this subject, maintained that civil war was not to be apprehended. He said that, in the departments, agitators had not gained the preponderance which a base weakness had suffered them to usurp in Paris; that they had certainly spread themselves over the face of the republic, but had everywhere met with nothing but contempt, and that the people had furnished a signal example of obedience to the law, by sparing the impure blood which flowed in their veins. He then refuted the fears which had been expressed respecting the real majority, which was said to be composed of intriguers, royalists, and aristocrats; and inveighed against the supercilious assertion that virtue was in a minority upon earth. "Citizens!" he exclaimed, "Cataline was in a minority in the Roman senate, and, had this minority prevailed, all had been over with Rome. the senate, and liberty. In the Constituent Assembly, Marry and Cazalès were in a minority, and, had they prevailed, it had been all over with you! Kings also are in a minority upon earth; and in order to fetter nations they, too, assert that virtue is in a minority. They, too, say that the majority of

the people is composed of intriguers, who must be reduced to silence by terror, if empires are to be preserved from one general convulsion."

Vergniaud asked if, to form a majority suitable to the wishes of certain persons, it was right to employ banishment and death, to change France into a desert, and thus deliver her up to the schemes of a handful of villains.

Having avenged the majority and France, he avenged himself and his friends, whom he represented as resisting constantly, and with equal courage, all sorts of despotisms, the despotism of the court, as well as that of the brigands of September. He represented them during the commotion of the 10th of August, sitting amidst the pealing of the cannon of the palace, pronouncing the forfeiture of the crown before the victory of the people, while those Brutuses, now so eager to take the lives of prostrate tyrants, were hiding their terrors in the bowels of the earth, and thus awaiting the issue of the uncertain battle which liberty was fighting with despotism.

He then hurled upon his adversaries the reproach of provoking civil war. "Yes," said he, "those are desirous of civil war who, preaching up the murder of all the partisans of tyranny, give that appellation to all the victims whom their hatred would fain sacrifice; those who call down daggers upon the representatives of the people, and demand the dissolution of the government and of the Convention; those who wish that the minority may become the ruler of the majority, that it may be able to enforce its opinions by insurrections, and that the Catalines may be called to reign in the senate. They are desirous of civil war who inculcate these maxims in all the public places, and pervert the people by stigmatizing reason as Feuillantism, justice as pusillanimity, and sacred humanity as conspiracy.

"Civil war!" exclaimed the orator, "for having invoked the sovereignty of the people! . . . Yet, in July, 1791, ye were more modest. Ye had no desire to paralyze it, and to reign in its stead. Ye circulated a petition for consulting the people on the judgment to be passed upon Louis on his return from Varennes! Ye then wished for the sovereignty of the people, and did not think that invoking it was capable of exciting civil war! Was it that then it favoured your secret views, and that now it is hostile to them?"

The orator then proceeded to other considerations. It had been said that it behoved the Assembly to show sufficient greatness and courage to cause its judgment to be carried into execution itself, without calling the opinion of the people to its support. "Courage!" said he; "it required courage to attack Louis XVI. in the height of his power. Does it require as much to send Louis, vanquished and disarmed, to execution? A Cimbrian soldier entered the prison of Marius with the intention of murdering him. Terrified at the sight of his victim, he fled without daring to strike. Had this soldier been a member of a senate, do you suppose that he would have hesitated to vote the death of the tyrant? What courage do you find in the performance of an act of which a coward would be capable?"

He then spoke of a different kind of courage, that which is to be displayed against foreign powers. "Since people are continually talking of a great political act," said he, "it may not be amiss to examine the question in that point of view. There is no doubt that the powers are waiting for this last pretext, to rush all together upon France. There is as little doubt that we shall conquer them. The heroism of the French soldiers is a sure guarantee of victory; but there must be an increase of expense, of efforts of every kind. If the war constrains us to resort to fresh issues of assignments; if it inflicts new and mortal injuries on commerce; if it causes torrents

of blood to be shed upon land and upon sea ; what very great services will you have rendered to humanity ! What gratitude will the country owe you for having performed in its name, and in contempt of its misconstrued sovereignty, an act of vengeance, that has become the cause or merely the pretext for such calamitous events ! I put out of the question," cried the speaker, "all idea of reverses ; but will you dare boast to it of your services ? There will not be a family but will have to deplore either a father or a son ; the farmer will soon be in want of hands ; the manufactories will be forsaken ; your exhausted treasury will call for new taxes ; the social body, harassed by the attacks made upon it by armed enemies from without, and by raging factions within, will sink into a deadly languor. Beware lest, amid these triumphs, France be like those celebrated monuments in Egypt which have vanquished Time ; the stranger who passes is astonished at their magnitude ; if he attempts to penetrate into them, what does he find ? Inanimate dust, and the silence of the grave."

Besides these fears, there were others which presented themselves to the mind of Vergniaud. They were suggested to him by English history and by the conduct of Cromwell, the principal, though secret author, of the death of Charles I. This man, continually urging the people, at first against the King, then against the Parliament itself, at length broke in pieces his weak instrument, and seized the supreme power. "Have you not," added Vergniaud, "have you not heard in this place and elsewhere men crying out, 'If bread is dear, the cause of it is in the Temple ; if specie is scarce, if our armies are scantily supplied, the cause of it is in the Temple ; if we are shocked every day by the sight of indigence, the cause of it is in the Temple !'"

"And yet those who hold this language well know that the dearness of bread, the want of circulation in provisions, the maladministration in the armies, and the indigence, the sight of which afflicts us, spring from other causes than those in the Temple. What then are their designs ? Who will guarantee to me that these same men who are continually striving to degrade the Convention, and who might possibly have succeeded, if the majesty of the people, which resides in it, could depend on their perfidies ; that those same men, who are everywhere proclaiming that a new revolution is necessary ; who are causing this or that section to be declared in a state of permanent insurrection ; who say that when the Convention succeeded Louis we only changed tyrants, and that we want another 10th of August ; that those same men who talked of nothing but plots, death, traitors, proscriptions, who insist in the meetings of sections and in their writings that a *defender* ought to be appointed for the republic, and that nothing but a chief can save it ;—who, I say, will guarantee to me that these very men will not, after the death of Louis, cry out with greater violence than ever, 'If bread is dear, the cause of it is in the Convention ; if money is scarce, if our armies are scantily supplied, the cause of it is in the Convention ; if the machine of the government can hardly keep moving, the cause of it is in the Convention charged with the direction of it ; if the calamities of war are increased by the declarations of England and Spain, the cause of it is in the Convention, which provoked these declarations by the hasty condemnation of Louis !'"

"Who will guarantee to me that these seditious outcries of anarchical turbulence will not have the effect of rallying the aristocracy, eager for revenge, poverty, eager for change, and even pity itself, which inveterate prejudices will have excited for the fate of Louis ! Who will guarantee to me

that, amid this tempest, in which we shall see the murderers of the 2d of September issuing from their lairs, there will not be presented to you, dripping with blood, and by the title of liberator, that *defender*, that chief who is said to be so indispensable! A chief! Ah! if such were their audacity, the instant he appeared, that instant he would be pierced by a thousand wounds! But to what horrors would not Paris be consigned—Paris, whose heroic courage against kings posterity will admire, while it will be utterly incapable of conceiving her ignominious subjection to a handful of brigands, the scum of mankind, who rend her bosom by the convulsive movements of their ambition and their fury! Who could dwell in a city where terror and death would hold sway! And ye, industrious citizens, whose labour is all your wealth, and for whom the means of labour would be destroyed; ye, who have made such great sacrifices in the Revolution, and who would be deprived of the absolute necessities of life; ye, whose virtues, whose ardent patriotism, and whose sincerity have rendered your seduction so easy, what would become of you? What would be your resources? What hand would dry your tears and carry relief to your perishing families?

“Would you apply to those false friends, those treacherous flatterers, who would have plunged you into the abyss? Ah! shun them rather! Dread their answer! I will tell you what it would be. You would ask them for bread; they would say to you, ‘Go to the quarries, and dispute with the earth the possession of the mangled flesh of the victims whom ye have slaughtered!’ Or, ‘Do you want blood? here it is, take it—blood and carcasses. We have no other food to offer you!’ . . . Ye shudder, citizens! O my country, I call upon thee in my turn to attest the efforts that I make to save thee from this deplorable crisis!”

This extempore speech of Vergniaud produced a deep impression and general admiration in his hearers of all classes. Robespierre was thunderstruck by his earnest and persuasive eloquence. Vergniaud, however, had but shaken, not convinced, the Assembly, which wavered between two parties. Several members were successively heard, for and against, the appeal to the people. Brissot, Gensonné, Petion, supported it in their turn. One speaker at length had a decisive influence on the question. This was Barrère. By his suppleness, and his cold and evasive eloquence, he was the model and oracle of the centre. He spoke at great length on the trial, reviewed it in all its bearings, those of facts, of laws, and of policy, and furnished all those weak minds who only wanted specious reasons for yielding, with motives for the condemnation of the King. His arguments, weak as they were, served as a pretext for all those who wavered; and from that moment the unfortunate King was condemned. The discussion lasted till the 7th, and nobody would listen any longer to the everlasting repetition of the same facts and the same arguments. It was therefore declared to be closed without opposition, but the proposal of a fresh adjournment excited a commotion among the most violent, and ended in a decree which fixed the 14th of January for putting the questions to the vote.

That fatal day having arrived, an extraordinary concourse of spectators surrounded the Assembly and filled the tribunes. A multitude of speakers pressed forward to propose different ways of putting the questions. At length, after a long debate, the Convention comprised all the questions in the three following:

Is Louis Capet guilty of conspiracy against the liberty of the nation, and attempts against the general safety of the state?

Shall the judgment, whatever it may be, be referred to the sanction of the people?

What punishment shall be inflicted upon him?

The whole of the 14th was occupied in deciding upon the questions. The 15th was reserved for voting. The Assembly decided, in the first place, that each member should deliver his vote from the tribune; that he should write and sign it, and, if he pleased, assign his motive for it; that members absent without cause should be censured, but that such as should come in afterwards, might give their votes even after the general voting was over. At length the fatal voting on the first question commenced. Eight members were absent on account of illness, twenty upon commissions from the Assembly. Thirty-seven, assigning various motives for their votes, acknowledged Louis XVI. to be guilty, but declared themselves incompetent to pronounce sentence, and merely proposed measures of general safety against him. Lastly, six hundred and eighty-three members declared Louis XVI. guilty without explanation. The Assembly consisted of seven hundred and forty-nine members.

The president in the name of the National Convention declared Louis Capet guilty of conspiracy against the liberty of the nation, and attempts against the general welfare of the state.

The voting commenced on the second question, that of the appeal to the people. Twenty-nine members were absent. Four, Lafon, Waudelaincourt, Morisson, and Lacroix, refused to vote. Noel also declined. Eleven gave their opinion with different conditions. Two hundred and eighty-one voted for the appeal to the people. Four hundred and twenty-three rejected it. The president declared, in the name of the National Convention, that the judgment on Louis Capet should not be submitted to the ratification of the people.

The whole of the 15th was taken up by these two series of votes. The third was postponed till the sitting of the following day.

The nearer the moment approached, the greater became the agitation in Paris. At the theatres voices favourable to Louis XVI. had been raised on occasion of the performance of the play entitled *L'Ami des Lois*.* The commune had ordered all the playhouses to be shut up; but the executive council had revoked that measure, as a violation of the liberty of the press, in which was comprehended the liberty of the theatre. Deep consternation pervaded the prisons. A report was circulated that the atrocities of September were to be repeated there, and the prisoners and their relatives beset the deputies with supplications that they would snatch them from destruction. The Jacobins, on their part, alleged that conspiracies were hatching in all corners to save Louis XVI. from punishment, and to restore royalty. Their anger, excited by delays and obstacles, assumed a more threatening aspect; and the two parties thus alarmed one another, by supposing that each harboured sinister designs.

The sitting of the 16th drew together a still greater concourse than any that had preceded. It was the decisive sitting, for the declaration of culpability would be nothing if Louis XVI. should be condemned to mere banish-

* "At the representation of the comedy called 'L'Ami des Lois' at the Francais, every allusion to the King's trial was caught and received with unbounded applause. At the Vau-deville, on one of the characters in 'La Chaste Susanne' saying to the two elders, 'You cannot be accusers and judges at the same time,' the audience obliged the actor to repeat the saying several times."—*Clery*. E.

ment, and the object of those who desired to save him would be accomplished, since all that they could expect at the moment was, to save him from the scaffold. The tribunes had been early occupied by the Jacobins, and their eyes were fixed on the bureau at which every member was to appear to deliver his vote. Great part of the day was taken up by measures of public order, in sending for the ministers, in hearing them, in obtaining an explanation from the mayor relative to the closing of the barriers, which were said to have been shut during the day. The Convention decreed that they should remain open, and that the federalists at Paris should share with the Parisians the duty of the city, and of all the public establishments.

As the day was advanced, it was decided that the sitting should be permanent till the voting was over. At the moment when it was about to commence, it was proposed that the Assembly should fix the number of votes by which sentence should be passed. Lehardy proposed two-thirds, as in the criminal courts. Danton, who had just arrived from Belgium, strongly opposed this motion, and required a bare majority, that is to say, one more than half. Lanjuinais exposed himself to fresh storms by insisting that after so many violations of the forms of justice, they should at least observe that which demands two-thirds of the votes. "We vote," he exclaimed, "under the daggers and the cannon of the factions." At these words new outcries burst forth, and the Convention put an end to the debate by declaring that the form of its decrees was unique, and that according to this form they were all passed by a bare majority.

The voting began at half-past seven in the evening, and lasted all night. Some voted merely death;* others declared themselves in favour of detention and banishment on the restoration of peace; whilst others again pronounced death, but with this restriction, that they should inquire whether it was not expedient to stay the execution. Mailhet was the author of this restriction, which was designed to save Louis XVI., for in this case time was every thing, and delay an acquittal. A considerable number of deputies expressed themselves in favour of this course. The voting continued amidst tumult. At this moment the interest which Louis XVI. had excited was at its height; and many members had arrived with the intention of voting in his favour; but, on the other hand also, the rancour of his enemies had increased, and the people had been brought to identify the cause of the republic with the death of the last King, and to consider the republic as condemned and royalty as restored, if Louis XVI. were saved.

Alarmed at the fury excited by this notion, many members were in dread of civil war, and though deeply moved by the fate of Louis XVI., they were afraid of the consequences of an acquittal. This fear was greatly augmented at sight of the Assembly, and the scene that was passing there. As each deputy ascended the steps of the bureau, silence was observed in order that he might be heard; but after he had given his vote, tokens of approbation or disapprobation immediately burst forth, and accompanied his return to his

* "Many great and good men mournfully inclined to the severer side, from an opinion of its absolute necessity to annihilate a dangerous enemy, and establish an unsettled republic. Among these must be reckoned Carnot, who, when called on for his opinion, gave it in these words; 'Death, and never did word weigh so heavily on my heart!'"—*Alison*. E.

† "Jean Mailhe was a lawyer and attorney syndic of Upper Garonne, whence he was deputy to the legislature. At this time of the King's trial he voted for death, but moved an amendment to the effect that execution should be delayed. Having escaped the proscriptions of the Reign of Terror, he was, in 1800, appointed by the consuls secretary-general to the prefecture of the Upper Pyrenees."—*Biographie Moderne*. E.

seat. The tribunes received with murmurs all votes that were not for death; and they frequently addressed threatening gestures to the Assembly itself. The deputies replied to them from the interior of the hall, and hence resulted a tumultuous exchange of menaces and abusive epithets. This fearfully ominous scene had shaken all minds, and changed many resolutions. Leconte, of Versailles, whose courage was undoubted, and who had not ceased to respond to the gesticulation of the tribunes, advanced to the bureau, hesitated, and at length dropped from his lips the unexpected and terrible word: *Death*. Vergniaud, who had appeared deeply affected by the fate of Louis XVI., and who had declared to his friends that he never could condemn that unfortunate prince,—Vergniaud, on beholding this tumultuous scene, imagined that he saw civil war kindled in France, and pronounced sentence of death, with the addition, however, of Mailhe's amendment. On being questioned respecting his change of opinion, he replied that he thought he beheld civil war on the point of breaking out, and that he durst not balance the life of an individual against the welfare of France.

Almost all the Girondins adopted Mailhe's amendment. A deputy whose vote excited a strong sensation, was the Duke of Orleans. Reduced to the necessity of rendering himself endurable to the Jacobins or perishing, he pronounced the death of his kinsman, and returned to his place, amidst the agitation caused by his vote.* This melancholy sitting lasted the whole night of the 16th and the whole day of the 17th till seven in the evening. The summing up of the votes was awaited with extraordinary impatience. The avenues were thronged with an immense crowd, each inquiring of his neighbour the result of the scrutiny. In the Assembly itself, all was yet uncertainty; for it seemed as though the words *Imprisonment* or *Banishment*, had been as frequently pronounced as *Death*. According to some there was one vote deficient for condemnation. According to others there was a majority, but only by a single voice. On all sides it was asserted that one vote more would decide the question; and people looked around with anxiety to see if any other deputy was coming. At this moment a man came forward, who could scarcely walk, and whose head, wrapped up, indicated illness. This man, named Duchastel, deputy of the Deux Sevres, had left his bed, to which he had been confined, in order to give his vote. At this sight tumultuous shouts arose. It was alleged that the intriguers had hunted him out for the purpose of saving Louis XVI. Some wanted to question him, but the Assembly refused to allow this, and authorized him to vote, by virtue of the decision which admitted of the vote after the calling of the names. Duchastel ascended to the tribune with firmness, and, amidst the general suspense, pronounced in favour of banishment.

Fresh incidents followed. The minister for foreign affairs desired permission to speak, in order to communicate a note from the Chevalier d'Ocariz, the Spanish ambassador. He offered the neutrality of Spain, and her mediation with all the powers, if Louis XVI. were suffered to live. The impatient Mountaineers pretended that this was an incident contrived for the purpose

* "The Duke of Orleans, when called on to give his vote, walked with a faltering step, and a face paler than death itself, to the appointed place, and there read these words: 'Exclusively governed by my duty, and convinced that all those who have resisted the sovereignty of the people deserve death, my vote is for death!' Important as the accession of the first prince of the blood was to the terrorist faction, his conduct in this instance was too obviously selfish and atrocious not to excite a general feeling of indignation; the agitation of the Assembly became extreme; it seemed as if by this single vote the fate of the monarch was irrevocably sealed."—*History of the Convention*. E.

of raising fresh obstacles, and moved the order of the day. Danton suggested that war should be immediately declared against Spain. The Assembly adopted the order of the day. A new application was then announced. The defenders of Louis XVI. solicited admission for the purpose of making a communication. Fresh outcries proceeded from the Mountain. Robespierre declared that the defence was finished, that the council had no right to submit anything further to the Convention, that the judgment was given, and only remained to be pronounced. It was decided that the counsel should not be admitted till after the pronouncing of judgment.

Vergniaud presided. "Citizens," said he, "I am about to proclaim the result of the scrutiny. You will observe, I hope, profound silence. When justice has spoken, humanity ought to have its turn."

The Assembly was composed of seven hundred and forty-nine members: fifteen were absent on commissions, eight from illness, five had refused to vote, which reduced the number of deputies present to seven hundred and twenty-one, and the absolute majority to three hundred and sixty-one votes. Two hundred and eighty-six had voted for detention or banishment with different conditions. Two had voted for imprisonment; forty-six for death with reprieve either till peace, or till the ratification of the constitution. Twenty-six had voted for death, but with Mailhe, they had desired that the Assembly should consider whether it might not be expedient to stay the execution. Their vote was nevertheless independent of the later clause. Three hundred and sixty-one had voted for death unconditionally.

The president then, in a sorrowful tone, declared in the name of the Convention that, *the punishment pronounced against Louis Capet is—Death!**

At this moment the defenders of Louis XVI. were introduced at the bar. M. Desèze addressed the Assembly and said that he was sent by his client to put in an appeal to the people from the sentence passed by the Convention. He founded this appeal on the small number of votes which had decided the condemnation, and maintained that, since such doubts had arisen in the minds of the deputies, it was expedient to refer the matter to the nation itself. Tronchet added that, as the penal code had been followed in respect to the severity of the punishment, they were bound to follow it also in respect to the humanity of the forms; and that the form which required two-thirds of the voices, ought not to have been neglected. The venerable Malesherbes spoke in his turn. With a voice interrupted by sobs, "Citizens," said he, "I am not in the habit of public speaking. . . . I see with pain that I am refused time to muster my ideas on the manner of counting the votes. . . . I have formerly reflected much on this subject; I have many observations to communicate to you . . . but . . . Citizens . . . forgive my agitation . . . grant me time till to-morrow to arrange my ideas."

* "When M. de Malesherbes went to the Temple to announce the result of the vote, he found Louis with his forehead resting on his hands, and absorbed in a deep revery. Without inquiring concerning his fate, he said, 'For two hours I have been considering whether, during my whole reign, I have voluntarily given any cause of complaint to my subjects; and with perfect sincerity I declare that I deserve no reproach at their hands, and that I have never formed a wish but for their happiness.'"—*Lacretelle*. E.

"Louis was fully prepared for his fate. During the calling of the votes he asked M. de Malesherbes, 'Have you not met, near the Temple, the White Lady?'—'What do you mean?' replied he. 'Do you not know,' resumed the King, with a smile, 'that when a prince of our house is about to die, a female, dressed in white, is seen wandering about the palace? My friends,' added he to his defenders, 'I am about to depart before you for the land of the just, but there, at least, we shall be reunited.' In fact, his majesty's only apprehension seemed to be for his family."—*Alison*. E.

The Assembly was moved at the sight of the tears and the gray hair of the venerable old man. "Citizens," said Vergniaud to the three counsel, "the Convention has listened to the remonstrances, which it was a sacred duty incumbent on you to make—Will you," added he, addressing the Assembly, "decree the honours of the sitting to the defenders of Louis XVI.?"—"Yes, yes," was the unanimous reply.

Robespierre then spoke, and, referring to the decree passed against an appeal to the people, combated the application of the counsel. Guadet proposed that, without admitting of the appeal to the people, twenty-four hours should be allowed to Malesherbes. Merlin of Douai* maintained that nothing whatever could be urged against the manner of counting the votes; for, if the penal code, which was invoked, required two-thirds of the voices for the declaration of the fact, it required only a bare majority for the application of the punishment. Now, in the present case, the culpability had been declared by an almost general unanimity of voices; and therefore it mattered not if only a bare majority had been obtained for the punishment.

After these different observations, the Convention passed to the order of the day upon the demands of the counsel, declared the appeal of Louis to be null, and deferred the question of reprieve to the following day. Next day, the 18th, it was alleged that the enumeration of the votes was not correct, and that it should be taken anew. The whole day was passed in dispute. At length the calculation was ascertained to be correct; and the Assembly was obliged to postpone the question of reprieve till the following day.

At length, on the 19th, this last question was discussed. It was placing the whole of the proceedings in jeopardy, for to Louis XVI. delay was life itself. Thus after exhausting all their arguments, in discussing the punishment and the appeal, the Girondins and those who wished to save Louis XVI. knew not what further means to employ. They still talked of political reasons, but were told in reply, that, if Louis XVI. were dead, people would arm to avenge him: that, if he were alive and detained, they would arm in like manner to deliver him, and that consequently, in either case, the result would be the same. Barrère asserted that it was unworthy of the Assembly thus to parade a head through foreign courts, and to stipulate the life or death of a condemned person as an article of a treaty. He added that this would be a cruelty to Louis XVI. himself, who would suffer death at every movement of the armies. The Assembly, immediately closing the discussion, decided that each member should vote by *Yes* or *No*, without stirring from the spot. On the 20th of January, at three in the morning, the voting terminated, and the president declared, by a majority of three hundred and eighty voices to three hundred and ten, that the execution of Louis Capet should take place without delay.†

* "Merlin always pursued a revolutionary career, and never departed from his principles, never accepted a commission to pillage or slay in the departments, and devoted to the fatigue of incessant labour, never manifested undue ambition. He wanted perhaps the courage and firmness necessary to a true statesman, but he had some qualities which are desirable in a minister; more remarkable for address than vigour, he succeeded in all he attempted, by patience, attention, and that persevering spirit which is not character, but which frequently supplies its place."—*Carnot's Memoirs*. E.

† "The sitting of the Convention which concluded the trial lasted seventy-two hours. It might naturally be supposed that silence, restraint, a sort of religious awe would have pervaded the scene. On the contrary, everything bore the marks of gaiety, dissipation, and the most grotesque confusion. The farther end of the hall was converted into boxes, where

At this moment a letter arrived from Kersaint,* in which that deputy resigned his seat. He could no longer, he wrote to the Assembly, endure the disgrace of sitting in the same place with bloodthirsty men, when their sentiments, preceded by terror, prevailed over those of upright minds; when Marat prevailed over Petion. This letter caused an extraordinary agitation. Gensonné spoke, and took this opportunity to avenge himself on the Septemberists, for the decree of death which had just been issued. It was doing nothing, he said, to punish misdeeds of tyranny, if they did not punish other misdeeds that were still more mischievous. They had performed but half their task, if they did not punish the crimes of September, and if they did not direct proceedings to be instituted against their authors. At this proposition, the greater part of the Assembly rose with acclamation. Marat and Tallien opposed the movement. "If," cried they, "you punish the authors of September, punish those conspirators also who were entrenched in the palace on the 10th of August." The Assembly, complying with all these demands, immediately ordered the minister of justice to prosecute as well the authors of the atrocities committed in the first days of September, as the persons found in arms in the palace during the night between the 9th and 10th of August, and the functionaries who had quitted their posts and returned to Paris to conspire with the court.

Louis XVI. was definitively condemned. No reprieve could defer the execution of the sentence, and all the expedients devised for postponing the fatal moment were exhausted. All the members of the right side, whether secret royalists or republicans, were dismayed at that cruel sentence, and at the ascendancy just acquired by the Mountain. Profound stupor pervaded Paris. The audacity of the new government had produced the effect which force usually produces upon the mass; it had paralyzed and reduced to silence the greater number, and excited the indignation of merely a few minds of greater energy. There were still some old servants of Louis XVI., some young gentlemen, some of the life-guards, who proposed, it was said, to fly to the succour of the monarch, and to rescue him from death. But to meet, to concert together, to make arrangements, amidst the profound terror of the one party, and the active vigilance of the other, was impracticable; and all

ladies, in a studied dishabille, swallowed ices, oranges, liqueurs, and received the salutations of the members who went and came, as on ordinary occasions. Here, the doorkeepers on the Mountain side opened and shut the boxes reserved for the mistresses of the Duke of Orleans-Egalité; and there, though every sound of approbation or disapprobation was strictly forbidden, you heard the long and indignant 'Ha, ha's!' of the mother-duchess, the patroness of the band of female Jacobins, whenever her ears were not loudly greeted with the welcome sounds of death. The upper gallery, reserved for the people, was during the whole trial constantly full of strangers of every description drinking wine, as in a tavern. Bets were made as to the issue of the trial in all the neighbouring coffee-houses. Ennui, impatience, disgust, sat on almost every countenance. The figures passing and repassing, and rendered more ghastly by the pallid lights, and who in a slow, sepulchral voice only pronounced the word death; others calculating if they should have time to go to dinner before they gave their verdict; women pricking cards with pins in order to count the votes; some of the deputies fallen asleep, and only waked up to give their sentence;—all this had the appearance of a hideous dream rather than of a reality."—*Hazlitt's Life of Napoleon*. E.

* "Comte de A. G. S. Kersaint was a captain in the royal navy, and at the period of the Revolution attached himself to the Girondins. On the King's trial, when sentence of death had been pronounced, in opposition to his vote for imprisonment till the peace, Kersaint sent in his resignation as member of the Convention. In 1793 he was guillotined by the Jacobin faction. He was born in Paris, was a man of good natural abilities, and of moderate principles, and at the time of his death was fifty-two years old."—*Biographie Moderne*. E.

that could be done, was to attempt some unconnected acts of despair. The Jacobins, delighted with their triumphs, were nevertheless astonished at it. They recommended to one another to keep close together during the next twenty-four hours, to send commissioners to all the authorities, to the commune, to the staff of the national guard, to the department, and to the executive council, for the purpose of rousing their zeal, and insuring the execution of the sentence. They asserted that this execution would take place—that it was infallible; but, from the care which they took to repeat this, it was obvious that they themselves did not entirely believe what they said. The execution of a king, in the bosom of a country which, but three years before, had been by its manners, customs, and laws, an absolute monarchy, appeared still doubtful, and was rendered credible only by the event.

The executive council was charged with the melancholy commission of carrying the sentence into execution. All the ministers were assembled in the hall where they met, and they were struck with consternation. Garat, as minister of justice, had the most painful of all tasks imposed upon him, that of acquainting Louis XVI. with the decrees of the Convention.* He repaired to the Temple, accompanied by Santerre, by a deputation of the commune and of the criminal tribunal, and by the secretary of the executive council. Louis XVI. had been four days expecting his defenders, and applying in vain to see them. On the 20th of January, at two in the afternoon, he was still awaiting them, when all at once he heard the sound of a numerous party. He stepped forward, and perceived the envoys of the executive council. He stopped with dignity at the door of his apartment, apparently unmoved. Garat then told him sorrowfully that he was commissioned to communicate to him the decrees of the Convention. Grouvelle, secretary of the executive council, read them to him. The first declared Louis XVI. guilty of treason against the general safety of the state; the second condemned him to death; the third rejected any appeal to the people; and the fourth and last, ordered his execution in twenty-four hours. Louis looked calmly around upon all those who were about him, took the paper from the hand of Grouvelle, put it in his pocket, and read Garat a letter in which he demanded from the Convention three days to prepare for death, a confessor to assist him in his last moments, liberty to see his family, and permission for them to leave France. Garat took the letter, promising to submit it immediately to the Convention. The King gave him at the same time the address of the ecclesiastic whose assistance he wished to have in his last moments.

Louis XVI. went back into his room with great composure, ordered his dinner, and ate as usual. There were no knives on the table, and his attendants refused to let him have any. "Do they think me so weak," he exclaimed, "as to lay violent hands on myself? I am innocent, and I am not afraid to die." He was obliged to dispense with a knife. On finishing his repast, he returned to his apartment, and calmly awaited the answer to his letter.

The Convention refused the delay, but granted all the other demands which he had made. Garat sent for Edgeworth de Firmont,† the ecclesias-

* "The sentence of death was announced by Garat. No alteration took place in the King's countenance; I observed only at the word 'conspiracy' a smile of indignation appear on his lips; but at the words, 'shall suffer the punishment of death,' the expression of his face when he looked on those around him, showed that death had no terrors for him."—*Clery*. E.

† "Henry Essex Edgeworth de Firmont, father-confessor of Louis XVI., was born in Ireland in 1745, in the village of Edgeworthstown. His father, an episcopalian clergyman,

tic whom Louis XVI. had chosen, and took him in his own carriage to the Temple. He arrived there at six o'clock, and went to the great tower, accompanied by Santerre. He informed the King that the Convention allowed him to have a minister, and to see his family alone, but that it rejected the application for delay. Garat added that M. Edgeworth had arrived, that he was in the council-room, and should be introduced. He then retired, more astonished and more touched than ever by the calm magnanimity of the prince.

M. Edgeworth, on being ushered into the presence of the King, would have thrown himself at his feet, but Louis instantly raised him, and both shed tears of emotion. He then, with eager curiosity, asked various questions concerning the clergy of France, several bishops, and particularly the Archbishop of Paris, requesting him to assure the latter that he died faithfully attached to his communion. The clock having struck eight, he rose, begged M. Edgeworth to wait, and retired with emotion, saying that he was going to see his family. The municipal officers, unwilling to lose sight of the King, even while with his family, had decided that he should see it in the dining-room, which had a glass-door, through which they could watch all his motions without hearing what he said. He walked anxiously to and fro, awaiting the painful moment when those who were so dear to him should appear. At half-past eight, the door opened. The Queen, holding the dauphin by the hand, Madame Elizabeth, and Madame Royale, rushed sobbing into the arms of Louis XVI. The door was closed, and the municipal officers, Clery, and M. Edgeworth, placed themselves behind it to witness the agonizing interview. During the first moments, it was but a scene of confusion and despair. Cries and lamentations prevented those who were on the watch from distinguishing anything. At length, tears ceased to flow, the conversation became more calm, and the princesses, still holding the King clasped in their arms, spoke to him for some time in a low tone. After a long conversation, interrupted by silence and grief, he rose to put an end to this painful meeting, and promised to see them again at eight the next morning. "Do you promise that you will?" earnestly inquired the princesses. "Yes, yes," sorrowfully replied the King. At this moment the Queen held him by one arm, Madame Elizabeth by the other, while the princess royal clasped him round the waist: and the young prince stood before him, with one hand in that of his mother, and the other in his aunt's. At the moment of retiring, the princess royal fainted; she was carried away, and the King returned to M. Edgeworth deeply depressed by this painful interview.* In a short time he rallied, and recovered all his composure.

adopted the Catholic faith with his family, and went to France. His piety and good conduct obtained him the confidence of the Princess Elizabeth, who chose him for her confessor, and made him known to Louis, who after his condemnation, sent for him to attend him in his last moments. M. Edgeworth accompanied the King to the place of execution; and, having succeeded in escaping from France, arrived in England in 1796. Pitt offered him a pension, which he declined. He soon after followed Louis XVIII. to Blankenburg, in Brunswick, and thence to Mittau. M. Edgeworth died, in 1807, of a contagious fever, caught in attending to some sick French emigrants. The Duchess d'Angoulême waited on him in his last moments; the royal family followed him to the tomb; and Louis XVIII. wrote his epitaph.—*Encyclopædia Americana*. E.

* "At eight o'clock the King came out of his closet, and desired the municipal officers to conduct him to his family. They replied, that could not be, but his family should be brought down if he desired it. 'Be it so,' said his majesty; and accordingly, at half-past eight, the door opened, and his wife and children made their appearance. They all threw themselves into the arms of the King. A melancholy silence prevailed for some minutes, only broken

M. Edgeworth then offered to say mass, which he had not heard for a long time. After some difficulties, the commune assented to that ceremony, and application was made to the neighbouring church for the ornaments necessary for the following morning. The King retired to rest about midnight, desiring Clery to call him before five o'clock. M. Edgeworth threw himself upon a bed; and Clery took his place near the pillow of his master, watching the peaceful slumber which he enjoyed the night before he was to ascend the scaffold.

Meanwhile, a frightful scene had passed in Paris. A few ardent minds were in a ferment here and there, while the great mass, either indifferent or awe-struck, remained immovable. A life-guardsmen, named Paris, had resolved to avenge the death of Louis XVI. on one of his judges. Lepelletier St. Fargeau had, like many others of his rank, voted for death, in order to throw the veil of oblivion over his birth and fortune. He had excited the more indignation in the royalists, on account of the class to which he belonged. On the evening of the 20th he was pointed out to Paris, when he was just sitting down to table at a restaurateur's in the Palais Royal. The young man, wrapped in a great cloak, stepped up to him, and said, "Art thou Lepelletier, the villain who voted for the death of the King?" "Yes," replied the deputy, "but I am not a villain; I voted according to my conscience."—"There, then," rejoined the life-guardsmen, "take that for thy reward," plunging his sword into his side. Lepelletier fell, and Paris escaped before the persons present had time to secure him.

The news of this event instantly spread to all quarters. It was denounced

by sighs and sobs. The Queen made an inclination towards his majesty's chamber. 'No,' said the King, 'we must go into this room; I can only see you there.' They went in, and I shut the glass-door. The King sat down; the Queen was on his left hand; Madame Elizabeth on his right; Madame Royale nearly opposite; and the young prince stood between his legs. All were leaning on the King, and often pressed him to their arms. This scene of sorrow lasted an hour and three-quarters, during which it was impossible to hear anything. It could, however, be seen, that after every sentence uttered by the King, the agitation of the Queen and princesses increased, lasted some minutes, and then the King began to speak again. It was plain, from their gestures, that they received from himself the first intelligence of his condemnation. At a quarter past ten the King rose first; they all followed. I opened the door. The Queen held the King by his right arm; their majesties gave each a hand to the dauphin. Madame Royale, on the King's left, had her arms round his body; and behind her Madame Elizabeth, on the same side, had taken his arm. They advanced some steps towards the entry door, breaking out into the most agonizing lamentations. 'I assure you, said the King, 'that I will see you again to-morrow morning at eight o'clock.'—'You promise,' said they all together. 'Yes, I promise.' 'Why not at seven o'clock?' asked the Queen. 'Well—yes, at seven,' replied the King; 'farewell!' He pronounced 'farewell' in so impressive a manner, that their sobs were renewed, and Madame Royale fainted at the feet of the King, round whom she had clung. His majesty, willing to put an end to this agonizing scene, once more embraced them all most tenderly, and had the resolution to tear himself from their arms. 'Farewell! farewell!' said he, and went into his chamber. The Queen, princesses, and dauphin, returned to their own apartments; and though both the doors were shut, their screams and lamentations were heard for some time on the stairs. The King went back to his confessor in the turret closet."—*Clery*. E.

* "L. M. de Lepelletier St. Fargeau, president of the parliament of Paris, was deputed by the nobility of that city to the States-general. He possessed an immense fortune, and was noted before the Revolution for very loose morals, but, at the same time, for a gentle disposition. In 1790 he declared in favour of the abolition of honorary titles, and filled the president's chair of the Assembly. In 1792 he was appointed secretary to the Convention, and on the occasion of the King's trial, voted for his death. He was assassinated four days after at the Palais Royal, in the house of the cook Fevrier, where he was going to dine. He immediately expired, having barely time to pronounce these words: 'I am cold!' Lepelletier was born in Paris in the year 1760."—*Biographie Moderne*. E.

to the Convention, the Jacobins, and the commune; and it served to give more consistency to the rumours of a conspiracy of the royalists for slaughtering the left side, and rescuing the King at the foot of the scaffold. The Jacobins declared their sitting permanent, and sent fresh commissioners to all the authorities and to all the sections, to awaken their zeal, and to induce the entire population to rise in arms.

Next morning, the 21st of January, the clock of the Temple struck five. The King awoke, called Clery, inquired the hour, and dressed with great calmness.* He congratulated himself on having recovered his strength by sleep. Clery kindled a fire, and moved a chest of drawers, out of which he formed an altar. M. Edgeworth put on his pontifical ornaments, and began to celebrate mass. Clery waited on him, and the King listened, kneeling with the greatest devotion. He then received the communion from the hands of M. Edgeworth, and, after mass, rose with new vigour, and awaited with composure the moment for going to the scaffold. He asked for scissors, that he might cut his hair himself, and thus escape the performance of that humiliating operation by the hand of the executioner; but the commune refused to trust him with a pair.

At this moment the drums were beating in the capital. All those who belonged to the armed sections repaired to their company with complete submission. Those who were not called by any obligation to figure on that dreadful day kept close at home. Windows and doors were shut up, and every one awaited in his own habitation the melancholy event. It was reported that four or five hundred devoted men were to make a dash upon the carriage and rescue the King.† The Convention, the commune, the executive council, and the Jacobins, were sitting.

* "On hearing five o'clock strike, I began to light the fire. The noise I made awoke the King, who, drawing his curtains, asked if it had struck five. I said it had by several clocks, but not yet by that in the apartment. Having finished with the fire, I went to his bedside. 'I have slept soundly,' said his majesty, 'and I stood in need of it; yesterday was a trying day to me. Where is M. Edgeworth?' I answered, on my bed. 'And where were you all night?'—'On this chair.'—'I am sorry for it,' said the King, and gave me his hand, at the same time tenderly pressing mine. I then dressed his majesty, who, as soon as he was dressed, bade me go and call M. Edgeworth, whom I found already risen, and he immediately attended the King to the turret. Meanwhile I placed a chest of drawers in the middle of the chambers, and arranged it in the form of an altar for saying mass. The necessary articles of dress had been brought at two o'clock in the morning. The priest's garments I carried into my chamber, and when everything was ready, I went and informed his majesty. He had a book in his hand, which he opened, and finding the place of the mass, gave it me; he then took another book for himself. The priest, meanwhile, was dressing. Before the altar I had placed an arm-chair for his majesty, with a large cushion on the ground; the cushion he desired me to take away; and went himself to his closet for a smaller one, made of hair, which he commonly used at his prayers. When the priest came in, the municipal officers retired into the antechamber, and I shut one fold of the door. The mass began at six o'clock. There was profound silence during the awful ceremony. The King, all the time on his knees, heard mass with the most devout attention, and received the communion. After the service he withdrew to his closet, and the priest went into my chamber to put off his official attire."—*Clery*. E.

† "While they were conveying the King from the Temple to the place of execution, two train was followed by two men in arms, who went into all the coffee-houses and public places, and asked with loud cries if there were still any loyal subjects left, who were ready to die for their King! But such was the universal terror that nobody joined them: and they both arrived without any increase of their party, at the place of execution, where they slipped off in the crowd. It is also a fact that some timid people well affected to the King had formed an association of eighteen hundred persons, who were to cry out 'Pardon!' before the execution. But of those eighteen hundred, only one man had the courage to do his duty, and he, it is said, was instantly torn to pieces by the populace."—*Peltier*. E.

At eight in the morning, Santerre, with a deputation of the commune, the department, and the criminal tribunal, repaired to the Temple. Louis XVI. on hearing the noise, rose, and prepared to depart. He had declined seeing his family again, to avoid the renewal of the painful scene of the preceding evening. He desired Clery to transmit his last farewell to his wife, his sister, and his children; he gave him a sealed packet, hair, and various trinkets, with directions to deliver these articles to them.* He then clasped his hand, and thanked him for his services. After this, he addressed himself to one of the municipal officers, requesting him to transmit his last will to the commune. This officer, who had formerly been a priest, and was named Jacques Roux, brutally replied that his business was to conduct him to execution, and not to perform his commissions. Another person took charge of it, and Louis, turning towards the party, gave with firmness the signal for starting.†

Officers of gendarmerie were placed on the front seat of the carriage. The King and M. Edgeworth occupied the back.‡ During the ride, which was

* "In the course of the morning the King said to me, 'You will give this seal to my son, and this ring to the Queen, and assure her that it is with pain I part with it. This little packet contains the hair of all my family: you will give her that, too. Tell the Queen, my dear sister, and my children, that, although I promised to see them again this morning, I have resolved to spare them the pang of so cruel a separation. Tell them how much it costs me to go away, without receiving their embraces once more!' He wiped away some tears; and then added in the most mournful accents, 'I charge you to bear them my last farewell.'"—*Clery*. E.

† "On the morning of this terrible day, the princesses rose at six o'clock. The night before, the Queen had scarcely strength enough to put her son to bed. She threw herself, dressed as she was, upon her own bed, where she was heard shivering with cold and grief all night long! At a quarter past six, the door opened; the princesses believed they were sent for to see the King, but it was only the officers looking for a prayer-book for his mass. They did not, however, abandon the hope of seeing him, till the shouts of joy of the unprincipled populace announced to them that all was over."—*Duchess d'Angoulême*. E.

‡ "All the troops in Paris had been under arms from five o'clock in the morning. The beat of drums, the sound of trumpets, the clash of arms, the trampling of horses, the removal of cannon which were incessantly carried from one place to another—all resounded in the tower. At half-past eight o'clock the noise increased; the doors were thrown open with great clatter; and Santerre, accompanied by seven or eight municipal officers, entered at the head of ten soldiers, and drew them up in two lines. At this movement, the King came out of his closet, and said to Santerre, 'You are come for me?'—'Yes,' was the answer. 'Wait a moment,' said his majesty, and went into his closet, whence he instantly returned, followed by his confessor. I was standing behind the King, near the fire-place. He turned round to me, and I offered him his great-coat. 'I shall not want it,' said he, 'give me only my hat. I presented it to him, and his hand met mine, which he pressed for the last time. His majesty then looked at Santerre and said, 'Lead on.' These were the last words he spoke in his apartments."—*Clery*. E.

§ "On quitting the tower, the King crossed the first court, formerly the garden, on foot; he turned back once or twice towards the tower, as if to bid adieu to all most dear to him on earth; and by his gestures it was plain that he was trying to collect all his strength and firmness. At the entrance of the second court, a carriage waited; two gendarmes held the door; at the King's approach, one of these men entered first, and placed himself in front; his majesty followed and placed me by his side, at the back of the carriage; the other gendarme jumped in last, and shut the door. The procession lasted almost two hours; the streets were lined with citizens, all armed; and the carriage was surrounded by a body of troops, formed of the most desperate people of Paris. As soon as the King perceived that the carriage stopped, he turned and whispered to me, 'We have arrived, if I mistake not.' My silence answered that we had. On quitting the vehicle, three guards surrounded his majesty, and would have taken off his clothes, but he repulsed them with haughtiness; he undressed himself, untied his neckcloth, opened his shirt, and arranged it himself. The path leading to the scaffold, was extremely rough and difficult to pass; the King was obliged to

rather long, the King read in M. Edgeworth's breviary the prayers for persons at the point of death; and the two gendarmes were confounded at his piety and tranquil resignation. They had orders, it was said, to despatch him if the carriage should be attacked. No hostile demonstration, however, took place from the Temple to the Place de la Révolution. An armed multitude lined the way. The vehicle advanced slowly, and amidst a universal silence. At the Place de la Révolution an extensive space had been left vacant about the scaffold. Around this space were planted cannon; the most violent of the federalists were stationed about the scaffold; and the vile rabble, always ready to insult genius, virtue, and misfortune, when a signal is given it to do so, crowded behind the ranks of the federalists, and alone manifested some outward tokens of satisfaction; whilst all else buried in the recesses of their hearts the feelings which they experienced.

At ten minutes past ten, the carriage stopped. Louis XVI., rising briskly, stepped out into the Place. Three executioners* came up; he refused their assistance, and stripped off his clothes himself. But, perceiving that they were going to bind his hands, he betrayed a movement of indignation, and seemed ready to resist. M. Edgeworth, whose every expression was then sublime, gave him a last look, and said, "Suffer this outrage, as a last resemblance to that God who is about to be your reward." At these words, the victim, resigned and submissive, suffered himself to be bound and conducted to the scaffold. All at once, Louis took a hasty step, separated himself from the executioners, and advanced to address the people. "Frenchmen," said he, in a firm voice, "I die innocent of the crimes which are imputed to me; I forgive the authors of my death, and I pray that my blood may not fall upon France." He would have continued, but the drums were instantly ordered to beat: their rolling drowned the voice of the prince; the executioners laid hold of him, and M. Edgeworth took his leave in these memora-

lean on my arm, and, from the slowness with which he proceeded, I feared for a moment that his courage might fail; but what was my astonishment, when arrived at the last step, I felt that he suddenly let go my arm, and I saw him cross with a firm foot the breadth of the whole scaffold, silence, by his look alone, fifteen or twenty drums that were placed opposite to him; and, in a loud voice, heard him pronounce distinctly these memorable words:—"I die innocent of all the crimes laid to my charge; I pardon those who have occasioned my death; and I pray to God that the blood you are now going to shed may never be visited on France." He was proceeding, when a man on horseback, in the national uniform, waved his sword and ordered the drums to beat. Many voices were at the same time heard encouraging the executioners, who immediately seized the King with violence, and dragged him under the axe of the guillotine, which with one stroke severed his head from his body."—*Abbé Edgeworth. E.*

* "The executioners who officiated on this occasion were brothers, named Samson, of one of whom Mercier thus speaks, in his *Nouveau Tableau de Paris*:—"What a man is that Samson! Insensible to suffering, he has always been identified with the axe of execution. He has beheaded the most powerful monarch in Europe, his Queen, Couthon, Brissot, Robespierre,—and all this with a composed countenance! He cuts off the head that is brought to him, no matter whose. What does he say? What does he think? I should like to know what passes in his head, and whether he considers his terrible functions only as a trade. The more I meditate on this man, the president of the great massacre of the human species, overthrowing crowned heads like that of the purest republican, without moving a muscle, the more my ideas are confounded. How did he sleep, after receiving the last words, the last looks, of all those several heads? I really would give a trifle to be in the soul of this man for a few hours. He sleeps, it is said, and very likely his conscience may be at perfect rest. The guillotine has respected him, as making one body with itself. He is sometimes present at the Vaudeville. He laughs—looks at me—my head has escaped him—he knows nothing about it; and as that is very indifferent to him, I never grow weary of contemplating in him the indifference with which he has sent a crowd of men to the other world." *E.*

ble words: "Son of St. Louis, ascend to Heaven!"* As soon as the blood flowed, furious wretches dipped their pikes and their handkerchiefs in it,† spread themselves throughout Paris, shouting *Vive la République! Vive la nation!* and even went to the gates of the Temple to display that brutal and factious joy which the rabble manifests at the birth, the accession, and the fall of all princes.‡

* "The Abbé Edgeworth has been asked if he recollected to have made this exclamation, He replied, that he could neither deny nor affirm that he had spoken the words. It was possible, he added, that he might have pronounced them without afterwards recollecting the fact, for that he retained no memory of anything that happened relative to himself at that awful moment. His not recollecting, or recording the words, is perhaps the best proof that they were spoken from the impulse of the moment."—*Memoirs of the Abbé Edgeworth.* E.

† "One person actually tasted the blood, with a brutal exclamation that it was 'shockingly bitter,' and the hair and pieces of the dress were sold by the attendants. No strong emotion was evinced at the moment; the place was like a fair; but, a few days after, Paris, and those who had voted for the death of the monarch, began to feel serious and uneasy at what they had done. E.

‡ "The body of Louis was, immediately after the execution, removed into the ancient cemetery of the Madeleine. Large quantities of quicklime were thrown into the grave, which occasioned so rapid a decomposition, that, when his remains were sought after in 1815, it was with great difficulty that any part could be recovered. Over the spot where he was interred, Napoleon commenced the splendid Temple of Glory, after the battle of Jena; and the superb edifice was completed by the Bourbons, and now forms the church of the Madeleine, the most beautiful of the many beautiful structures in Paris. Louis was executed on the same ground where the Queen, the Princess Elizabeth, and so many other noble victims of the Revolution perished; where Robespierre and Danton afterwards suffered; and where the Emperor Alexander and the allied sovereigns took their station, when their victorious troops entered Paris in 1814! The history of modern Europe has not a scene fraught with equally interesting recollections to exhibit. It is now marked by the colossal obelisk of blood-red granite which was brought from Thebes, in Upper Egypt, in 1693, by the French government."—*Alison.* E.

THE NATIONAL CONVENTION CONTINUED.

THE death of the unfortunate Louis XVI. had excited profound terror in France, and in Europe a mingled feeling of astonishment and indignation. As the most clear-sighted revolutionists had foreseen, the mortal conflict had now begun, and all retreat was irrevocably cut off. They must, therefore, combat the coalition of the thrones and conquer it, or perish under its blows. Accordingly, it was said in the Assembly, at the Jacobins, in short everywhere, that it behoved them to devote their whole attention to external defence, and from that moment questions of war and finance were constantly the order of the day.

We have seen with what dread each of the two domestic parties inspired the other. The Jacobins regarded the resistance opposed to the condemnation of Louis XVI., and the horror excited in many departments by the excesses committed since the 10th of August, as a dangerous relic of royalism. They had, therefore, doubted their victory till the very last moment, but the easy execution of the 21st of January had at length given them fresh confidence. They had since begun to conceive that the cause of the Revolution might be saved, and they prepared addresses to enlighten the departments and to complete their conversion. The Girondins, on the contrary, already touched by the fate of the victim, and alarmed besides at the victory of their adversaries,* began to discover in the event of the 21st of January the prelude to long and sanguinary atrocities, and the first act of the inexorable system which they were combating. The prosecution of the authors of September had, it is true, been granted to them, but this was a concession without result. In abandoning Louis XVI., they meant to prove that they were not royalists; and by giving up the Septembrisers to them, their opponents meant to prove that they were not protectors of crime; but this twofold proof had not satisfied or cheered anybody. They were still considered as first republicans and almost royalists, and they still viewed their adversaries as foes athirst for blood and carnage. Roland, utterly discouraged, not by the danger, but by the manifest impossibility to be serviceable, resigned on the 23d of January. The Jacobins rejoiced at this circumstance, but they immediately cried out that the traitors Clavières and Lebrun, whom the intriguing Brissot had made his tools, were still in the administration; that the evil was not wholly remedied; that they ought not to relax, but on the contrary to redouble their zeal, till they had removed from the government the intriguers, the Girondins, the Rolandins, the Brissotins, &c. The Girondins immediately demanded the re-organization of the ministry of war, which

* "The Mountaineers, by the catastrophe of the 21st of January, had obtained a great victory over the Girondins, who had a system of politics far more rigid than their own, and who wished to save the Revolution without staining it with blood. Hence they were accused of being enemies to the people, because they raised their voice against their excesses and with betraying the republic, because they recommended moderation."—*Mignet* E.

Pache, from his weakness towards the Jacobins, had brought into the most deplorable state.

Thus the two leaders who divided the administration between them, and whose names had become the two opposite rallying-points, were excluded from the government. The majority of the Convention imagined that in this they had done something in favour of peace; as if, in suppressing the names which the passions made use of, those passions themselves were not left to find new names and to continue the conflict. Beurnonville, the friend of Dumouriez, surnamed the French Ajax, was called to the war department. He was as yet known to the parties by his bravery alone; but his attachment to discipline was soon to bring him into opposition with the unruly spirit of the Jacobins. After these measures, questions of finance, which were of the utmost importance at this critical moment, when the Revolution had to combat all Europe, were placed upon the order of the day. At the same time it was decided that, in a fortnight at the latest, the committee of the constitution should present its report, and that immediately afterwards the subject of public instruction should be taken up.

A great number of people, not comprehending the cause of the revolutionary disturbances, imagined that all the calamities of the state were occasioned by defective laws, and that the constitution would put an end to all these disorders. Accordingly, a great part of the Girondins and all the members of the Plain kept incessantly demanding the constitution and complaining that it was delayed, saying that their mission was to complete it. They really believed so; they all imagined that they had been deputed for this object alone, and that it was a business which might be performed in a few months. They were not yet aware that fate had called them not to constitute but to fight: that their terrible mission was to defend the Revolution against Europe and La Vendée; that very soon they were to change from a deliberative body, which they were, to a sanguinary dictatorship, which should at one and the same time proscribe internal enemies, battle with Europe and the revolted provinces, and defend itself on all sides by violence; that their laws, transient as a crisis, would be considered as merely fits of anger: and that the only part of their work destined to subsist was the glory of the defence, the sole and terrible mission which they had received from fate; neither did they yet perceive that this ought to be the only one.

However, whether from the lassitude of a long struggle, or from the unanimity of opinions on questions of war, all agreed upon the point of defending themselves and even of provoking the enemy. A sort of calm succeeded the terrible agitation produced by the trial of Louis XVI.; and Brissot was still applauded for his diplomatic reports against the foreign powers.

Such was the internal situation of France, and the state of the parties which divided it. Its situation in regard to Europe was alarming. It was a general rupture with all the powers. France had hitherto had but three enemies, Piedmont, Austria, and Prussia. The Revolution, everywhere approved by the people according to the degree of their enlightenment, everywhere hateful to the governments according to the degree of their apprehensions, had nevertheless produced perfectly new impressions on the world, by the terrible events of the 10th of August, the 2d and 3d of September, and the 21st of January. Less disdained since it had so energetically defended itself, but less esteemed since it had sullied itself by crime, it had not ceased to excite as deep an interest in the people, and to be treated with as much scorn by the governments.

The war, therefore, was about to become general. We have seen Austria suffering herself to be involved by family connexions in a war by no means serviceable to her interests. We have seen Prussia, whose natural interest it was to ally herself with France against the head of the empire, marching for the most frivolous reasons beyond the Rhine, and compromising her armies in the Argonne. We have seen Catherine,* formerly a philosopher, deserting, like all the courtiers, the cause which she had at first espoused from vanity, persecuting the Revolution at once from fashion and from policy, exciting Gustavus, the Emperor of Austria, and the King of Prussia, to divert their attention from Poland and to engage them with the West. We have seen Piedmont attacking France contrary to her interests, but for reasons of relationship and hatred of the Revolution. We have seen the petty courts of Italy detesting our new republic, but not daring to attack, nay, even acknowledging it at sight of our flag; Switzerland preserving a strict neutrality; Holland and the Germanic diet not yet speaking out but betraying a deep grudge; Spain observing a prudent neutrality under the influence of the wise Count d'Aranda; lastly, England suffering France to tear herself to pieces, the continent to exhaust itself, the colonies to lay themselves waste, and thus leaving the execution of her vengeance to the inevitable disorders of revolutions.

The new revolutionary impetuosity was about to disconcert all these calculated neutralities. Thus far, Pitt had shown sound judgment in the line of conduct which he adopted. In his country, a half-and-half revolution, which had but in part regenerated the social state, had left a number of feudal institutions standing, which could not but be objects of attachment to the aristocracy and the court, and objects of censure with the opposition. Pitt had a double aim: in the first place to moderate the aristocratic hatred, to repress the spirit of reform, and thus to secure his administration by controlling both parties: secondly, to crush France beneath her own disasters and the hatred which all the governments of Europe bore against her. He wished, in short, to make his country mistress of the world, and to be master

* "Catherine the Second, Empress of Russia, was born at Stettin, in 1729, where her father, Prince of Anhalt-Zerbst, and Prussian field-marshal, was governor. The Empress Elizabeth chose her for the wife of her nephew, Peter, whom she appointed her successor. The marriage was celebrated in 1745. It was not a happy one, but Catherine consoled herself by a variety of lovers. Among others, a young Pole, Stanislaus Poniatowski, gained her affections, and by her influence, was appointed by the King of Poland his ambassador at the court of St. Petersburg. In 1761, the Empress Elizabeth died, and Peter III. ascended the throne. He now became more than ever estranged from his wife Catherine, which led to a conspiracy headed by Gregory Orloff, her favourite; and the result of which was the death of Peter in prison. In 1774, the empress concluded an advantageous peace with the Porte, by which she secured the free navigation of the Black Sea. At this time Potemkin was Catherine's chief favourite; who, in 1784, conquered the Crimea, and extended the confines of Russia to the Caucasus. In 1787, the empress's memorable triumphal journey to Tauris took place, when, throughout a distance of nearly a thousand leagues, nothing but feasts and spectacles of various kinds was to be seen. Palaces were raised on barren heaths, to be inhabited only for a day, and Catherine was surrounded by a multitude of people, who were conveyed on during the night to afford her the same spectacle the following day. When, in 1791, Poland wished to change its constitution, the empress took part with the opponents of the plan, garrisoned the country with her troops, and concluded a new treaty of partition with the cabinet of Berlin in 1792. About this time, Catherine broke off all connexion with the French republic, assisted the emigrants, and entered into an alliance with England against France. She died of apoplexy in 1796. With all the weakness of her sex, and with a love of pleasure carried to licentiousness, she combined the firmness and talent becoming a powerful sovereign. She favoured distinguished authors, and affected great partiality for the French philosophers."—*Encyclopædia Americana*. E.

of his country. Such was the twofold object which he pursued with the vanity and the strength of mind of a great statesman. Neutrality was wonderfully favourable to his projects. While preventing war, he repressed the blind hatred of his court for liberty; while leaving the excesses of the French Revolution to develop themselves without impediment, he daily made cutting replies to the apologists of that revolution—replies which prove nothing, but which produce a certain effect. He answered Fox, the most eloquent speaker of the opposition and of England, by reciting the crimes of reformed France. Burke, a vehement declaimer, was employed to enumerate those crimes,* and he did it with an absurd violence. One day, he even went so far as to throw upon the table a dagger, which, he said, was manufactured by the Jacobin propagandists.† While in Paris Pitt was accused of paying emissaries to excite disturbances; in London he accused the French revolutionists of spending money to excite revolutions, and our emigrants accredited these rumours by repeating them. While by this Machiavelian logic he counteracted the spells which French liberty would have thrown over the English, he excited Europe against us, and his envoys disposed all the powers to war. In Switzerland he had not succeeded, but at the Hague, the docile stadtholder, tried by a first revolution, still distrustful of his people, and having no other support than the English fleets, had given him a sort of satisfaction, and had, by many hostile demonstrations, testified his ill-will to France.

It was in Spain more particularly that Pitt set intrigues at work, to urge her to the greatest blunder she ever committed—that of joining England against France, her only maritime ally. The Spaniards had been little moved by our revolution, and it was not so much reasons of safety and

* However the arguments of Burke may seem to have been justified by posterior events, it yet remains to be shown that the war-cry then raised against France did not greatly contribute to the violence which characterized that period. It is possible that, had he merely roused the attention of the governments and wealthy classes to the dangers of this new political creed, he might have proved the saviour of Europe; but he made such exaggerated statements, and used arguments so alarming to freedom, that on many points he was not only plausibly, but victoriously, refuted.”—*Dumont*. E.

“There was something exaggerated at all times in the character as well as the eloquence of Burke: and, upon reading at this distance of time his celebrated composition, it must be confessed that the colours he has used in painting the extravagances of the Revolution ought to have been softened, by considering the peculiar state of a country which, long labouring under despotism, is suddenly restored to the possession of unembarrassed licence. On the other hand, no political prophet ever viewed futurity with a surer ken.”—*Scott's Life of Napoleon*. E.

“Mr. Burke, by his tropes and figures, so dazzled both the ignorant and the learned, that they could not distinguish the shades between liberty and licentiousness, between anarchy and despotism. He gave a romantic and novel air to the whole question. A crazy, obsolete government was metamorphosed into an object of fancied awe and veneration, like a mouldering gothic ruin, which, however delightful to look at or read of, is not at all pleasant to live under. Mr. Pitt has been hailed by his flatterers as ‘the pilot that weathered the storm;’ but it was Burke who at this giddy, maddening period, stood at the prow of the vessel of the state, and with his glittering, pointed spear, harpooned the Leviathan of the French Revolution.”—*Hazlitt*. E.

† “On the second reading of the Alien Bill in the House of Commons, Mr. Burke, in mentioning that an order for making three thousand daggers had arrived some time before at Birmingham, a few of which had been actually delivered, drew one from under his coat, and threw it indignantly on the floor: ‘This,’ said he, ‘is what you are to gain by an alliance with France! Wherever their principles are introduced, their practice must also follow.’ The speech which Mr. Burke made on this occasion was excellent; but the action which accompanied it was not in such good taste.”—*Prior's Life of Burke*. E

policy, as reasons of kindred, repugnances common to all governments, that indisposed the cabinet of Madrid towards the French republic. The prudent Count d'Aranda, resisting the intrigues of the emigrants, the spleen of the aristocracy, and the suggestions of Pitt, had studiously forborne to wound the susceptibility of our new government. Overthrown, however, at length, and replaced by Don Manuel Godoy, since Prince of the Peace,* he left his unhappy country a prey to the worst counsels. Till then the cabinet of Madrid had refused to speak out in regard to France. At the moment of the definite judgment of Louis XVI. it had offered the political acknowledgment of the French republic, and its mediation with all the powers, if the dethroned monarch were suffered to live. The only answer to this offer was a proposal of war by Danton, and the assembly adopted the order of the day. Ever since that time, the disposition to war had not been doubtful. Catalonia was filling with troops. In all the ports armaments were in active progress, and a speedy attack was resolved upon. Pitt triumphed, therefore, and, without yet declaring himself, without committing himself too hastily,

* "Don Manuel de Godoy, Duke of Alcudia, Prince of the Peace, and favourite of King Charles of Spain, was born in 1764 at Badajos. He was distinguished by a tall, handsome figure, and excelled in most light accomplishments. He early entered the body-guard of the King, and became a favourite at court, especially with the Queen. In 1792 he was made premier in the place of Aranda, and in 1795, as a reward for his pretended services in making peace with France, he was created Prince of the Peace, a grandee of the first class, and presented with an estate that secured him an income of fifty thousand dollars. He married, in 1797, Donna Maria Theresa of Bourbon, a daughter of the Infant Don Luis, brother of King Charles. In 1798 he resigned his post as premier, but was in the same year appointed general-in-chief of the Spanish forces. A decree in 1807 bestowed on him the title of highness, and unlimited power over the whole monarchy. In the meantime the hatred of the people against the overbearing favourite was excited to the highest degree; and he would have lost his life, if the Prince of Asturias had not exerted himself to save him, at the instance of the King and Queen, on condition that he should be tried. The occurrences at Bayonne, however, intervened. Napoleon, who wished to employ the influence of the Prince of the Peace with King Charles, procured his release from prison, and summoned him to Bayonne, where he became the moving spring of everything done by the King and Queen of Spain. Since that time, he has lived in France, and still later, in Rome, where he enjoyed the friendship of the King and Queen till the death of both in 1819.—*Encyclopædia Americana*. He still survives and resides in Paris. E.

"The Prince of the Peace is one of those extraordinary characters who have obtained celebrity without any just grounds. I both saw and heard a great deal respecting him during my stay in Spain.—One day on entering the audience chamber, where I had scarcely room to move, as the King and Queen were both standing very near the door, I beheld a man at the other end of the apartment, whose attitude and bearing appeared to me particularly ill suited to the audience chamber of royalty. He appeared to be thirty-four or thirty-five years of age, and his countenance was of that description which a fine, well-grown, hearty young man usually presents; but there was no trace of dignity in his appearance. He was covered with decorations and orders, and I might reasonably suppose, therefore, that he was an important personage. And I was not wrong, it was Godoy, Prince of the Peace! I was struck with surprise at his free and easy manner. He was leaning, or rather lying, on a *console* at the further end of the apartment, and was playing with a curtain tassel which was within his reach. At this period his favour at court was immense, and beyond all example. He was prime minister, counsellor of state, commander of four companies of life-guards, and generalissimo of the forces by sea and land, a rank which no person in Spain had ever possessed before him, and which was created expressly to give him precedence over the captains-general."—*Duchess d'Abrantes*.

"Manuel Godoy, originally a private in the guards, reigned in Spain under the name of the imbecile Charles IV. He was an object of contempt and execration to all who were not his creatures. What other sentiments indeed could have been inspired by a man, who owed the favour of the King only to the favours of the Queen? Godoy's power was absolute, and he made the most infamous use of it."—*Bourrienne*. E.

he gained time to raise his navy to a formidable state, he gratified the British aristocracy by his preparation, he rendered our revolution unpopular by declamations which he paid for; and, while he thus strengthened himself in silence, he prepared for us an overwhelming league, which, by employing all our forces, prevented us from succouring our colonies, or checking the progress of the British power in India.

Never, at any period, had Europe, seized with such blindness, been known to commit so many faults against herself. In the west, Spain, Holland, all the maritime powers were seen, misled by the aristocratic passions, arming with their enemy, England, against France, their only ally. Prussia again was seen, from an inconceivable vanity, uniting with the head of the empire against France, an alliance with which had always been recommended by the great Frederic. The petty King of Sardinia committed the same fault, from more natural motives indeed—those of relationship. In the east and north, Catherine was allowed to perpetrate a crime upon Poland, an attempt against the safety of Germany, for the frivolous advantage of gaining a few provinces, and to enable herself still to tear France to pieces without hindrance. Renouncing, therefore, at once, all old and useful friendships, the nations yielded to the perfidious suggestions of the two most formidable powers, to arm against our unfortunate country, the ancient protectress or ally of those which now attacked her. All contributed to this, all lent themselves to the views of Pitt and Catherine; imprudent Frenchmen traversed Europe to hasten this fatal overthrow of policy and prudence, and to draw down upon their native land the most tremendous storms. And what could be the motives for pursuing such a strange conduct? Poland was delivered up to Catherine, France to Pitt, because the one was desirous of regulating her ancient liberty, and the other had resolved to give to herself that liberty which she had not yet possessed. France had, it is true, committed excesses; but these excesses were about to be increased by the violence of the struggle; and, without destroying that detested liberty, the allies were about to prepare a thirty years' war of the most sanguinary kind, to provoke vast invasions, to call a conqueror into existence, to produce immense disorders, and to conclude by the establishment of the two colossal powers which now control Europe on the two elements, England and Russia.

Amidst this general conspiracy, Denmark alone, under the guidance of an able minister, and Sweden, delivered from the presumptuous dreams of Gustavus, maintained a wise reserve, which Holland and Spain ought to have imitated, by joining the system of armed neutrality. The French government had justly appreciated these general dispositions, and the impatience which characterized it at this moment would not allow it to wait for the declarations of war, but urged it, on the contrary, to provoke them. Ever since the 10th of August, it had not ceased demanding to be acknowledged, but it had still shown some moderation in regard to England, whose neutrality was valuable, on account of the enemies which it had to combat. But, after the 21st of January, it had set aside all considerations, and determined upon a universal war. Seeing that secret hostilities were not less dangerous than open hostilities, it was impatient to compel its enemies to declare themselves; accordingly, on the 22d of January, the National Convention took a review of all the cabinets, ordered reports relative to the conduct of each in regard to France, and prepared to declare war against them if they did not forthwith explain themselves in a categorical manner.

Ever since the 10th of August, England had withdrawn her ambassador from Paris, and had suffered M. de Chauvelin,* the French ambassador in London, to remain only in the character of the envoy of dethroned royalty. All these diplomatic subtleties had no other aim than to satisfy etiquette in regard to the King confined in the Temple, and at the same time to defer hostilities, which it was not yet convenient to commence. Meanwhile Pitt, to cloak his real intentions, applied for a secret envoy to whom he might communicate his complaints against the French government. Citizen Maret† was sent in the month of December. He had an interview with Pitt. After mutual protestations, for the purpose of declaring that the interview had no official character, that it was purely amicable, that it had no other motive than to enlighten the two nations on the subject of their reciprocal grievances, Pitt complained that France threatened the allies of England, that she even attacked their interests, and cited Holland as a proof. The principal grievance alleged was the opening of the Scheldt, perhaps an imprudent but yet a generous measure, which the French had taken on entering the Netherlands. It was absurd, in fact, that in order to secure to the Dutch the monopoly of the navigation, the Netherlands, through which the Scheldt runs, should not be allowed to make use of that river. Austria had not dared to abolish this servitude, but Dumouriez had done so by order of his government; and the inhabitants of Antwerp had with joy beheld ships ascend the Scheldt to their city. The answer was noble and easy, for France, in respecting the right of neutral neighbours, had not promised to sanction political iniquities, because neutrals were interested in them. Besides, the Dutch government had manifested so much ill-will as not to deserve to be treated with such tenderness. The second grievance adduced was the decree of the 15th of November, by which the National Convention promised assistance to all those nations which should shake off the yoke of tyranny. This perhaps imprudent decree, passed in a moment of enthusiasm, was not to be construed, as Pitt asserted, into an invitation to all nations to rebel, but signified that, in all the countries at war with the Revolution, aid would be afforded to the people against their governments. Lastly, Pitt complained of the continual threats and declamations of the Jacobins against all governments. In this respect the governments were not behindhand with the Jacobins, and on the score of vituperation, neither side was in debt to the other.

This interview led to nothing, and only showed that England merely

* "François, Marquis de Chauvelin, descended from a celebrated French family, was born in 1770, and eagerly embraced the cause of the Revolution. In 1791, he became first aide-de-camp of General Rochambeau, and displayed so much talent, that in the following year, on the proposal of Dumouriez, he was appointed ambassador to England, who however broke off all diplomatic intercourse with France, after the execution of Louis XVI. During the Reign of Terror, Chauvelin was thrown into prison, from which he was soon afterwards released, and, under the Directory, devoted himself entirely to the sciences. Napoleon appointed him prefect of the department of the Lys, and subsequently sent him into Catalonia as intendant-general. After the Restoration he was elected a member of the chamber of deputies, and much admired as a popular orator."—*Encyclopædia Americana*. E.

† "Hugues Bern Maret, born at Dijon in 1758, and engaged in the French diplomatic corps, was, in the year 1792, first sent by the French to the English government, in order to prevent it from joining the coalition; but his efforts were fruitless. Shortly after he was appointed ambassador to Naples, but, on his way thither, he was seized by the Austrian troops and imprisoned at Custrin. He obtained his release in 1795. In the year 1799 he became secretary to the consular council of state, and in 1803 accompanied the first consul to Holland, and afterwards attended him in his various journeys. Napoleon created him Duke of Bassano."—*Biographie Moderne*. E.

sought to delay the war, which she had no doubt determined upon, but which it did not yet suit her to declare. The celebrated trial in January served, however, to accelerate events; the English parliament was suddenly called together, before its usual time. An inquisitorial law was enacted against the French travelling in England; the Tower of London was armed; the militia was ordered out; preparations and proclamations announced an impending war. Pains were taken to excite the populace of London, and to kindle that blind passion which in England causes war with France to be considered as a great national service; lastly, vessels laden with corn and bound to our ports were stopped, and on the news of the 21st of January, the French ambassador, whom the British government had till then in some sort refused to recognise, was enjoined to leave the kingdom in a week. The National Convention immediately ordered a report on the conduct of the English government towards France, and on its communications with the stadtholder of the United Provinces; and, upon the 1st of February, after a speech by Brissot, who for a moment earned the applause of both parties, it solemnly declared war against Holland and England. War with the Spanish government was imminent, and though not yet declared, it was considered as such. Thus France had all Europe for her foe; and the condemnation of the 21st of January had been the act by which she had broken with all thrones, and pledged herself irrevocably to the career of revolution.

It was requisite to oppose the terrible assault of so many combined powers; and, rich as France was in population and *matériel*, it was difficult for her to withstand the universal effort that was directed against her. Her chiefs were not on that account the less filled with confidence and audacity. The unexpected successes of the republic in the Argonne and in Belgium had persuaded them that every man, and especially the Frenchman, may become a soldier in six months. The movement which agitated France convinced them, moreover, that their whole population might be transferred to the field of battle; that thus they might have three or four millions of men capable of being converted into soldiers, and surpass in this respect all that the combined sovereigns of Europe were able to do. Look, said they, at all the kingdoms! You see a small number of men, raised with difficulty to fill up the skeletons of the armies; the entire population has nothing to do with them, so that a handful of men, trained and formed into regiments, decide the fate of the mightiest empires. But suppose, on the contrary, a whole nation torn from private life, arming for its defence, must it not overthrow all ordinary calculations? What is there impossible *for twenty-five millions of men to execute?*—As for the expense, they felt as little concern on that subject. The capital of the national property was daily increasing in consequence of emigration, and far exceeded the debt. At the moment, this capital was not available for want of purchasers; but the assignats supplied their place, and their factitious value made amends for the deferred value of the property which they represented. They were, indeed, reduced to one-third of their nominal value; but it was only adding one-third to the circulation, and this capital was so vast, that it more than sufficed for the excess which it was necessary to issue. After all those men who were about to be transferred to the field of battle lived well at their own homes, many of them even in luxury; why should they not live in the field? Could men lack soil and food wherever they might happen to be? Besides, social order, such as it was, possessed more wealth than was requisite to supply the necessities of all. It was only a better distribution that was

wanted ; and to this end it was right to tax the rich, and to make them bear the expense of the war. Moreover, the states into which they were about to penetrate had also an ancient social order to overturn, and abuses to destroy ; they had immense profits to extract from the clergy, the nobility, royalty, and it was fit that they should pay France for the aid which she would furnish them.

Thus argued the ardent imagination of Cambon, and such ideas seized all heads. The old politics of cabinets had formerly calculated upon one or two hundred thousand soldiers, paid with the produce of certain taxes or the revenues of certain domains. Now it was a mass of men, rising of itself, and saying, *I will compose armies* ; looking at the sum total of wealth, and again saying, *That sum is sufficient, and shared among all, will suffice for the wants of all*. It was not, it is true, the entire nation that held this language, but it was the most enthusiastic portion that formed these resolutions, and prepared by all possible means to impose them on the mass of the nation.

Before we exhibit the distribution of the resources devised by the French revolutionists, we must turn to our frontiers, and see how the last campaign terminated. Its outset had been brilliant, but a first success, badly supported, had served only to extend our line of operations, and to provoke a more vigorous and decisive effort on the part of the enemy. Thus our defence had become more difficult, because it was more extended ; the beaten enemy was about to react with energy, and his redoubled effort was to be concurrent with an almost general disorganization of our armies. Add to this that the number of the coalesced powers was doubled ; for the English on our coasts, the Spaniards on the Pyrenees, and the Dutch in the north of the Netherlands, threatened us with new attacks.

Dumouriez had stopped short on the banks of the Meuse, and had not been able to push forward to the Rhine, for reasons which have not been sufficiently appreciated, because people have not been able to account for the tardiness which succeeded his first rapidity. On his arrival at Liege, the disorganization of his army was complete. The soldiers were almost naked ; or want of shoes they wrapped hay round their feet ; meat and bread were all that they had in any abundance, thanks to a contract which Dumouriez had authoritatively maintained. But they were utterly destitute of ready money, and plundered the peasants, or fought with them to oblige them to take assignats. The horses died for want of forage, and those of the artillery had almost all perished. Privations and the suspension of military operations disgusted the soldiers ; all the volunteers quitted in bands, on the strength of a decree declaring that the country had ceased to be in danger. The Convention had been obliged to pass another decree to prevent the desertion, and the gendarmerie stationed on the high roads was scarcely able, strict as it was, to stop the fugitives. The army was reduced by one-third.

These combined causes had not allowed the Austrians to be pursued so briskly as they ought to have been. Clairfayt had had time to intrench himself on the banks of the Erft, and Beaulieu towards Luxemburg ; and it was impossible for Dumouriez, with an army dwindled to thirty or forty thousand men, to drive before him an enemy intrenched in the mountains and woods, and supported upon Luxemburg, one of the strongest fortresses in the world. If, as it was constantly repeated, Custine, instead of making incursions in Germany, had made a dash upon Coblenz, if he had joined Beurnonville for the purpose of taking Treves, and if both had then descended the Rhine, Dumouriez also might have advanced to it by Cologne. All three would thus have supported one another, Luxemburg might have been in.

vested, and have fallen for want of communications. But nothing of the sort had taken place. Custine had been desirous of drawing the war to his quarter, and had done no more than uselessly provoke a declaration of the imperial diet, irritate the vanity of the King of Prussia, and bind him further to the coalition. Beurnonville, left single-handed, had not been able to reduce Treves; and the enemy had maintained his ground both in the electorate of Treves, and in the duchy of Luxemburg. Dumouriez, in advancing towards the Rhine, would have exposed his right flank and his rear, and besides, he would not have been able, in the state in which his army was, to reduce the immense tract extending from the Meuse to the Rhine and the frontiers of Holland, a difficult country, without means of transport, intersected by woods and mountains, and occupied by a still formidable enemy. Assuredly Dumouriez, had he possessed the means, would much rather have made conquests on the Rhine, than have gone to Paris to make solicitations in behalf of Louis XVI. The zeal for royalty, which he afterwards professed while in London, in order to give himself consequence, and which the Jacobins imputed to him in Paris in order to ruin him, was certainly not strong enough to induce him to renounce victories, and to go and compromise himself among the factions of the capital. He quitted the field of battle solely because he could do no more there, and because he wished by his presence with the government to put an end to the difficulties which had been raised up against him in Belgium.

We have already witnessed the difficulties amidst which his conquest placed him. The conquered country desired a revolution, but not a complete and radical one, like the revolution of France. Dumouriez, from inclination, from policy, and from reasons of military prudence, could do no other than pronounce in favour of the moderate wishes of the country which he occupied. We have already seen him struggling to spare the Belgians the inconveniences of war, to give them a share in the profits of supplies, and, lastly, to smuggle rather than force assignats into circulation among them. The invectives of the Jacobins paid him for these pains. Cambon had prepared another mortification for Dumouriez, by causing the Assembly to pass the decree of the 15th of December. "We must," said Cambon, amidst the loudest applause, "declare ourselves a *revolutionary power* in the countries which we enter. It is useless to hide ourselves. The despots know what we mean. Since it is guessed, let us boldly proclaim it, and let, moreover, the justice of it be avowed. Wherever our generals enter, let them proclaim the sovereignty of the people, the abolition of feudalism, of tithes, of all abuses; let all the old authorities be dissolved; let new local administrations be provisionally formed, under the direction of our generals; let these administrations govern the country, and devise the means of forming national conventions, which shall decide its lot; let the property of our enemies, that is to say, the property of the nobles, the priests, the communities, lay or religious, of the churches, &c., be immediately sequestered and placed under the safeguard of the French nation, which shall be accountable for it to the local administrations, in order that it may serve as a pledge for the expenses of the war, of which the delivered countries ought to pay their share, because the object of the war is to set them at liberty. Let the account be balanced after the campaign. If the republic has received in supplies more than the portion of the expense due to it shall amount to, it shall pay the surplus; if otherwise, the balance shall be paid to it. Let our assignats, founded on the new distribution of property, be received in the conquered countries, and let their field extend with the principles which have produced them. Lastly,

let the executive power send commissioners to make friendly arrangements with these provisional administrations, to fraternize with them, to keep the accounts of the republic, and to execute the decree of sequestration. No half revolution!" added Cambon. "Every nation that will not go the length which we here propose, shall be our enemy, and shall deserve to be treated as such. Peace and fraternity to all the friends of liberty!—war to the base partisans of despotism!—*war to the mansions, peace to the cottages!*"*

These sentiments had been immediately sanctioned by a decree, and carried into execution in all the conquered provinces. A host of agents, selected by the executive power from among the Jacobins, immediately spread themselves over Belgium. The provisional administrations had been formed under their influence, and they impelled them to the excesses of the wildest democracy. The populace, excited by them against the middle classes, committed the greatest outrages. It was the anarchy of 1793, to which we had been progressively led by four years of commotion, produced there abruptly, and without any transition from the old to the new order of things. These proconsuls, invested with almost absolute power, caused persons and property to be imprisoned and sequestered; they had stripped the churches of all their plate; this had soured the minds of the unfortunate Belgians, who were strongly attached to their religious worship, and, above all, furnished occasion for many peculations. They had caused conventions to be formed to decide the fate of each province, and under their despotic influence, the incorporation with France had been voted at Liege, Brussels, Mons, and other places. These were inevitable evils, and so much the greater, as revolutionary violence combined with military brutality to produce them. Dissensions of a different kind had also broken out in this unhappy country. The agents of the executive power claimed obedience to their orders from the generals who were within the limits of their district; and, if these generals were not Jacobins, as it was frequently the case, this was a new occasion for quarrels and wrangling, which contributed to augment the general disorder. Dumouriez, indignant at seeing his conquests compromised, as well by the disorganization of his army as by the hatred excited in the Belgians, had already harshly treated some of the proconsuls, and had repaired to Paris to express his indignation, with all the vivacity of his character, and all the independence of a victorious general, who deemed himself necessary to the republic.

Such was our situation on this principal theatre of the war. Custine, having fallen back to Mayence, declaimed there on the manner in which Beurnonville had executed the attempt on Treves. At the Alps, Kellerman maintained his positions at Chambéry and Nice. Servan strove in vain to compose an army at the Pyrenees, and Monge, as weak towards the Jacobins as Pache had shown himself, had suffered the administration of the marine to be decomposed. It was necessary, therefore, to direct the whole public attention to the defence of the frontiers. Dumouriez had passed the end of December and the month of January in Paris, where he had compromised himself by certain expressions in favour of Louis XVI., by his absence from the Jacobins, where he was continually announced, but where he never

* "‘War to the mansions—peace to the cottages,’ was the principle of the French Revolution. Its proclamation necessarily set the two classes of society throughout Europe at variance with each other; and instead of the ancient rivalry of Kings, introduced the fiercer strife of the people. The contest henceforth raged not only between nation and nation, but between interest and interest; and the strife of opinion superseded that of glory.”—*Alison*. E.

appeared, and, lastly, by his intercourse with his old friend, Gensonné. He had drawn up four memorials; one on the decree of the 15th of December, another on the organization of the army, a third on the supplies, and the last on the plan of campaign for the year that was commencing. To each of these memorials he subjoined his resignation in case of the rejection of what he proposed.

The Assembly had, in addition to its diplomatic committee and its military committee, appointed a third extraordinary committee, called the committee of general defence, authorized to direct its attention to everything that concerned the defence of France. It was very numerous, and all the members of the Assembly might even, if they pleased, attend its sittings. The object with which it had been formed was to conciliate the members of the opposite parties, and to make them easy in regard to each other's intentions, by causing them to labour together for the general welfare. Robespierre, irritated at seeing Girondins there, rarely attended: the Girondins, on the contrary, were very assiduous. Dumouriez introduced himself with his plans, was not always understood, frequently displeased by the high tone which he assumed, and left his memorials to their fate. He then retired to some distance from Paris, by no means disposed to resign his command, though he had held out that threat to the Convention, and awaited the moment for opening the campaign.

He had entirely lost his popularity with the Jacobins, and was daily traduced in Marat's papers for having supported the half-and-half revolution in Belgium, and there shown great severity against the demagogues. He was accused of having wilfully suffered the Austrians to escape from Belgium; and, going back still farther, his enemies publicly asserted that he had opened the outlets of the Argonne to Frederick-William, whom he might have destroyed. The members of the council and of the committees, who did not give themselves up so blindly to the passions which swayed the rabble, were still sensible of his utility, and still courteous to him. Robespierre even defended him by throwing the blame of all these faults upon his pretended friends, the Girondins. Thus people agreed in giving him all possible satisfaction, without derogating, however, from the decrees that had been passed, and the rigorous principles of the Revolution. His two commissaries, Malus and Petit Jean, were restored, and numerous reinforcements were granted to him: he was promised sufficient supplies; his ideas for the general plan of the campaign were adopted; but no concession was made as to the decree of the 15th of December, and the new appointments in the army. The nomination of his friend, Beurnonville, to the war department, was a new advantage for him, and he had reason to hope for the greatest zeal on the part of the administration to furnish him with everything that he stood in need of.

For a moment he had imagined that England would take him for mediator between herself and France, and he had set out for Antwerp with this flattering notion. But the Convention, weary of the perfidies of Pitt, had, as we have seen, declared war against Holland and England. This declaration found him at Antwerp. The resolutions adopted in part from his plans for the defence of the territory were these. It was agreed to increase the armies to 502,000 men, and this number was small according to the idea that had been formed of the power of France, and in comparison with the force to which they were subsequently raised. It was determined to keep the defensive on the east and south; to remain in observation along the Pyrenees and the coasts, and to display all the boldness of the offensive in the north, where, as Dumouriez had said, "there was no defending oneself but

by battles." To execute this plan, 150,000 men were to occupy Belgium and to cover the frontier from Dunkirk to the Meuse; 50,000 were to keep the space comprised between the Meuse and the Sarre; 150,000 to extend themselves along the Rhine and the Vosges, from Mayence to Besançon and Gex. Lastly, a reserve was prepared at Châlons, with the requisite *matériel*, ready to proceed to any quarter where it might be wanted. Savoy and Nice were to be guarded by two armies of 70,000 men each; the Pyrenees by one of 40,000; the coasts of the Ocean and of Bretagne were to be watched by an army of 46,000, part of which were destined for embarkation, if it were necessary. Of these 502,000 men, 50,000 were cavalry, and 20,000 artillery. Such was the projected force, but the effective was far inferior, consisting of only 270,000 men, 100,000 of whom were in different parts of Belgium, 25,000 on the Moselle, 45,000 at Mayence, under Custine, 30,000 on the Upper Rhine, 40,000 in Savoy and at Nice, and 30,000 at most in the interior. But, to complete the number required, the Assembly decreed that the armies should be recruited from the national guards: and that every member of that guard, unmarried, or if married without children, or a widower without children, from the age of eighteen to forty-five, was at the disposal of the executive power. It added that 300,000 more men were necessary to resist the coalition, and that the recruiting should not cease till that number was raised.* It decreed at the same time the issue of eight hundred millions of assignats, and the felling of timber in Corsica for the use of the navy.

While these plans were in progress, the campaign was opened with 270,000 men. Dumouriez had 30,000 on the Scheldt, and about 70,000 on the Meuse. A rapid invasion of Holland was a bold project, which agitated all heads, and into which Dumouriez was forcibly drawn by public opinion. Several plans had been proposed. One, devised by the Batavian refugees who had quitted their country after the Revolution of 1787, consisted in overrunning Zealand with a few thousand men, and seizing the government, which would retire thither. Dumouriez had affected to approve this plan; but he deemed it sterile, because it was confined to the occupation of an inconsiderable, and withal an unimportant, portion of Holland. The second was his own, and consisted in descending the Meuse by Venloo to Grave, turning off from Grave to Nimuegen, and then making a dash upon Amsterdam. This plan would have been the safest, had it been possible to foresee what was to happen. But, placed at Antwerp, Dumouriez conceived a third, bolder, more prompt, more suitable to the revolutionary imagination, and more fertile in decisive results, if it succeeded. While his lieutenants, Miranda, Valence,† Dampierre, and others, should descend the Meuse, and occupy Maestricht, of which he did not care to make himself master in the preceding year, and Venloo, which was incapable of a long resistance, Dumouriez proposed to take with him 25,000 men, to proceed stealthily between Bergen-op-Zoom and Breda, to reach in this manner the Moerdyk, to cross the little sea of Bielbos, and to run by the mouths of the rivers to Leyden and Amsterdam.

* Decree of February the 24th.

† "Cyrus de Timbrune, Count de Valence, born at Toulouse, a colonel of dragoons in the service of France, married the daughter of Madame de Genlis, devoted himself to the revolutionary party, and in 1791 became a general officer. In the following year he was employed in Luckner's army, and afterwards served under Dumouriez; on whose defection, he became suspected, and was outlawed by the Convention. In 1799 he returned to France, was called to the senate in 1805, and appointed commander of the Legion of Honour."—*Biographie Moderne*.

This bold plan was quite as well grounded as many others which have succeeded ; and, if it was hazardous, it promised much greater advantages than that of a direct attack by Venloo and Nimuegen. By pursuing the latter course, Dumouriez would attack the Dutch, who had already made all their preparations between Grave and Gorcum, in front, and he would even give them time to receive English and Prussian reinforcements. On the contrary in advancing by the mouths of the rivers, he would penetrate by the interior of Holland, which was utterly defenceless, and if he could surmount the obstacle of the waters, Holland would be his. In returning from Amsterdam, he would take the defences in rear, and sweep off everything between himself and his lieutenants, who were to join him by Nimuegen and Utrecht.

It was natural that he should take the command of the army of expedition, because it was this service that required the greatest promptitude, boldness, and ability. This project was attended with the same danger as all plans of offensive warfare, that of exposing one's own country to the risk of invasion by leaving it uncovered. Thus the Meuse would be left open to the Austrians ; but in the case of a reciprocal offensive, the advantage remains with him who the most firmly resists the danger, and gives way the least readily to the terror of invasion.

Dumouriez despatched to the Meuse, Thouvenot, in whom he had the utmost confidence ; he communicated to his lieutenants, Valence and Miranda, the plans which he had hitherto concealed from them ; he recommended to them to hasten the sieges of Maestricht and Venloo, and, in case of delay, to succeed one another before those places, so as to be still making progress towards Nimuegen. He also enjoined them to fix rallying-points around Liege and Aix-la-Chapelle, for the purpose of collecting scattered detachments, and of enabling themselves to make head against the enemy, if he should come in force to interrupt the sieges which were to be carried on upon the Meuse.

Dumouriez immediately quitted Antwerp with eighteen thousand men assembled in haste. He divided his little army into several corps, which were to summon the different fortresses, but without stopping to lay siege to them. His advanced guard was to dash on and secure the boats and the means of transport ; while himself, with the main body of his troops, would keep within such distance as to be able to afford succour to any of his lieutenants who might need it. On the 17th of February, 1793, he entered the Dutch territory, and issued a proclamation promising friendship to the Batavians, and war only to the stadtholder and the English influence. He advanced, leaving General Leclerc before Bergen-op-Zoom, directing General Bergeron upon Klundurt and Willenstadt, and ordering the excellent engineer, d'Arçon, to feign an attack upon the important fortress of Breda. Dumouriez was with the rear guard at Sevenberghe. On the 25th, General Bergeron made himself master of the fort of Klundurt, and proceeded before Willemstadt. General d'Arçon threw a few bombs into Breda. That place was reputed to be very strong ; the garrison was sufficient, but badly officered, and in a few hours it surrendered to an army of besiegers which was scarcely more numerous than itself. The French entered Breda on the 27th, and found there a considerable *matériel*, consisting of two hundred and fifty pieces of cannon, three hundred thousand pounds of powder, and five thousand muskets. Having left a garrison in Breda, General d'Arçon proceeded on the 1st of March, before Gertruydenberg, another very strong place, and on the same day made himself master of all the advanced works. Dumou

riez had pushed on to the Moerdyk, and was making amends for the tardiness of his advanced guard.

This series of successful surprises of fortresses capable of long resistance threw great lustre upon the opening of this campaign; but unforeseen obstacles delayed the crossing of the arm of the sea, the most difficult part of this plan. Dumouriez had at first hoped that his advanced guard, acting more promptly, would have seized some boats, quietly crossed the Bielbos, occupied the isle of Dort, guarded by a few hundred men at the utmost, and, securing a numerous flotilla, would have brought it back to the other side to carry over the army. Inevitable delays prevented the execution of this part of the plan. Dumouriez strove to make amends for them by seizing all the craft that he could find, and collecting carpenters for the purpose of forming a flotilla. It was requisite, however, to use the utmost despatch, for the Dutch army was assembling at Gorcum, at the Stry, and in the isle of Dort; a few of the enemy's sloops and an English frigate threatened his embarkation and cannonaded his camp, called by our soldiers the Beaver's Camp. They had actually built hovels of straw, and encouraged by the presence of their general, they braved cold, privations, dangers, and the chances of so bold an enterprise, and awaited with impatience the moment for crossing to the opposite bank. On the 3d of March, General Desflers arrived with a new division. On the 4th, Gertruydenberg opened its gates, and everything was ready for effecting the passage of the Bielbos.

Meanwhile, the struggle between the two parties in the interior still continued. The death of Lepelletier had already furnished occasion to the Mountaineers to assert that they were personally threatened, and the Assembly had not been able to refuse to renew, on their motion, the committee of *surveillance*. The committee had been composed of Mountaineers, which, for its first act, had ordered the apprehension of Gorsas,* a deputy and journalist attached to the interests of the Gironde. The Jacobins had obtained another advantage, namely, the suspension of the prosecutions decreed on the 20th of January against the authors of September. No sooner were these prosecutions commenced, than overwhelming proofs had been discovered against the principal revolutionists, and against Danton himself. The Jacobins then started up, declaring that everybody was culpable on those days, because everybody had deemed them necessary and permitted them. They even had the audacity to assert that the only fault to be found with those days was that they had been left incomplete; and they demanded a suspension of the proceedings, of which a handle was made to attack the purest revolutionists. They had carried their motion; the proceedings were suspended, that is to say, abolished; and a deputation of Jacobins had immediately waited on the minister of justice, to beg that extraordinary couriers might be despatched to stop the proceedings already commenced against the *brethren of Meaux*.

We have already seen that Pache had been obliged to quit the ministry, and that Roland had voluntarily resigned. This reciprocal concession had not allayed animosities. The Jacobins, by no means satisfied, insisted that

* "A. J. Gorsas, born at Limoges, in 1751, edited a journal in 1789, and was one of the first promoters of the Revolution. In 1792 he was appointed deputy to the Convention, and connected himself with the Girondins, in whose fate he was involved, having been condemned to death in 1793. Gorsas was the author of an amusing satirical work, entitled 'The Carrier Ass.'" — *Biographie Moderne*. E.

Roland should be brought to trial. They alleged that he had robbed the state of enormous sums, and placed more than twelve millions in London; that those funds were employed in perverting opinion by publications, and in exciting disturbances by the forestalling of corn; they demanded also that prosecutions should be instituted against Clavières, Lebrun, and Beurnonville, all traitors, according to them, and accomplices in the intrigues of the Girondins. At the same time, they prepared a compensation of a very different kind for the displaced minister, who had shown them so much complaisance. Cambon, the successor of Petion in the mayoralty of Paris, had resigned functions far too arduous for his weakness. The Jacobins instantly bethought them of Pache, in whom they discovered the wisdom and coolness requisite for a magistrate. They applauded themselves for this idea, communicated it to the commune, to the sections, and to all the clubs; and the Parisians, influenced by them, avenged Pache for his dismissal by electing him their mayor. Provided Pache should prove as docile in this office as he had been when minister at war, the sway of the Jacobins would be insured in Paris; and in this choice they had consulted their advantage not less than their passions.

The dearth of provisions and the embarrassments of trade still occasioned disturbances and complaints, and from December to February the evil had considerably increased. The fear of commotions and pillage, the dislike of the farmers to take paper, the high prices arising from the great abundance of that fictitious money, were, as we have already observed, the causes which prevented the easy traffic in grain, and produced dearth. The administrative efforts of the communes had, nevertheless, in a certain degree, made amends for the stagnation of trade; and there was no lack of articles of consumption in the markets, but they were at an exorbitant price. The value of the assignats declining daily in proportion to their total mass, it required a larger and larger amount to purchase the same quantity of necessaries, and thus the prices became excessive. The people, receiving only the same nominal value for their labour, could no longer procure such things as they needed, and vented themselves in complaints and threats. Bread was not the only article the price of which was enormously increased; that of sugar, coffee, candles, soap, was doubled. The laundresses had come to the Convention to complain that they were obliged to pay thirty sous for soap, which had formerly cost them but fourteen. To no purpose were the people told to raise the price of their labour, in order to re-establish the proportion between their wages and the articles of consumption. They could not be brought to act in concert for the accomplishment of this object, and cried out against the rich, against forestallers, against the trading aristocracy; they demanded the simplest expedient, a fixed standard, a *maximum*.

The Jacobins, the members of the commune, who were mere populace in comparison with the Convention, but who, with reference to the populace itself, were assemblies that might almost be called enlightened, were sensible of the inconveniences of a fixed price. Though more inclined than the Convention to admit of it, they nevertheless opposed it, and Dubois de Crancé, the two Robespierres, Thuriot, and other Mountaineers, were daily heard declaiming at the Jacobins against the plan of the *maximum*. Chaumette*

* "P. G. Chaumette, attorney of the commune of Paris, was born at Nevers in 1763. His father was a shoemaker. After having been a cabin-boy, a steersman, a transcriber, and an attorney's clerk at Paris, he worked under the journalist Prudhomme, who describes him as a very ignorant fellow. He soon acquired great power in the capital, and in 1793 proposed the formation of a revolutionary tribunal without appeal, and a tax on the rich.

and Hebert did the same at the commune; but the tribunes murmured, and sometimes answered them with hootings. Deputations of the sections frequently came to reproach the commune with its moderation and its connivance with the forestallers. It was in these assemblies of the sections that the lowest classes of agitators met; and there reigned a revolutionary fanaticism still more ignorant and violent than at the commune and the Jacobins. Conjointly with the Cordeliers, whither all the acting men resorted, the sections produced all the disturbances of the capital. Their inferiority and their obscurity, by exposing them to more agitations, exposed them also to underhand manœuvres in a contrary spirit; and there the remnants of the aristocracy dared to show themselves, and to make some attempts at resistance. The former creatures of the nobility, the late servants of the emigrants, all the turbulent idlers, who between the two opposite causes had preferred the cause of the aristocracy, repaired to some of the sections, where the honest citizens persevered in favour of the Girondins, and concealed themselves behind this judicious and rational opposition, for the purpose of attacking the Mountaineers, and labouring in favour of foreigners and of the old system. In these conflicts the honest citizens most frequently withdrew. The two extreme classes of agitators were thus left in battle array, and they fought in this lower region with terrific violence. Horrid scenes were daily occurring, on occasion of petitions proposed to be addressed to the commune, the Jacobins, or the Assembly. From these tempests sprang, according to the result of the conflict, either addresses against September and the *maximum*, or addresses against these addressers, the aristocrats, and the forestallers.

The commune reproved the inflammatory petitions of the sections, and exhorted them to beware of secret agitators, who were striving to produce dissensions among them. It acted the same part in regard to the sections, as the Convention acted in regard to itself. The Jacobins, not having, like the commune, specific functions to exercise, occupied themselves in discussing all sorts of subjects, had great philosophical pretensions, and laid claim to a better comprehension of social economy than the sections and the club of the Cordeliers. They affected, therefore, in many instances, not to share the vulgar passions of those subaltern assemblies, and condemned the fixed standard as dangerous to the freedom of trade. But, substituting another expedient for that which they rejected, they had proposed to cause assignats to be taken at par, and to punish with death any one who should refuse to take them at the value which they purported to bear; as if this had not been another manner of attacking the freedom of trade. They also proposed to bind themselves reciprocally to desist from using sugar and coffee, in order to produce a forced reduction in the prices of those commodities; and, lastly, they suggested the expediency of putting a stop to the creation of assignats, and supplying their place by loans from the rich;—forced loans, assessed according to the number of servants, horses, &c. All these propositions did not prevent the evil from increasing, and rendering a crisis inevitable. Meanwhile, they mutually reproached one another with the public calamities. The Girondins were accused of acting in concert with the rich and with the

At the same time, he contrived the Festivals of Reason, and the orgies and profanations which polluted all the churches in Paris, and even proposed that a moving guillotine mounted on four wheels, should follow the revolutionary army 'to shed blood in profusion!' Chaudette also proposed the cessation of public worship, and the equality of funerals; and procured an order for the demolition of all monuments of religion and royalty. He was executed, by order of Robespierre, in 1794, twenty days after Hebert, to whose party he had attached himself."—*Biographie Moderne*. E.

forestallers, for the purpose of famishing the people, driving them to insurrection, and thence deriving a pretext for enacting new martial laws; they were accused also of an intention to bring in foreigners by means of the disturbances—an absurd charge, but which proved a mortal one. The Girondins replied by the like accusations. They reproached their adversaries with causing the dearth and the commotions by the alarms which they excited in commerce, and with a design to arrive by these commotions at anarchy, by anarchy at power, and perhaps at foreign domination.

The end of February was at hand, and the difficulty of procuring the necessaries of life had raised the irritation of the people to the highest pitch. The women, apparently more deeply touched by this kind of suffering, were in extreme agitation. They repaired, on the 22d, to the Jacobins, soliciting the use of their hall, that they might there deliberate on the high price of the articles of consumption, and prepare a petition to the National Convention. It was well known that the object of this petition was to propose the *maximum*, and the application was refused. The tribunes then treated the Jacobins as they had sometimes treated the Assembly. *Down with the forestallers! down with the rich!* was the general cry. The president was obliged to put on his hat to appease the tumult, and, to account for this want of respect, it was alleged that there had been disguised aristocrats in the hall. Robespierre and Dubois de Crancé inveighed anew against the plan of a *maximum*, and recommended to the people to keep quiet, that they might not furnish their adversaries with a pretext for calumniating them, and give them occasion for enacting sanguinary laws.

Marat, who pretended to devise the simplest and most expeditious remedies for all evils, declared in his paper of the 25th that forestalling would never cease, unless more efficient measures than all those which had been hitherto proposed, were resorted to. Inveighing against *monopolists, the dealers in luxuries, the agents of chicanery, the limbs of the law, the ex-nobles*, whom the unfaithful representatives of the people encouraged in crime by impunity, he added, "In every country where the rights of the people are not empty titles, ostentatiously recorded in a mere declaration, the plunder of a few shops, and the hanging of the forestallers at their doors, would soon put a stop to these malversations which are driving five millions of men to despair, and causing thousands to perish for want. Will then the deputies of the people never do anything but chatter about their distresses, without proposing any remedy for them?"*

It was on the morning of the 25th that this presumptuous madman published these words. Whether they really had an influence on the people, or whether the irritation, excited to the highest pitch, could no longer restrain itself, a multitude of women assembled tumultuously about the grocers' shops. At first they complained of the prices of articles, and loudly clamoured for their reduction. The commune was not apprized of the circumstance; Santerre, the commandant, was gone to Versailles to organize a corps of cavalry, and no order was issued for calling out the public force. Thus the rioters met with no obstacle, and soon proceeded from threats to acts of violence and pillage. The mob first collected in the streets of the Vieille-Monnaie, of the Cinq-Diamans, and of the Lombards. It began with insisting that the prices of all articles should be reduced one-half; soap to sixteen sous, lump-sugar to twenty-five, moist sugar to fifteen, candles to thirteen. Great quantities of goods were forcibly taken at this rate,

and the price was paid by the buyers to the shop-keepers. But presently the rabble refused to pay at all, and carried off the goods without giving anything whatever for them. The armed force, coming up at one point, was repulsed, amidst shouts from all sides of *Down with the bayonets!* The Convention, the commune, the Jacobins had all met. The Assembly was listening to a report on this subject; the minister of the interior was demonstrating to it that commodities were abundant in Paris, but that the evil proceeded from the disproportion between the value of the circulating medium and that of the commodities themselves. The Assembly, with a view to parry the difficulties of the moment, had immediately assigned funds to the commune, for the purpose of retailing necessities at a low price. At the same instant, the commune, participating in its sentiments and its zeal, had directed a report of the circumstances to be made, and ordered measures of police. At every new fact that was reported to it, the tribunes shouted, *So much the better!* At every remedy that was proposed, they cried *Down! Down!* Chaumette and Hebert* were hooted for proposing to beat the *générale*, and to require the armed force. It was nevertheless resolved that two strong patroles, preceded by two municipal officers, should be sent to restore order, and that twenty-seven more municipal officers should go and make proclamations in the sections.

The tumult had spread. The mob was plundering in different streets, and it was even proposed to go from the grocers to other shopkeepers. Meanwhile, men of all parties seized the occasion to reproach one another for this riot, and the evils which had caused it. "When you had a king," said the partisans of the abolished system, in the streets, "you were not obliged to pay such high prices for things, neither were you liable to be plundered."—"You see," cried the partisans of the Girondins, "whither the system of violence and the impunity of revolutionary excesses will lead us!"

The Mountaineers were exceedingly mortified, and asserted that it was disguised aristocrats, Fayettists, Rolandins, Brissotins, mingled among the rabble, who excited it to pillage. They declared that they had found in the mob women of high rank, men wearing powder, servants of high personages, who were distributing assignats to induce the people to enter the shops. At length, after the lapse of several hours, the armed force was

* "J. R. Hebert, born at Alençon, was naturally of an active disposition and an ardent imagination, but wholly without information. Before the Revolution, he lived in Paris by intrigue and imposture. Being employed at the theatre of the Variétés as receiver of the checks, he was dismissed for dishonesty, and retired to the house of a physician whom he robbed. In 1789 he embraced with ardour the popular party, and soon made himself known by a journal entitled 'Father Duchesne,' which had the greatest success among the people on account of the violence of its principles. On the 10th of August Hebert became one of the members of the insurrectional municipality, and afterwards, in September, contributed to the prison massacres. He was one of the first to preach atheism, and organize the Festivals of Reason. His popularity, however, was brief, for he was brought to the scaffold, together with his whole faction, by Robespierre, in 1794. He died with the greatest marks of weakness, and fainted several times on his road to execution. On all sides he heard, 'Father Duchesne is very uneasy, and will be very angry when Samson (the executioner) makes him tipsy.' A young man, whose entire family he had destroyed, called out to him, 'To-day is the great anger of Father Duchesne!' On the occasion of the Queen's trial, Hebert cast an imputation on her, of so atrocious and extravagant a nature, that even Robespierre was disgusted with it, and exclaimed, 'Madman! was it not enough for him to have asserted that she was a Messalina, without also making an Agrippina of her?' Hebert married a nun, who was guillotined with Chaumette and the rest of the faction of the commune."

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collected; Santerre returned from Versailles; the requisite orders were issued; the battalion of Brest, then in Paris, deployed with great zeal and confidence, and the rioters were finally dispersed.

In the evening, a warm discussion took place at the Jacobins. These disorders were deplored, in spite of the shouts of the tribunes and the expressions of their dissatisfaction. Collot-d'Herbois, Thuriot, and Robespierre, were unanimous in recommending tranquillity, and in throwing the blame of the tumult on the aristocrats and the Girondins. Robespierre made a long speech on this subject, in which he maintained that the populace was *impeccable*, that it was never in the wrong, and that, if it were not misled, it would never commit any fault. He declared that, among those groups of plunderers, there were people who lamented the death of the King, and warmly praised the right side of the Assembly; that he had heard this himself, and that consequently there could not be any doubt respecting the real instigators who had led the people astray. Marat himself came to recommend good order, to condemn the pillage, which he had preached up that very morning in his paper, and to impute it to the Girondins and the royalists.

Next day, the Assembly rang with the accustomed and ever useless complaints. Barrère inveighed forcibly against the crimes of the preceding day. He remarked upon the tardiness of the authorities to act in quelling the disturbance. The plunder had in fact begun at ten in the morning, and at five in the afternoon the armed force had not yet assembled. Barrère proposed that the mayor and the commandant-general should be summoned to explain the causes of this delay. A deputation of the section of Bon-Conseil seconded this motion. Salles then spoke. He proposed an act of accusation against the instigator of the pillage, Marat, and read the article inserted in his paper of the preceding day. Frequent motions had been made for an accusation against the instigators of disturbance, and particularly against Marat; there could not be a more favourable occasion for prosecuting them, for never had disturbance so speedily followed the provocation. Marat, not at all disconcerted, declared in the tribune that it was but natural that the people should do itself justice upon the forestallers, since the laws were inadequate, and that those who proposed to accuse him ought to be sent to the Petites-Maisons. Buzot moved the order of the day on the proposition to accuse *Monsieur Marat*. "The law is precise," said he, "but *Monsieur Marat* quibbles about its expressions; the jury will be embarrassed, and it will not be right to prepare a triumph for *Monsieur Marat*, before the face of justice herself." A member desired that the Convention should declare to the republic that "yesterday morning Marat exhorted to plunder, and that yesterday afternoon plunder was committed." Numerous propositions succeeded. At length it was resolved to send all the authors of the disturbances without distinction before the ordinary tribunals. "Well, then!" exclaimed Marat, "pass an act of accusation against myself, that the Convention may prove that it has lost all shame." At these words, a great tumult ensued. The Convention immediately sent Marat and all the authors of the misdemeanors committed on the 25th before the tribunals. Barrère's motion was adopted. Santerre and Pache were summoned to the bar. Fresh measures were taken against the supposed agents of foreigners and the emigrants: At the moment, this notion of a foreign influence was universally accredited. On the preceding day, new domiciliary visits had been ordered throughout all France, for the purpose of apprehending emigrants and suspicious travelers. This same day the obligation to obtain passports was renewed; all

keepers of taverns and lodging-houses were required to give an account of every foreigner lodging with them; and, lastly, a new list of all the citizens of the sections was ordered.

Marat was at length to be accused, and on the following day his paper contained this passage:

“Indignant at seeing the enemies of the public weal engaged in everlasting machinations against the people; disgusted at seeing forestallers of all sorts, uniting to drive the people to despair by distress and famine; mortified at seeing that the measures taken by the Convention for preventing these conspiracies have not accomplished the object; grieved at the complaints of the unfortunate creatures who daily come to ask me for bread, at the same time accusing the Convention of suffering them to perish by want; I take up the pen for the purpose of suggesting the best means of at length putting a stop to the conspiracies of the public enemies, and to the sufferings of the people. The simplest ideas are those which first present themselves to a well-constituted mind, which is anxious solely for the general happiness, without any reference to itself. I ask myself, then, why we do not turn against the public robbers those means which they employ to ruin the people and to destroy liberty. In consequence, I observe that, in every country where the rights of the people are not empty titles, ostentatiously recorded in a mere declaration, the plunder of a few shops, and the hanging of the forestallers at their own doors would soon put a stop to their malversations! What do the leaders of the faction of statesmen do? They eagerly pounce upon this expression; they then lose no time in sending emissaries among the mob of women collected before the bakers’ shops, to urge them to take away at a certain price soap, candles, and sugar, from the shops of the retail grocers, while these emissaries themselves plunder the shops of the poor patriot grocers. These villains then keep silence the whole day. They concert measures at night at a clandestine meeting held at the house of the strumpet of the counter-revolutionary Valazé,* and then come the next day to denounce me in the tribune as the instigator of the excesses of which they are themselves the primary authors.”

The quarrel became daily more and more violent. The parties openly threatened one another. Many of the deputies never went abroad without arms; and people began to say, with the same freedom as in the month of July and August in the preceding year, that they must save themselves by insurrection, and cut out the *mortified* part of the national representation. The Girondins met in the evening, in considerable number, at the residence of one of them, Valazé, and there they were quite undecided what course to pursue. Some believed, others disbelieved, in approaching dangers. Certain of them, as Salles and Louvet, supposed imaginary conspiracies, and, by directing attention to chimeras, diverted it from the real danger. Roving from project to project, placed in the heart of Paris, without any force at their disposal, and reckoning only upon the opinion of the departments, immense, it is true, but inert, they were liable to be swept off every day by a *coup de main*. They had not succeeded in forming a departmental force; the bodies of federalists, which had come spontaneously to Paris since the

* “C. E. Dufliche Valazé, a lawyer, was born at Alençon in 1751; he first followed the military career, and then went to the bar. At the period of the Revolution he embraced the cause of the people, and early attached himself to the party of the Gironde. He was condemned to death in 1793, but stabbed himself as soon as he had heard his sentence; his body nevertheless was carried in a cart to the foot of the scaffold. At his death Valazé was forty-two years of age. He was the author of several works.”—*Biographie Moderne*. E.

meeting of the Convention, were partly gained and had partly gone to the armies; and they had nothing to rely upon but four hundred men of Brest, whose firm bearing had put a stop to the pillage. For want of a departmental guard, they had in vain endeavoured to transfer the direction of the public force from the commune to the ministry of the interior. The Mountain, furious at this proposition, had intimidated the majority, and prevented it from voting such a measure. They could already reckon upon no more than eighty deputies, inaccessible to fear, and firm in their deliberations.

In this state of things, the Girondins had but one expedient left, as impracticable as all the others, that of dissolving the Convention. Here again the violence of the Mountain prevented them from obtaining a majority. In their indecision, arising not from imbecility but want of strength, they reposed upon the constitution. From the need to hope for something, they flattered themselves that the yoke of the law would restrain the passions, and put an end to all dissensions. Speculative minds were particularly fond of dwelling upon this idea. Condorcet had read his report, in the name of the committee of constitution, and had excited a general sensation. Condorcet, Petion, and Sieyes, had been loaded with imprecations at the Jacobins. Their republic had been regarded as an aristocracy ready made for certain lofty and overbearing talents. Accordingly, the Mountaineers opposed its being taken into consideration; and many members of the Convention, already sensible that their occupation would be not to constitute but to defend the Revolution, boldly declared that they ought to defer the discussion relative to the constitution till the next year, and for the moment think of nothing but governing and fighting. Thus the long reign of that stormy assembly began to announce itself. It ceased already to believe in the briefness of its legislative mission, and the Girondins saw themselves forsaken by their last hope, that of speedily controlling the factions by the laws.

Their adversaries were, on their part, not less embarrassed than themselves. They certainly had the violent passions in their favour; they had the Jacobins, the communes, and the majority of the sections; but they possessed none of the ministers. They dreaded the departments, where the two opinions were struggling with extreme fury, and where their own had an evident disadvantage; lastly, they dreaded the foreign powers; and though the ordinary laws of revolutions insure victory to the violent passions, yet these laws, being unknown to, could not cheer them. Their plans were as vague as those of their adversaries. To attack the national representation was a course not less difficult than bold, and they had not yet accustomed themselves to this idea. There were certainly some thirty agitators who were bold enough to propose anything in the sections; but these plans were disapproved by the Jacobins, by the commune, by the Mountaineers, who, daily accused of conspiring and daily justifying themselves, felt that propositions of this kind compromised them in the eyes of their adversaries and of the departments. Danton, who had taken but little share in the quarrels of the parties, was anxious only about two things: to secure himself from all prosecution on account of his revolutionary acts, and to prevent the Revolution from retrograding and sinking beneath the blows of the enemy. Marat himself, so reckless and so atrocious, when the question was concerning means—Marat hesitated; and Robespierre, notwithstanding his hatred of the Girondins, of Brissot, Roland, Gaudet, Vergniaud, durst not think of an attack upon the national representation; he knew not what expedient to adopt; he was discouraged; he doubted the salvation of the

Revolution, and told Garat that he was tired, sick of it, and that he verily believed people were plotting the ruin of all the defenders of the republic.

While the two parties were struggling with violence at Marseilles, at Lyons, and at Bordeaux, the proposition to get rid of the *appelants*, and to eject them from the Convention, proceeded from the Jacobins of Marseilles, in conflict with the partizans of the Girondins. This proposition, transferred to the Jacobins of Paris, was discussed there. Desfieux maintained that this measure was supported by affiliated societies enough to be converted into a petition, and presented to the National Convention. Robespierre, fearing that such a demand might lead to the entire renewal of the Assembly, and that in the contest of elections the party of the Mountain might be beaten, strongly opposed it, and finally caused it to be rejected, for the reasons usually advanced against all plans of dissolution.

Our military reverses now came to accelerate the progress of events. We left Dumouriez encamped on the shore of the Bielbos, and preparing for a hazardous, but practicable, landing in Holland. While he was making arrangements for his expedition, two hundred and sixty thousand combatants were marching against France, between the Upper Rhine and Holland. Fifty-six thousand Prussians, twenty-five thousand Hessians, Saxons, and Bavarians, threatened the Rhine from Basle to Mayence and Coblenz. From this point to the Meuse, thirty thousand men occupied Luxemburg. Sixty thousand Austrians and ten thousand Prussians were marching towards our quarters on the Meuse, to raise the sieges of Maestricht and Venloo. Lastly, forty thousand English, Hanoverians, and Dutch, who were still behindhand, were advancing from the extremity of Holland upon our line of operation.

The plan of the enemy was to bring us back from Holland upon the Scheldt, to compel us to recross the Meuse, and then to wait upon that river till the fortress of Mayence should be retaken. His intention was to march on thus by little and little, to advance equally upon all the points at once, and not penetrate rapidly upon any, that he might not expose his flanks. This cautious and methodical plan would not have allowed us to push the offensive enterprize against Holland much farther and more actively, had not blunders, or unlucky accidents, or too great precipitation in taking alarm, obliged us to relinquish it. The Prince of Coburg,* who had distinguished himself in the last campaign against the Turks, commanded the Austrians, who were advancing towards the Meuse. Disorder prevailed in our quarters, which were dispersed between Maestricht, Aix-la-Chapelle, Liege, and Tongres. Early in March the Prince of Coburg crossed the Roer, and advanced by Duren and Aldenhoven upon Aix-la-Chapelle. Our troops suddenly attacked, retreated in disorder towards Aix-la-Chapelle, and abandoned even the gates to the enemy. Miaczinsky resisted for some time, but, after a very sanguinary combat in the streets of the town, he was obliged to give way, and to retire in disorder towards Liege. At the same time, Stengel and Neulilly, separated by this movement, were driven back upon Limburg. Miranda, who was besieging Maestricht, and who was also liable to be cut

* "Frederick Josias, Duke of Saxe-Coburg, an Austrian field-marshal, was born in 1737. In 1788 he took Choczim, and in connexion with the Russian general, Suwaroff, defeated the Turks at Focsani in 1789, and conquered Bucharest. In 1793 he commanded against the French; was victorious at Aldenhoven and Neerwinden; and took Valenciennes, and several other towns; but when the Duke of York separated himself from the Austrians in order to besiege Dunkirk, Coburg was beaten at Maubeuge, Clairfayt at Tournay, and the English at Dunkirk. The prince in consequence retreated over the Rhine, and gave up his command. He died in his native city in 1815."—*Encyclopædia Americana*. E.

off from the main body of the army, which had retired to Liege, even quitted the left bank, and retreated upon Tongres. The imperialists immediately entered Maestricht, and the Archduke Charles,* boldly pushing on in pursuit beyond the Meuse, proceeded to Tongres, and there obtained an advantage. Valence, Dampierre, and Miaczinsky, uniting at Liege, then conceived that they ought to make haste to rejoin Miranda; and marched upon St. Trond, whither Miranda, on his side, was directing his course. The retreat was so precipitate, that great part of the *matériel* was lost. However, after great dangers, they effected their junction at St. Trond. Lamarlière and Champmorin, posted at Ruremonde, had time to repair by Dietz to the same point. Stengel and Neuilly, completely cut off from the army and driven back towards Limberg, were picked up at Namur by the division of General d'Harville. At length our troops having rallied at Tirlemont, recovered some degree of composure and confidence, and awaited the arrival of Dumouriez, who was loudly called for.

No sooner was he apprized of this first discomfiture, than he ordered Miranda to rally all his force at Maestricht, and quietly to continue the siege with seventy thousand men. He was persuaded that the Austrians would not dare to give battle, and that the invasion of Holland would soon bring the allies upon his rear. This notion was correct, and founded upon this true idea, that in case of a reciprocal offensive, the victory remains with him who can contrive to wait the longest. The very timid plan of the Imperialists, who would not break out upon any point, rendered this notion still more reasonable; but the negligence of the generals, who had not concentrated themselves early enough, their confusion after the attack, the impossibility of rallying in presence of the enemy, and above all, the absence of a man superior in authority and influence, rendered the execution of the order given by Dumouriez impracticable. Letters after letters were therefore despatched to him, urging his return from Holland. The terror had become general. More than ten thousand deserters had already quitted the army, and were spreading themselves towards the interior. The commissioners of the Convention hastened to Paris, and caused an order to be sent to Dumouriez to leave to another the expedition attempted upon Holland, and to return with all possible speed to put himself at the head of the grand army of the Meuse. This order he received on the 8th, and he set out on the 9th, mortified to see all his projects overthrown. He returned, more disposed than ever to censure the revolutionary system introduced into Belgium, and to quarrel

* "Charles Louis, Archduke of Austria, son of Leopold II., and brother of the late Emperor Francis, was born in 1771. He commenced his military career in 1793, commanded the vanguard of the Prince of Coburg, and distinguished himself by his talent and bravery. In 1796 he was made field-marshal of the German empire, and took the chief command of the Austrian army on the Rhine. He fought several successful battles against the French Generals Moreau and Jourdan, and forced them to retreat over the Rhine. After the battle of Hohenlinden, when the French entered Austria, the archduke, who had previously retired from service by reason of ill-health, was again placed at the head of the troops, but was compelled at length to make peace at Luneville. In 1805 he commanded an Austrian army in Italy against Massena, over whom he gained a victory at Caldiero. In 1809 he advanced into Bavaria, where he was opposed by the whole French army commanded by Napoleon; a hard-fought and bloody battle, which lasted five days, ensued, and the Austrians were compelled to retreat. In the same year, the archduke gained a victory at Aspern, opposite to Vienna, and compelled the French to retreat across the Danube with great loss. At the memorable battle of Wagram, he was wounded, and compelled to give way, after a contest of two days. Soon after this, the archduke resigned the command of the army. In 1815 he married the Princess Henrietta of Nassau-Weilburg. He is the author of two able works on military matters."—*Encyclopædia Americana*. E.

with the Jacobins on account of the ill success of his plans of campaign. He found in reality abundant matter both for complaint and censure. The agents of the executive power in Belgium exercised a despotic and vexatious authority. They had everywhere excited the populace, and frequently employed violence in the assemblies where the union with France was discussed. They had seized the plate of the churches, sequestered the revenues of the clergy, confiscated the estates of the nobility, and kindled the strongest indignation in all classes of the Belgian people. Already an insurrection against the French had begun to break forth towards Grammont.

It needed not circumstances so serious to dispose Dumouriez to treat the commissioners of the government with severity. He began with ordering them to be arrested, and sending them under an escort to Paris. He talked to the others in the most peremptory tone, compelled them to confine themselves to their functions, forbade them to interfere in the military arrangements of the generals, or to give any orders to troops within their district. He removed General Moreton, who had made common cause with them. He shut up the clubs, caused part of the articles taken from the churches to be restored to the Belgians, and accompanied these measures with a proclamation, disavowing, in the name of France, the vexations which had been committed. He called the perpetrators *brigands*, and exercised a dictatorship, which, while it attached Belgium to him, and rendered the occupation of the country more secure to the French army, raised to the highest pitch the wrath of the Jacobins. He had actually a very warm discussion with Camus, expressed himself contemptuously respecting the government of the moment; and, forgetting the fate of Lafayette, and relying too implicitly on military power, he conducted himself as general, certain that he could, if he pleased, check the progress of the Revolution, and well disposed to do so, if he should be pushed to extremity. The same spirit was communicated to his staff. The officers spoke with disdain of the populace which ruled Paris, and of the imbecile conventionalists, who suffered themselves to be oppressed by it: all who were suspected of Jacobinism were maltreated and removed; and the soldiers, overjoyed at seeing their general again among them, affected, in the presence of the commissioners of the Convention, to stop his horse, and to kiss his boots, at the same time calling him their father.

These tidings excited the greatest tumult in Paris, and provoked fresh outrages against traitors and counter-revolutionists. Choudieu, the deputy, immediately took advantage of them to demand, as had frequently been done, that the federalists still in Paris should be sent off. Whenever unfavourable intelligence arrived from the armies, this demand was sure to be repeated. Barbaroux wished to speak on this subject, but his presence excited a commotion hitherto unexampled. Buzot attempted in vain to pay a tribute to the firmness of the men of Brest during the riot. Boyer-Fonfrède merely obtained, by a sort of compromise, the concession that the federalists of the maritime departments should go to complete the army of the coasts of the Ocean which was still too weak. The others were allowed to remain in Paris.

Next day, March the 9th, the Convention ordered all the officers to rejoin their corps forthwith. Danton proposed to furnish the Parisians once more with an occasion to save France. "Ask them for thirty thousand men," said he, "send them to Dumouriez; Belgium will be secured to us and Holland conquered." Thirty thousand men were, in fact, not difficult to be found in Paris; they would be a powerful reinforcement to the army of the North, and give new importance to the capital. Danton moreover proposed

to send commissioners of the Convention to the departments and to the sections, in order to accelerate the recruiting by all possible means. All these motions were adopted. The sections had orders to meet in the evening; commissioners were appointed to repair to them; the theatres were closed that the public attention might not be diverted, and the black flag was hoisted at the Hôtel de Ville as a sign of distress.

The meeting accordingly took place in the evening. The commissioners were most favourably received in the sections. Men's imaginations were excited, and the proposal to repair immediately to the armies was cheerfully acceded to. But the same thing happened on this occasion as on the 2d and 3d of September. The Parisians insisted that before their departure the traitors should be punished. Ever since that period, they had an expression ready made. They did not like, they said, to leave behind them conspirators ready to butcher their families in their absence. It would therefore be necessary, in order to avoid fresh popular executions, to organize legal and terrible executions, which should reach, without delay and without appeal, the counter-revolutionists, the hidden conspirators, who threatened within the evolution which was already threatened from without. It would be necessary to suspend the sword over the heads of generals, of ministers, of unfaithful deputies, who compromised the public welfare. It was, moreover, not just that the wealthy egotists, who were not fond of the system of equality, who cared but little whether they belonged to the Convention or to Brunswick, and who consequently would not come forward to fill up the ranks of the army—it was not just that they should remain strangers to the public cause, and do nothing in its behalf. It would be but right, consequently, that all those who possessed an income of more than fifteen hundred livres should pay a tax proportionate to their means, and sufficient to indemnify those who should devote themselves for all the expenses of the campaign. This twofold wish of a tribunal instituted against the hostile party, and of a contribution of the rich in favour of the poor who were going to fight, was almost general in the sections. Several of them went to the commune to express it; the Jacobins adopted it on their part, and next day the Convention was startled by the expression of a universal and irresistible opinion.

On the following day, March 9th, all the Mountaineer deputies attended the sitting. The Jacobins filled the tribunes. They had turned all the women out of them, "because," as they said, "they should have an expedition to perform." Several of them carried pistols. Gamon, the deputy, would have complained of this, but could not obtain a hearing. The Mountain and the tribunes, firmly resolved, intimidated the majority, and appeared determined not to admit of any opposition. The mayor entered, with the council of the commune, confirmed the report of the commissioners of the Convention respecting the self-devotion of the sections, but repeated their wish for an extraordinary tribunal and a tax upon the rich. A great number of sections succeeded the commune, and likewise demanded the tribunal and the tax. Some added the demand of a law against forestallers, of a *maximum* in the price of commodities, and of the abrogation of the decree which invested merchandise with the character of metallic money, and permitted it to circulate at a different price from the paper currency. After all these petitions, it was insisted that the several measures proposed should be put to the vote. A motion was made for voting forthwith the principle of the establishment of an extraordinary tribunal. Some deputies opposed it. Lanjuinais spoke, and insisted that, if they were absolutely required to sanc-

tion the iniquity of a tribunal without appeal, they ought at least to confine this calamity to the single department of Paris. Guadet and Valazé made vain efforts to support Lanjuinais. They were brutally interrupted by the Mountain. Some deputies even demanded that this tribunal should bear the name of *revolutionary*. But the Convention, without permitting further discussion, decreed the establishment of an *extraordinary criminal* tribunal to try, without appeal and without reference to the court of cassation, conspirators and counter-revolutionists; and directed its committee of legislation to present to it on the following day a plan of organization.

Immediately after this decree, a second was passed, which imposed an extraordinary war-tax on the rich; also, a third, appointing forty-one commissions, of two deputies each, authorized to repair to the departments to hasten the recruiting by all possible means, to disarm those who should not go, to cause suspicious persons to be apprehended, to take horses kept for luxury; in short, to exercise there the most absolute dictatorship. To these measures were added others. The exhibitions of the colleges were in future to be conferred only on the sons of those who should join the armies. All bachelors holding situations in the public offices were to be replaced by fathers of families, and arrest for debt was to be abolished. The right to make a will had been annulled some days before. All these measures were adopted at the instigation of Danton, who thoroughly understood the art of attaching interests to the cause of the Revolution.

The Jacobins, satisfied with this day, hastened to their club to applaud themselves for the zeal which they had displayed, for the manner in which they had filled the tribunes, and for the imposing assemblage presented by the close ranks of the Mountain. They recommended to each other to persevere, and to be all present at the sitting of the following day, at which the extraordinary tribunal was to be organized. Robespierre, said they, had given a strict injunction to this effect. Still they were not content with what they had obtained. One of them proposed to draw up a petition, demanding the renewal of the committees and the administration, the apprehension of all functionaries at the very moment of their dismissal from office, and that of all the administrators of the posts, and counter-revolutionary journalists. It was proposed to draw up the petition on the spot; but the president objected that the society could not perform any collective act, and it was therefore agreed to seek some other place for meeting in the character of mere petitioners. They then spread themselves over Paris. Tumult reigned in that city. About a hundred persons, the usual promoters of all the disturbances, headed by Lasouski, had repaired to the office of Gorsas, the journalist, armed with swords and pistols, and had broken in pieces his presses. Gorsas had fled; but he would not have escaped, had he not defended himself with great courage and presence of mind. They had paid a like visit to the publisher of the *Chronique*, and also ravaged his printing office.

The next day threatened to be still more stormy. It was Sunday. A dinner was provided at the section of Halle-au-Blé, as an entertainment to the recruits who were going off to the army; the want of occupation of the populace, together with the excitement of the festivity, might lead to the worst projects. The hall of the Convention was as full as on the preceding day. In the tribunes and at the Mountain the ranks were equally close, and equally threatening. The discussion opened upon various matters of detail. A letter from Dumouriez was then taken into consideration. Robespierre supported the propositions of the general, and insisted that Lanoue and

Stengel, both commanding in the advanced guard at the time of the late rout, should be placed under accusation. The accusation was immediately decreed. The next business brought forward, was the despatch of the deputies who were to be the commissioners for the recruiting. Their votes, however, being required for insuring the establishment of the extraordinary tribunal, it was resolved that it should be organized in the course of the day, and that the commissioners should be sent off on the morrow. Cambacérès* immediately moved for the organization both of the extraordinary tribunal and of the ministry. Buzot then rushed to the tribune, but was interrupted by violent murmurs. "These murmurs," he exclaimed, "teach me what I already knew, that there is courage in opposing the despotism which is preparing for us." Renewed murmurs arose. He continued: "I give you up my life, but I am determined to rescue my memory from dishonour by opposing the despotism of the National Convention. People desire that you should combine in your hands all the powers."—"You ought to act, not prate," exclaimed a voice. "You are right," replied Buzot; "the public writers of the monarchy also said that it was necessary to act, and that consequently the despotic government of one was better —" A fresh noise was raised. Confusion prevailed in the Assembly. At length it was agreed to adjourn the organization of the ministry, and to attend for the moment to the extraordinary tribunal alone. The report of the committee was asked for. That report was not yet ready, and the sketch which had been agreed upon was demanded in its stead. It was read by Robert Lindet, who at the same time deplored its severity. The provisions proposed by him, in a tone of the deepest sorrow, were these: The tribunal shall consist of nine judges, appointed by the Convention, independent of all forms, acquiring conviction by any means, divided into two ever-permanent sections, prosecuting by desire of the Convention, or directly, those who, by their conduct or the manifestation of their opinions, shall have endeavoured to mislead the people, those who, by the places which they held under the old government, remind us of the prerogatives usurped by the despots.

* "Jean Jacques Régis Cambacérès was born in 1753, at Montpellier, of an ancient family of lawyers. At the commencement of the Revolution, he received several public offices, and in 1792 became a member of the Convention. In 1793 he declared Louis XVI. guilty, but disputed the right of the Convention to judge him, and voted for his provisory arrest, and in case of a hostile invasion, for his death. As a member of the committee of public safety, Cambacérès reported the treason of Dumouriez. After the fall of the Terrorists, he entered into the council of Five Hundred, where he presented a new plan for a civil code, which became subsequently the foundation of the Code Napoleon. On the 18th Brumaire, he was chosen second consul, and after Bonaparte had ascended the throne, was appointed arch-chancellor of the empire. In 1808 he was created Duke of Parma. On the approach of the Allies in 1814, he followed the government, whence he sent his consent to the emperor's abdication. On the return of Napoleon, in the following year, he was made president of the House of Peers, and on the emperor's second downfall, was banished, and went to live at Brussels. In 1818 the King permitted him to return to Paris, where he lived afterwards as a private individual, and died in 1824."—*Encyclopædia Americana*. E.

The Consul Cambacérès received company every Tuesday and Saturday, and no other house in Paris could stand a comparison with his hotel. He was a consummate epicure, had great conversational powers, and the incidents of his narratives acquired novelty and grace from the turn of his language. I may be allowed to call him an honest man, for, looking round on all his equals in power, I have never found one of such absolute good faith and probity. His figure was extraordinarily ugly, as well as unique. The slow and regular step, the measured cadence of accentuation, the very look, which was three times as long as another's to arrive at its object;—all was in admirable keeping with the long person, long nose, long chin, and the yellow skin, which betrayed not the smallest symptoms that any matter inclining to sanguine circulated beneath its cellular texture. The same consistency

On the reading of this horrible project, applauses burst forth on the left, and a violent agitation ensued on the right. "Better die," exclaimed Vergniaud, "than consent to the establishment of this Venetian inquisition!"—"The people," replied Amar, "must have either this measure of salvation or insurrection."—"My attachment to the revolutionary power," said Cambon, "is sufficiently known; but if the people have made a wrong choice in the elections, we too might make a wrong choice in the appointment of these nine judges, and then they would be insupportable tyrants whom we should have set up over ourselves!"—"This tribunal," exclaimed Duhera, "is still too good for villains and counter-revolutionists!" The tumult continued, and time was wasted in threats, abuse, and all sorts of cries. "We will have it so," shouted some. "We will not have it so," replied others. Barrère demanded juries, and forcibly insisted on the necessity for them. Turreau moved that they should be selected from Paris, Boyer-Fonfrède from the whole extent of the republic, because the new tribunal would have to judge of crimes committed in the departments, in the armies, and everywhere. The day was far advanced, and night already coming on. Gensonné, the president, gave a summary of the different propositions, and was preparing to put them to the vote. The Assembly, worn out with fatigue, seemed ready to yield to so much violence. The members of the Plain began to retire, and the Mountain, in order to complete the work of intimidation, insisted that the votes should be given *viva voce*. "Yes," cried Feraud* indignantly, "yes, let us vote *viva voce*, to make known to the world the men who want to murder innocence under the shadow of the law!" This vehement apostrophe rallied the right side and the centre, and, contrary to all appearance, the majority declared: 1. There

pervaded his dress; and when demurely promenading the galleries of the Palais Royal, then the Palais Egalité, the singular cut and colour of his embroidered coat; his ruffles, at that time so uncommon; his short breeches, silk stockings, shoes polished with English blacking, and fastened with gold buckles, his old-fashioned wig and queue, and his well-appointed and well-placed three-cornered hat, produced altogether a most fantastic effect. The members of his household, by their peculiarities of dress, served as accessories to the picture. Cambacérès went every evening to the theatre, and afterwards seldom failed to make his appearance with his suite, all in full costume, either in the gardens of the Tuileries, or of the Palais Egalité, where everything around exhibited the most ludicrous contrast to this strange group."—*Duchess d'Abrantes*. E.

"Cambacérès, who was an inveterate epicure, did not believe it possible that a good government could exist without good dinners; and his glory (for every man has his own particular hobby) was to know that the luxuries of his table were the subject of eulogy throughout Paris, and even Europe. A banquet which commanded general suffrage was to him a Marengo."—*Bourrienne*. E.

* "Feraud, deputy to the Convention, voted for the death of Louis XVI.; and when the commune of Paris desired that the Girondins should be tried, he proposed declaring that they had not forfeited the confidence of the Assembly. These sentiments would have involved him in their ruin, had he not been saved by a mission to the army of the Western Pyrenees, where he received a wound in charging at the head of the columns. Being returned again to the Convention, he became a partisan of Barras, and assisted him in turning the armed force against Robespierre and his faction. When the revolt happened in 1795, he showed more courage than any of the other deputies, in opposing the Terrorists at the moment when they forced the entrance of the hall; but he became the victim of his valour, for after having been abused by the crowd, he received a pistol-shot in his breast, at the time when he was endeavouring to repulse several men who were making towards the president. His body was immediately seized and dragged into an adjoining passage, where his head was cut off, fixed on the top of a pike, and brought into the hall to the president, Boissy d'Anglas, to terrify him as well as the rest of the representatives. Feraud was born in the valley of the Daure, at the foot of the Pyrenees."—*Biographie Moderne*. E.

shall be juries ; 2. Those juries shall be taken in equal number in the departments ; 3. They shall be appointed by the Convention.

After the adoption of these three propositions, Gensonné thought it right to grant an hour's respite to the Assembly, which was overwhelmed with fatigue. The deputies rose to retire. "I summon the good citizens to keep their places!" cried Danton. At the sound of that terrible voice, every one resumed his seat. "What!" he exclaimed; "is it at the moment when Miranda may be beaten, and Dumouriez, taken in the rear, may be obliged to lay down his arms, that you think of deserting your post!*" It behoves us to complete the enactment of those extraordinary laws destined to overawe your internal enemies. They must be arbitrary, because it is impossible to render them precise; because, terrible though they be, they will be preferable to the popular executions which now, as in September, would be the consequence of the delay of justice. After this tribunal, you must organize an energetic executive power, which shall be in immediate contact with you, and be able to set in motion all your means in men and in money. To-day, then, the extraordinary tribunal, to-morrow, the executive power, and the next day the departure of your commissioners for the departments. People may calumniate me if they please; but, let my memory perish, so the republic be saved."

Notwithstanding this vehement exhortation, an adjournment for an hour was granted, and the deputies went to take indispensably necessary rest. It was about seven o'clock in the evening. The idleness of the Sunday, the dinner given to the recruits, the question discussed in the Assembly, all tended to increase the popular agitation. Without any plot concerted beforehand, as the Girondins believed, the mere disposition of people's minds urged them on to a stirring scene. The Jacobins were assembled. Bентаbole had hastened thither to make his report of the sitting of the Convention, and to complain of the patriots, who had not been so energetic on that as on the preceding day. The general council of the commune was likewise sitting. The sections, forsaken by the peaceable citizens, were given up to the influence of furious men, who were passing inflammatory resolutions. In that of the Quatre-Nations, eighteen frantic persons had decided that the department of the Seine ought at this moment to exercise the sovereignty, and that the electoral body of Paris ought immediately to assemble, in order to clear the National Convention of those unfaithful deputies who were conspiring with the enemies of the Revolution. The same resolution had been adopted at the club of the Cordeliers: and a deputation of the section, and of the club was proceeding at that moment to communicate it to the commune. According to the usual practice in all commotions, rioters were running to direct the barriers to be closed.

At this same instant, the cries of an infuriated populace resounded in the streets. The recruits, who had dined at the Halie-au-Blé, filled with fury and wine, armed with pistols and swords, advanced towards the hall of the Jacobins singing atrocious songs. They arrived there just as Bентаbole was concluding his report on the sitting of the day. On reaching the door, they demanded permission to file off through the hall. They passed through it amidst applause. "Citizens," said one of them, addressing the Assembly, "at the moment when the country is in danger, the conquerors of the 10th of August are rising to exterminate its enemies abroad and at home."—"Yes," replied Collot-d'Herbois, the president, "in spite of intriguers, we

* It was not known at this moment that Dumouriez had quitted Holland to return to the Meuse.

will together with you save liberty." Desfieux then spoke. He said that Miranda was a creature of Petion, and that he was betraying the country; and that Brissot had caused war to be declared against England in order to ruin France. "There is but one way left to save ourselves," continued he; "that is to get rid of all these traitors, to put all the *appellants* under arrest at their own homes, and let the people elect other deputies in their stead." A man in military dress, stepping forth from the crowd which had just filed off, insisted that arrest was not sufficient, and that the people ought to take vengeance. "What is inviolability?" cried he. "I trample it under foot." . . . As he uttered these words, Dubois-Crancé* arrived and opposed these propositions. His resistance occasioned a frightful tumult. It was proposed that they should divide into two columns, one of which should go and fetch their Cordelier brethren, while the other should proceed to the Convention, file off through the hall, and intimate to the Assembly all that was required of it. There was some hesitation in deciding upon the departure, but the tribunes took possession of the hall, the lights were extinguished, the agitators carried their point, and two corps were formed for the purpose of proceeding to the Convention and the Cordeliers.

At this moment the wife of Louvet, who had lodgings in the Rue St. Honoré, near the Jacobins, hearing the vociferations which proceeded from that place, went thither to ascertain what was going forward. Having witnessed this scene, she hastened to apprise Louvet of it. He, with many other members of the right side, had left the sitting of the Convention, where it was said they were to be assassinated. Louvet, armed as people generally went at that time, and favoured by the darkness of night, ran from house to house to warn his friends, and to desire them to meet in a retired place, where they might be safe from the attacks of murderers. He found them at the house of Petion quietly deliberating upon the decrees to be passed. He strove to communicate to them his alarm, but could not disturb the equanimity of the unimpassioned Petion, who, looking up at the sky, and seeing the rain falling, drily observed: "There will be nothing to-night." A rendezvous was, nevertheless, appointed, and one of the deputies, named Kervelegan, posted off, at full speed, to the barracks of the Brest battalion to desire that it might be got under arms. Meanwhile, the ministers, having no force at their disposal, knew not what means to take for defending the Convention and themselves, for they too were threatened. The Assembly, struck with consternation, anticipated a terrible *dénouement*; and, at every noise, at every shout, it fancied itself on the point of being stormed by mur-

* "E. L. A. Dubois-Crancé entered into the King's musqueteers, and became lieutenant of the marshals of France. In 1792 he was chosen deputy to the Convention, and on the King's trial, opposed the appeal to the people, and voted for his death. In the following year he was chosen president of the Convention, and entered into the committee of public safety. He contributed to the fall of the Girondins, and afterwards to that of Robespierre and the Terrorists. In 1799 the Directory raised him to the administration of the war department, in the place of Bernadotte. Dubois de Crancé died in 1805 at an estate to which he had retired."—*Biographie Moderne*. E.

† The following spirited sketch of this distinguished Girondin is from the pen of one who knew him well: "Louvet is ill-looking, little, weakly, short-sighted and slovenly. He seems a mere nobody to the generality, who do not observe the dignity of his brow, and the fire which animates his eyes, at the expression of any great truth. Men of letters are acquainted with his pretty novels, but politics owe more important obligations to him. It is impossible to have more wit, less affectation, and more simplicity than Louvet. Courageous as a lion, simple as a child, a feeling man, a good citizen, a vigorous writer, he in the tribune can make Catiline tremble; he can dine with the Graces, and sup with Bachaumont."—*Madame Roland*. E.

derers. Forty members only were left on the right side, and fully expected an attack to be made on their lives. They had arms, and held their pistols in readiness. They had agreed among themselves to rush upon the Mountain at the first movement, and despatch as many of its members as they could. The tribunes and the Mountain were in the same attitude, and both sides looked forward to an awful and sanguinary catastrophe.

But audacity had not yet reached such a pitch as to carry into effect a 10th of August against the Convention. This was but a preliminary scene, only a 20th of June. The commune durst not favour a movement for which people's minds were not sufficiently prepared; nay, it was very sincerely indignant at it. The mayor, when the two deputations of the Cordeliers and the Quatre-Nations presented themselves, refused to listen to them. Complaisant to the Jacobins, he was certainly no friend to the Girondins, nay, he might perhaps wish for their downfall, but he had reason to regard a commotion as dangerous. He was, moreover, like Petion on the 20th of June and the 10th of August, deterred by the illegality, and wanted violence to be done to him to make him yield. He therefore repulsed the two deputations. Hebert and Chaumette, the *procureurs* of the commune, supported him. Orders were sent to keep the barriers open; an address to the sections was drawn up and another to the Jacobins, to bring them back to order. Santerre made a most energetic speech to the commune, and inveighed against those who demanded a new insurrection. He said that, the tyrant being overthrown, this second insurrection could be directed only against the people, who at present reigned alone; that, if there were bad deputies, they ought to endure them, as they had endured Maury and Cazales; that Paris was not all France, and was obliged to accept the deputies of the departments; that, as for the minister at war, if he had displaced officers, he had a right to do so, since he was responsible for his agents. . . . As for Paris, a few silly and mistaken men fancied that they could govern, and wanted to disorganize everything: that finally, he should call out the force, and reduce the evil-disposed to order.

Beurnonville, for his part, his hotel being surrounded, got over the wall of his garden, collected as many people as he could, put himself at the head of the Brest battalion, and over-awed the agitators. The section of the Quatre-Nations, the Cordeliers, and the Jacobins, returned to their respective places. Thus the resistance of the commune, the conduct of Santerre, the courage of Beurnonville and the men of Brest, perhaps also the heavy rain that was falling, prevented the insurrection from being pushed any farther. Moreover, passion was not yet sufficiently strong against all that was most noble and most generous in the infant republic. Petion, Condorcet, and Vergniaud, were still destined for some time longer to display in the Convention their courage, their talents, and their overpowering eloquence. The tumult subsided. The mayor, summoned to the bar of the Convention, assured it that quiet was restored; and that very night it peaceably completed the decree which organized the revolutionary tribunal. This tribunal was to be composed of a jury, five judges, a public accuser, and two assistants, all appointed by the Convention.* The jurors were to be chosen before the

* "The decree of the Convention was in these terms: "There shall be established at Paris an Extraordinary Criminal Revolutionary Tribunal. It shall take cognizance of every attempt against liberty, equality, the unity, or indivisibility of the republic, the internal or external security of the state, of all conspiracies tending to the re-establishment of royalty, or hostile to the sovereignty of the people, whether the accused are public functionaries, civil or military, or private individuals. The members of the jury shall be chosen by

month of May, and it was provided that *ad interim* they might be selected from the department of Paris and the four contiguous departments. The jurors were to signify their opinions *vivá voce*.

The effect of the occurrences of the 10th of March was to excite the indignation of the members of the right side, and to cause embarrassment to those of the left side, who were compromised by premature demonstrations. On all hands this movement was disavowed as illegal, as an attack upon the national representation. Even those who did not disapprove of the idea of a new insurrection condemned this as ill managed, and declared that they ought to beware of agitators paid by England and the emigrants to provoke disturbances. The two sides of the Assembly seemed to concur in establishing this opinion. Both entertained the notion of a secret influence, and mutually accused each other of being its accomplices. A strange scene tended to confirm still more this general opinion. The section Poissonnière, in presenting volunteers, demanded an act of accusation against Dumouriez, the general on whom rested for the moment all the hopes of the French army. This petition, read by the president of the section, was received with a general burst of indignation. "He is an aristocrat," cried one, "and paid by the English." At the same instant, the flag borne by the section being examined, it was perceived with astonishment that its riband was white, and that it was surmounted by fleurs-de-lis. Shouts of indignation broke forth at this sight. The fleurs-de-lis and the riband were torn in pieces, and its place supplied by a tricoloured riband, which a female threw from the tribunes. Isnard immediately spoke, and demanded an act of accusation against the president of that section. More than a hundred voices supported this motion, and in this number that which attracted most attention was Marat's. "This petition," said he, "is a plot; it ought to be read through; you will see that it demands the heads of Vergniaud, Guadet, Gensonné . . . and others. You are aware," added he, "what a triumph such a massacre would be for our enemies! It would be the destruction of the Convention!" . . . Here universal applause interrupted Marat. He resumed, denounced himself as one of the principal agitators, named Fournier, and demanded his apprehension. It was instantly ordered; the whole affair was referred to the committee of general safety; and the Assembly ordered a copy of the minutes (*procès-verbal*) to be sent to Dumouriez, to prove to him that, as far as he was concerned, it gave no encouragement to the denunciations of calumniators.

Young Varlet, a friend and companion of Fournier, hastened to the Jacobins to demand justice for his apprehension, and to propose to go and set him at liberty. "Fournier," said he, "is not the only person threatened. Lasouski, Desfieux, and myself, are in the same predicament. The revolutionary tribunal, which is just established, will turn against the patriots like that of the 10th of August, and the brethren who hear me are not Jacobins if they do not follow me." He was then proceeding to accuse Dumouriez, but here an extraordinary agitation pervaded the Assembly: the president put on his hat and said that people wanted to ruin the Jacobins. Billaud-Varennes himself ascended the tribune, complained of these inflammatory propositions, justified Dumouriez, to whom, he said, he was no friend, but who, nevertheless, did his duty, and who had proved that

the Convention; the judges, the public accuser, the two substitutes shall be named by it; the tribunal shall decide on the opinion of the majority of the jury; the opinion of the court shall be without appeal; and the effects of the condemned shall be confiscated to the republic."—*History of the Convention*. E.

he was determined to fight stoutly. He complained of a plan for disorganizing the National Convention by attacks upon it; declared Varlet, Fournier, and Desfieux, as highly suspicious, and supported the proposal for a purificatory scrutiny, to clear the society of all the secret enemies who wished to compromise it. The sentiments of Billaud-Varennes were adopted. Satisfactory intelligence, such as the rallying of the army by Dumouriez, and the acknowledgment of the republic by the Porte, contributed to restore complete tranquillity. Thus Marat, Billaud-Varennes, and Robespierre, who also spoke in the same spirit, all declared themselves against the agitators, and seemed to agree in believing that they were in the pay of the enemy. This is an incontestable proof that there existed no plot secretly formed, as the Girondins believed. Had such a plot existed, assuredly Billaud-Varennes, Marat, and Robespierre would have been more or less implicated in it; they would have been obliged to keep silence, like the left side of the Legislative Assembly after the 20th of June, and certainly they could not have demanded the apprehension of one of their accomplices. But in this instance, the movement was but the effect of popular agitation,* and it could have been disavowed, if it had been too premature or too unskillfully combined. Besides, Marat, Robespierre, and Billaud-Varennes, though they desired the fall of the Girondins, sincerely dreaded the intrigues of foreigners, feared a disorganization in presence of the victorious enemy, felt apprehension of the opinions of the departments, were embarrassed by the accusations to which these movements exposed them, and probably never thought as yet of anything further than making themselves masters of all the departments of the ministry, of all the committees, and driving the Girondins from the government, without excluding them by violence from the legislature. One man alone, and he the least inimical of all to the Girondins, might nevertheless have been suspected. He had unbounded influence over the Cordeliers, the authors of the commotion; he had no animosity against the members of the right side, but he disliked their system of moderation, which, in his opinion, retarded the action of the government. He was bent on having, at any price, an extraordinary tribunal and a supreme committee, which should exercise an irresistible dictatorship, because he was solicitous, above all things, for the success of the Revolution; and it is possible that he secretly instigated the agitators of the 10th of March, with a view to intimidate the Girondins, and to overcome their resistance. It is certain, at least, that he did not take the trouble to disavow the authors of the disturbance, and that, on the contrary, he renewed his urgent demands that the government should be organized in a prompt and terrible manner.

Be this as it may, it was agreed that the aristocrats were the secret instigators of these movements. This everybody believed, or pretended to believe. Vergniaud, in a speech of persuasive eloquence,† in which he denounced the whole conspiracy, supposed the same thing. He was censured,

* "Never, through the whole course of the Revolution, did the working-classes of Paris rise into tumult and violence, except when driven to it by misery and hunger—hunger, the most imperative of wants, which blinds the eye and deafens the ear to all other considerations, and ripens the fruits sown by an improvident government, despair and revolt!"—*Duchess d'Abrantes*. E.

† "‘We are marching,’ exclaimed Vergniaud, ‘from crimes to amnesties, and from amnesties to crimes. The great body of citizens are so blinded by their frequent occurrence, that they confound these seditious disturbances with the grand national movement in favour of freedom; regard the violence of brigands as the efforts of energetic minds; and consider

it is true, by Louvet, who would have been pleased to see the Jacobins more directly attacked; but he carried his motion that the first exercise of the powers of the extraordinary tribunal should consist in prosecuting the authors of the 10th of March. The minister of justice, who was required to make a report of the occurrences, declared that he had nowhere discovered the revolutionary committee to which they were attributed, that he had perceived nothing but the agitation of clubs, and propositions made in a moment of enthusiasm. The only more precise circumstance that he had detected, was a meeting of some of the members of the Cordeliers at the Corraza coffee-house. These members of the Cordeliers were Lasouski, Fournier, Gusman, Desfeux, Varlet, the usual agitators of the sections. They met after the sittings to converse on political topics. Nobody attached any importance to this revelation; and, as deep-laid plots were presumed, the meeting of so few subordinate persons at the Corraza coffee-house appeared merely ridiculous.

Such was the state of things when Dumouriez, on his return from Holland, rejoined his army at Louvain. We have seen him exerting his authority against the commissioners of the executive power, and with all his might opposing Jacobinism, which was striving to introduce itself into Belgium. To all these steps he added one still bolder, which could not fail to lead him to the same point as Lafayette. He wrote on the 12th of March a letter to the Convention, in which, recurring to the disorganization of the armies produced by Pache and the Jacobins, the decree of the 15th of December, and the vexations practised upon the Belgians, he imputed all the present evils to the disorganizing spirit communicated by Paris to the rest of France, and by France to the countries liberated by our armies. This letter, full of boldness, and still more of remonstrances, not within the province of a general to make, reached the committee of general safety at the moment when so many accusations were preferred against Dumouriez, and when continual efforts were making to maintain him in the popular favour, and to attach him to the republic. This letter was kept secret, and Danton was sent to prevail upon him to withdraw it.

Dumouriez rallied his army in advance of Louvain, drew together his scattered columns, and sent off a corps upon his right to guard the Campine, and to connect his operations with the rear of the army endangered in Holland. Immediately afterwards he determined to resume the offensive, in order to revive the confidence of his troops. The Prince of Coburg, after securing the course of the Meuse from Liege to Maestricht, and proceeding beyond that place to St. Trond, had ordered Tirlemont to be occupied by an advanced corps. Dumouriez caused that town to be retaken; and, perceiving that the enemy had not thought of guarding the important position of Goidsenhoven, which commands the whole tract between the two Gettes, he despatched thither a few battalions, which made themselves masters of it without much difficulty. On the following day, March 16th, the enemy, desirous of recovering that lost position, attacked it with great vigour. Dumouriez, anticipating this, sent reinforcements to support it, and was particularly solicitous to raise the spirits of his troops by this combat. The imperialists, being repulsed with the loss of seven or eight hundred men, recrossed the Little Gette, and took post between the villages of Neerlanden, Landen, Neerwin-

robbery itself as indispensable for public freedom. Citizens, there is but too much reason to dread that the Revolution, like Saturn, will *successively devour all its progeny, and finally leave only despotism, with all its attendant calamities.*"—Mignet. E.

den, Overwinden, and Racour. The French, emboldened by this advantage, placed themselves, on their side, in front of Tirlemont, and in several villages situated on the left of the Little Gette, which became the boundary-line of the two armies.

Dumouriez now resolved to fight a pitched battle, and this intention was as judicious as it was bold. Methodical warfare was not suited to his, as yet, almost undisciplined troops. He was anxious to confer lustre on our arms, to give confidence to the Convention, to attach the Belgians to himself, to bring the enemy back beyond the Meuse, to fix him there for a time, and then to fly once more to Holland, to penetrate into one of the capitals of the coalition and carry revolution into it. To these projects Dumouriez added, as he asserts, the re-establishment of the constitution of 1791, and the overthrow of the demagogues, with the assistance of the Dutch and of his army; but this addition is false on this occasion, as at the moment when he was on the Moerdyk. All that was judicious, possible, and true, in his plan, related to the recovery of his influence, the re-establishing of our arms, and the following up of his military projects after gaining a victory. The reviving ardour of his army, his military position, all inspired him with a well-founded hope of success. Besides, it was necessary to risk much in his situation, and it would be wrong to hesitate.

Our army was spread over a front of two leagues, and bordered the little Gette from Neer-Heylissen to Leaw. Dumouriez resolved to operate a rotatory movement, which should bring back the enemy between Leaw and St. Trond. His left was supported on the Leaw as on a pivot; his right was to turn by Neer-Heylissen, Racour, and Landen, and to oblige the Austrians to fall back before it to St. Trond. For this purpose it would be necessary to cross the little Gette, to climb its steep banks, to take Leaw, Orsmaël, Neerwinden, Overwinden, and Racour. The last three villages, facing our right, which was to pass through them in its rotatory movement, formed the principal point of attack. Dumouriez, dividing his right into three columns, under the command of Valence, directed them to pass the Gette at the bridge of Neer-Heylissen. One was to rush upon the enemy, the other to advance briskly upon the elevated knoll of Middelwinden, to dash down from that height upon the village of Overwinden, and to take possession of it; while the third was to attack the village of Neerwinden by its right. The centre, under the Duke of Chartres, composed of two columns, was to cross by the bridge of Eremaël, to pass through Laer, and attack in front Neerwinden, already threatened on its first flank by the third column. Lastly, the left, under the command of Miranda, was to divide into two or three columns, to occupy Leaw and Orsmaël, and to maintain its ground there, while the centre and the right, marching on after the victory, should effect the rotatory movement which was the object of the battle.

These arrangements were determined upon in the evening of the 17th. Next day, the 18th, at nine in the morning, the whole army broke up in order, and with ardour. The Gette was crossed at all the points. Miranda sent Champmorin to occupy Leaw, and he himself took Orsmaël and opened a cannonade upon the enemy, who had retired to the heights of Halle, and strongly intrenched himself there. The object was attained on this point. In the centre and on the right, the movement was effected at the same hour. The two parts of the army passed through Elissem, Eremaël, Neer-Heylissen, and, in spite of a galling fire, climbed with great courage the steep heights bordering the Gette. The column of the extreme right passed through Racour, entered the plain, and, instead of extending itself

there, as it had been ordered, committed the blunder of turning back to Overwinden, in quest of the enemy. The second column of the right, after having been retarded in its march, rushed with heroic impetuosity upon the elevated knoll of Middelwinden, and drove the Imperialists from it; but, instead of establishing itself there in force, it merely passed on and took possession of Overwinden. The third column entered Neerwinden, and, in consequence of a misunderstanding, committed another blunder, that of extending itself too soon beyond the village, and thereby running the risk of being driven out of it by a return of the Imperialists. The French army had nevertheless nearly attained its object: but the Prince of Coburg, having at the outset been guilty of the fault of not attacking our troops at the moment when they were crossing the Gette and climbing its steep banks, repaired it by giving a general order to resume the abandoned positions. A superior force was advancing upon our left against Miranda. Clairfayt, taking advantage of the faults committed on our side—inasmuch as the first column had not persisted in attacking him, the second had not established itself on the knoll of Middelwinden, and the third and the two composing the centre had crowded themselves confusedly into Neerwinden—crossed the plain of Landen, retook Racour, the knoll of Middelwinden, Overwinden, and Neerwinden.

At this moment the French were in a perilous position. Dislodged from all the points which they had occupied, driven back to the margin of the heights, attacked on their right, cannonaded on their front by a superior artillery, threatened by two corps of cavalry, and having a river in their rear, they might have been destroyed, and this would certainly have happened, had the enemy, instead of directing the greater part of his force upon their left, pushed their centre and their right more vigorously. Dumouriez hastened up to this threatened point, rallied his columns, caused the knoll of Middelwinden to be retaken, and then proceeded upon Neerwinden, which had already been twice taken by the French, and twice retaken by the Imperialists. Dumouriez entered it for the third time, after a horrible carnage. This unfortunate village was choked up with men and horses, and, in the confusion of the attack, our troops had crowded together there in the utmost disorder. Dumouriez, aware of the danger, abandoned this spot, encumbered with human carcasses, and re-formed his columns at some distance from the village. There, surrounding himself with artillery, he prepared to maintain his ground on the field of battle. At this moment two columns of cavalry rushed upon him, one from Neerwinden, the other from Overwinden. Valence met the first at the head of the French cavalry, charged it with impetuosity, repulsed it, and, covered with glorious wounds, was obliged to relinquish his command to the Duke de Chartres. General Thouvenot coolly received the second, and suffered it to advance into the midst of our infantry, which he directed to open its ranks; he then suddenly ordered a double discharge of grape and musketry, which cut up and nearly annihilated the imperial cavalry, who had advanced close to the muzzles of the guns. Dumouriez thus remained master of the field of battle, and established himself there for the purpose of completing his rotatory movement on the following day.

The conflict had been sanguinary, but the most difficult part of the business seemed to be accomplished. The left, established ever since the morning at Leaw and Orsmaël, was not likely to have anything more to do; and, the fire having ceased at two in the afternoon, Dumouriez conceived that it had maintained its ground. He considered himself as victorious, since he occupied the whole field of battle. Meanwhile, night approached; the right

and the centre kindled their fires, but no officer had yet come from Miranda to inform Dumouriez of what was passing on his left flank. He then began to entertain doubts, which soon grew into alarm. He set out on horseback with two officers and two attendants, and found the village of Laer abandoned by Dampierre, who commanded under the Duke de Chartres one of the columns of the centre. Dumouriez there learned that the left, in utter confusion, had recrossed the Gette, and fled to Tirlemont; and that Dampierre, finding himself then uncovered, had fallen back to the post which he occupied in the morning before the battle. He set out at full speed, accompanied by his two servants and the two officers, narrowly escaped being taken by the Austrian hulans, arrived about midnight at Tirlemont, and found Miranda, who had fallen back two leagues from the field of battle, and whom Valence, conveyed thither in consequence of his wounds, was in vain persuading to advance. Miranda, having entered Orsmâel in the morning, had been attacked at the moment when the Imperialists retook all their positions. The greatest part of the enemy's force had advanced upon his wing, which, partly composed of the national volunteers, had dispersed and fled to Tirlemont. Miranda had been hurried along, and had not had either time or power to rally his men, though Miaczinsky had come to his aid with a body of fresh troops; he had not even thought to acquaint the commander-in-chief of the circumstance. As for Champmorin, placed at Leaw with the last column, he had maintained himself there till evening, and had not thought of returning to Bingen, his point of departure, till towards the close of the day.

The French army thus found itself separated, one part in rear of the Gette, the other in front; and if the enemy, less intimidated by so obstinate an action, had thought of following up his advantages, he might have cut our line, annihilated our right, encamped at Neerwinden, and put to flight the left, which had already fallen back. Dumouriez, undismayed, coolly resolved upon retreat, and next morning prepared to execute his intention. For this purpose he took upon himself the command of Miranda's wing, endeavoured to inspire it with some courage, and was desirous to push it forward, in order to keep the enemy in check on the left of the line, while the centre and right, commencing their retreat, should attempt to recross the Gette. Luckily, Dampierre, who had recrossed the Gette on the same day with a column of the centre, supported the movement of Dumouriez, and conducted himself with equal skill and courage. Dumouriez, still in the midst of his battalions, supported them, and resolved to lead them to the height of Wommersem, which they had occupied the evening before the battle. The Austrians had since placed batteries there, and kept up a destructive fire from that point. Dumouriez put himself at the head of his disheartened soldiers, and made them sensible that it was better to attempt the attack than to receive a continued fire; that they would be quit for one charge, which would be much less galling to them than this dead immobility in presence of an overwhelming artillery. Twice he prevailed upon them, and twice they halted, as if discouraged by the remembrance of the preceding day; but, while they bore with heroic constancy the fire from the heights of Wommersem, they had not that much more easy courage to charge with the bayonet. At this moment a ball struck the general's horse. He was thrown down and covered with mould. His terrified soldiers were ready to flee at this sight; but he rose with extreme agility, mounted another horse, and continued to keep them on the field of battle.

The Duke de Chartres was meanwhile effecting the retreat of the right and half of the centre. Conducting his four columns with equal skill and

intrepidity, he coolly retired before a formidable enemy, and crossed the three bridges of the Gette without sustaining any loss. Dumouriez then drew back his left wing, as well as Dampierre's column, and returned to the positions of the preceding day, in presence of an enemy filled with admiration of his masterly retreat. On the 19th the army found itself, as on the 17th, between Hackendoven and Goidsenhoven, but with a loss of four thousand killed, with a desertion of more than ten thousand fugitives, who were already hurrying towards the interior, and with the discouragement of a lost battle.*

Dumouriez, consumed by vexation, agitated by conflicting sentiments, sometimes thought of combating the Austrians to the last extremity, and sometimes of destroying the faction of the Jacobins, to whom he attributed the disorganization and the reverses of his army. In the height of his spleen, he inveighed bitterly against the tyranny of Paris, and his expressions, repeated by his staff, were circulated throughout the whole army. Though under the influence of a singular confusion of mind, he did not lose the coolness necessary for a retreat; and he made the best dispositions for occupying Belgium for a considerable time by means of the fortresses, if he should be obliged to evacuate it with his armies. In consequence, he ordered General d'Harville to throw a strong garrison into the citadel of Namur, and to maintain himself there with one division. He sent General Ruault to Antwerp to collect the twenty thousand men belonging to the expedition against Holland, and to guard the Scheldt, while strong garrisons should occupy Breda and Gertruydenburg. His aim was thus to form a semicircle of fortresses passing through Namur, Mons, Tournay, Courtrai, Antwerp, Breda, and Gertruydenburg; to place himself in the centre of this semicircle, and await the reinforcements necessary for acting more energetically. On the 22d, he was engaged before Louvain in an action of position with the Imperialists, which was as serious as that of Goidsenhoven, and cost them as many men.

In the evening he had an interview with Colonel Mack,† an officer of the enemy, who exercised great influence over the operations of the allies, from the reputation which he enjoyed in Germany. They agreed not to fight any more decisive battles, to follow one another slowly and in good order, and to spare the blood of the soldiers, and the countries which were the theatre of the war. This kind of armistice, most favourable to the French, who would have dispersed had they been briskly attacked, was also perfectly suited to the timid system of the coalition, which, after having recovered the Meuse, meant to attempt nothing decisive before the reduction of Mayence. Such was the first negotiation of Dumouriez with the enemy. The polite-

* "The position of the French commander was now extremely critical. His volunteers left their colours on the first serious reverses; and whole companies and battalions, with their arms and baggage, went off in a body towards the French frontier, spreading dismay over all the roads leading to France. The French troops are the best in the world to advance and gain conquests, but they have not, till inured by discipline and experience, the steadiness requisite to preserve them."—*Alison*. E.

† "Charles, Baron von Mack, an Austrian general, was born in Franconia in 1752. On leaving college, his inclination led him to enlist as a private in a regiment of dragoons; and in the war with Turkey he obtained a captain's commission. On the occurrence of war with France, Mack was appointed quartermaster-general of the army of Prince Coburg, and directed the operations of the campaign of 1793. In 1797 he succeeded the Archduke Charles in the command of the army of the Rhine. In 1804 he was appointed commander-in-chief in the Tyrol Dalmatia, and Italy. In the following year Napoleon forced him to retreat beyond the Danube, and to submit to the famous capitulation of Ulm. Mack died in obscurity in the year 1826."—*Encyclopædia Americana*. E.

ness of Colonel Mack and his winning manners might have disposed the deeply-agitated mind of the general to have recourse to foreign aid. He began to perceive no prospect in the career which he was pursuing. If, a few months before, he foresaw success, glory, and influence, in commanding the French armies, and if this hope rendered him more indulgent towards revolutionary violence; now, beaten, stripped of his popularity, and attributing the disorganization of his army to this same violence, he viewed with horror the disorders which he might formerly have regarded only with indifference. Bred in courts, having seen with his own eyes how strongly-organized a machine is requisite to insure the durability of a state, he could not conceive that insurgent citizens were adequate to an operation so complicated as that of government. In such a situation, if a general, at once an administrator and a warrior, holds the power in his hands, he can scarcely fail to conceive the idea of employing it to put an end to the disorders which haunt his thoughts and even threaten his person.

Dumouriez was bold enough to conceive such an idea; and, having no further prospect of serving the Revolution by victories, he thought of forming another for himself, by bringing back this revolution to the constitution of 1791, and reconciling it at this price with all Europe. In this plan a king would have been required, and men were of so little importance to Dumouriez, that he did not care much about the choice. He was charged at that time with a design to place the house of Orleans on the throne. What led to this surmise was his affection for the Duke de Chartres, to whom he had contrived to give the most brilliant part in the army. But this proof was very insignificant, for the young duke had deserved all that he had obtained, and, besides, there was nothing in his conduct that demonstrated a concert with Dumouriez.

Another consideration generally prevailed, namely, that at the moment there was no other possible choice, in case of the creation of a new dynasty. The son of the deceased King was too young, and, besides, regicide did not admit of so prompt a reconciliation with the dynasty. The uncles were in a state of hostility, and there remained but the branch of Orleans, as much compromised in the Revolution as the Jacobins themselves, and alone capable of dispelling all the fears of the revolutionists. If the agitated mind of Dumouriez was decided in its choice, it could not then have made any other; and it was these considerations which caused him to be accused of an intention to seat the Orleans family on the throne. He denied it after his emigration, but this interested denial proves nothing, and he is no more to be believed on this point, than in regard to the anterior date which he has pretended to give to his plans. He meant, in fact, to assert that he had long been thinking of revolting against the Jacobins; but this assertion is false. It was not till then, that is, till the career of success was closed against him, that he thought of opening to himself another. In this scheme were blended personal resentment, mortification on account of his reverses, and, lastly, a sincere but tardy indignation against the endless disorders which he now foresaw without any illusion.

On the 22d he found at Louvain, Danton and Lacroix, who came to call him to account for the letter written on the 12th of March to the Convention, and kept secret by the committee of general safety. Danton, with whom he sympathized, hoped to bring him back to calmer sentiments, and to attach him again to the common cause. But Dumouriez treated the two commissioners and Danton himself with great petulance, and even betrayed the most untoward disposition. He broke out into fresh complaints against

the Convention and the Jacobins, and would not retract his letter. He merely consented to add a few words, saying that at a future time he would explain himself. Danton and Lacroix returned without obtaining from him any concession, and left him in the most violent agitation.

On the 23d, after a firm resistance during the whole day, several corps abandoned their posts, and he was obliged to quit Louvain in disorder. Fortunately, the enemy was not aware of this movement, and did not avail himself of the opportunity to throw our army into complete confusion by pursuing it. Dumouriez then separated the troops of the line from the volunteers, united the former with the artillery, and composed with them a *corps d'élite* of fifteen thousand men, with which he took his place in the rear-guard. There, showing himself among his soldiers, skirmishing all day along with them, he succeeded in giving a firmer attitude to his retreat. He caused Brussels to be evacuated in good order, passed through that city on the 25th, and on the 27th encamped at Ath. There he had fresh conferences with Mack, was treated by him with great delicacy and respect, and this interview, which had no other object than to regulate the details of the armistice, soon changed into a more important negotiation. Dumouriez communicated all his resentments to the foreign colonel, and disclosed to him his plans for overthrowing the National Convention. Here, hurried away by resentment, excited by the idea of a general disorganization, the saviour of France in the Argonne tarnished his glory by treating with an enemy, whose ambition ought to have rendered all his intentions suspicious, and whose power was then the most dangerous for us. In these difficult situations, the man of genius has, as we have already observed, but one alternative: either to retire and to abdicate all influence, that he may not be the accomplice of a system of which he disapproves; or to keep aloof from the evil which he cannot prevent, and do one thing, and one only, ever moral, ever glorious—labour for the defence of his country.

Dumouriez agreed with Colonel Mack that there should be a suspension of arms between the two armies; that the Imperialists should advance upon Paris, while he should himself march thither; that the evacuation of Belgium should be the price of this compliance; that the fortress of Condé should be temporarily given up as a guarantee; that, in case Dumouriez should have occasion for the Austrians, they should be placed at his disposal; that the fortresses should receive garrisons composed one half of Imperialists, the other of French, but under the command of French officers, and that at the peace all the fortresses should be restored. Such were the guilty engagements contracted by Dumouriez with the Prince of Coburg, through the medium of Colonel Mack.

Nothing was yet known in Paris but the defeat of Neerwinden, and the successive evacuation of Belgium. The loss of a great battle, and a precipitate retreat, concurring with the news which had been received from the West, caused there the greatest agitation. A plot had been discovered at Rennes, and it appeared to have been hatched by the English, the Breton gentry, and the nonjuring priests. Commotions had already broken out in the West, on account of the dearth of provisions and the threat of cutting off the salaries of the ministers of religion: but now it was for the avowed motive of absolute monarchy. Bands of peasants, demanding the re-establishment of the clergy and of the Bourbons, had made their appearance in the environs of Rennes and Nantes. Orleans was in full insurrection, and Bourdon, the representative, had been nearly murdered in that city. The insurgents already amounted to several thousand men. It would require

nothing less than armies and generals to reduce them. The great towns despatched their national guards; General Labourdonnaye advanced with his corps, and everything forebode a civil war of the most sanguinary kind. Thus, on the one hand, our armies were retreating before the coalition; on the other, La Vendée was rising,* and never ought the ordinary agitation produced by danger to have been greater.

Nearly about this period, and in consequence of the 10th of March, a conference between the leaders of the two opinions at the committee of general safety was brought about, for the purpose of mutual explanations respecting the motives of their dissensions. It was Danton who instigated the interview. Quarrels did not gratify animosities which he harboured not, but exposed him to a discussion of conduct which he dreaded, and checked the progress of the revolution, which was so dear to him. He wished, therefore, to put an end to them. He had shown great sincerity in the different conversations, and if he took the initiative, if he accused the Girondins, it was in order to obviate the reproaches which might have been directed against himself. The Girondins, such as Buzot, Guadet, Vergniaud, and Gensonné, with their accustomed delicacy, justified themselves as if the accusation had been serious, and preached to one already converted in arguing with Danton. The case was quite different with Robespierre. By endeavouring to convince, they only irritated him, and they strove to demonstrate his errors, as if that demonstration ought to have appeased him. As for Marat, who had deemed himself necessary at these conferences, no one had deigned to enter into any explanation with him; nay, his very friends never spoke to him, that they might not have to justify themselves for this alliance. Such conferences tended to embitter rather than soothe the opposite leaders. Had they succeeded in convincing each other of their reciprocal faults, such a demonstration would assuredly not have reconciled them. Matters had arrived at this point when the events in Belgium became known in Paris.

Both parties instantly began to accuse each other. They reproached one another with contributing to the public disasters, the one by disorganizing the government, the other party by striving to retard its action. Explanations relative to the conduct of Dumouriez were demanded. The letter of the 12th of March, which had been kept secret, was read; it produced outcries that Dumouriez was betraying the country, that he was evidently pursuing the same line of conduct as Lafayette had done, and that, after his example, he was beginning his treason by insolent letters to the Assembly. A second letter, written on the 27th of March, and even bolder than that of the 12th, excited still stronger suspicions. Danton was urged on all sides to state what he knew of Dumouriez. Every one was aware that these two men had a partiality for each other, that Danton had insisted on keeping secret the letter of the 12th of March, and that he had gone to persuade Dumouriez to retract it. Some even asserted that they had committed peculations

* "After the 10th of August a persecution of the priests in La Vendée began; and the peasants, like the Cameronians in Scotland, gathered together, arms in hand, to hear mass in the field, and die in defending their spiritual fathers. More than forty parishes assembled tumultuously; the national guards of the Plain routed this ill-armed crowd, and slew about one hundred in the field. Life and free pardon were offered to others if they would only cry 'Vive la Nation!' but there were few who would accept of life on these terms. As yet, however, the tumults were merely partial; but when the Convention called for a conscription of three hundred men, a measure which would have forced the people to fight for a cause which they abhorred, one feeling of indignation rose through the whole country, and the insurrection through all La Vendée broke forth simultaneously, and without concert or plan."—*Quarterly Review*.

together in opulent Belgium. At the Jacobins, in the committee of general defence, in the Assembly, Danton was called upon to explain himself. Perplexed by the suspicions of the Girondins, and by the doubts of the Mountaineers themselves, Danton felt, for the first time, some difficulty in replying. He said that the great talents of Dumouriez had appeared to deserve some indulgence; that it had been deemed proper to see him before denouncing him, in order to convince him of his errors, and to bring him back, if possible, to better sentiments; that thus far the commissioners had regarded his conduct as the effect of evil suggestions, and of vexation on account of his late reverses; but that they had believed, and they still did believe, that his talents might be retained for the republic.

Robespierre said that, if this were the case, he ought not to be treated with any indulgence, and that it was useless to show him such forbearance. He renewed, moreover, the motion which Louvet had made against the Bourbons who had remained in France, that is to say, against the members of the Orleans family; and it appeared strange that Robespierre, who, in January, had so warmly defended them against the Girondins, should now attack them with such fury. But his suspicious mind had instantly surmised sinister plots. He had said to himself: A man who was once a prince of the blood cannot submit with resignation to his new condition, and, though he calls himself *Egalité*, his sacrifice cannot be sincere. He is conspiring, then, and, in fact, all our generals belong to him. Biron, who commands at the Alps, is his intimate friend; Valence, general of the army of the Ardennes, is the son-in-law of his confidant, Sillery; his two sons hold the first rank in the army of Belgium; lastly, Dumouriez is openly devoted to them, and is training them with particular care. The Girondins attacked, in January, the family of Orleans, but it was a feint on their part, which had no other aim than to obviate all suspicion of connivance. Brissot, a friend of Sillery, is the go-between of the conspiracy: there is the whole plot laid open: the throne will be again raised, and France undone, if we do not make haste to proscribe the conspirators. Such were the conjectures of Robespierre; and, what is most frightful in this manner of reasoning is, that Robespierre, influenced by hatred, believed these calumnies.* The astonished Mountain

* The subjoined extract from *Garat's Memoirs*, furnishes the most accurate picture ever drawn of Robespierre and of the suspicions by which he was haunted. It is a conversation.

"No sooner was Robespierre aware that I was going to speak to him about the quarrels of the Convention than he said, 'All those deputies of the Gironde, those Brissots, those Louvets, those Barbaroux, are counter-revolutionists, conspirators.' I could not refrain from laughing, and the laugh which escaped me soured him immediately. 'You were always *like that*. In the Constituent Assembly, you were disposed to believe that the aristocrats were fond of the Revolution.'—'I was not precisely *like that*. The utmost that I could believe was that some of the nobles were not aristocrats. I thought so of several, and you still think so yourself of some of them. I was also ready to believe that we should have made some conversions among the aristocrats themselves, if, out of the two means which were at our disposal, reason and force, we had more frequently employed reason, which was on our side only, and less frequently force, which may be on the side of tyrants. Take my advice; forget these dangers which we have surmounted and which have nothing to do with those that threaten us at this moment. War was then waging between the friends and the enemies of liberty; it is now waging between the lukewarm and the earnest friends of the republic. If an opportunity were to present itself, I would say to Louvet that he is egregiously mistaken, to believe you to be a royalist, but to you I deem it my duty to say that Louvet is no more a royalist than yourself. You resemble in your quarrels the Molinists and the Jansenists, whose whole dispute turned on the manner in which divine grace operates upon the soul, and who mutually accused each other of not believing in God.'—'If they are not royalists, why did they labour so hard to save the King's life? I would wager that you were yourself for mercy, for clemency . . . But what signifies it what principle rendered the King's death just

repelled his suggestions. "Give us proofs, then," said those who were seated by his side. "Proofs!" he replied, "proofs! I have none; but I have the *moral conviction!*"

and necessary, your Brissots, your Girondins, and your appealers to the people, were against it? Did they then wish to leave to tyranny all the means of raising itself again?"—"I know not whether the intention of the *appealers to the people* was to spare Capet the punishment of death; the *appeal to the people* always appeared to me imprudent and dangerous; but I can easily conceive how those who voted for it might have believed that the life of Capet as a prisoner might be, in the course of events, more useful than his death; I can conceive how they might have thought that the appeal to the people was a grand means of honouring a republican nation in the eyes of the whole world, by giving it occasion to exercise itself a signal act of generosity by an act of sovereignty."—"It is certainly attributing fine intentions to measures which you do not approve, and to men who are conspiring on all sides."—"But where are they conspiring?"—"Everywhere; in Paris, all over France, all over Europe. In Paris, Gensonné is conspiring in the fauxbourg St. Antoine, by going from shop to shop and persuading the shopkeepers that we patriots want to plunder their houses. The Gironde long since formed a plan for separating itself from France, and uniting itself with England; and the leaders of its deputation are themselves the authors of this plan, which they determined to execute at any rate. Gensonné does not conceal this; he tells everybody who chooses to listen to him, that they are not here the representatives of the nation, but the plenipotentiaries of the Gironde. Brissot conspires in his journal, which is a tocsin of civil war; it is well known that he is gone to England, and it is equally well known why he is gone; we are not ignorant of his intimate connexion with the minister for foreign affairs, with Lebrun, who is from Liege, and a creature of the house of Austria; the best friend of Brissot is Clavières, and Clavières has conspired wherever he has breathed: Rabaud, traitor, like a protestant and a philosopher as he is, has not been cunning enough to conceal from us his correspondence with the courtier and traitor Montesquiou: they have been labouring for these six months together to open Savoy and France to the Piedmontese; Servan has been appointed general of the army of the Pyrenees, merely to give up the keys of France to the Spaniards; lastly, there is Dumouriez, who no longer threatens Holland, but Paris; and when that charlatan of heroism was here, *when I was anxious to have him arrested, it was not with the Mountain that he dined every day, but with the ministers and the Girondins.*"—"Three or four times with me, for example."—"I am quite tired of the Revolution; I am ill. Never was the country in greater dangers, and I doubt whether it will extricate itself from them. Well, are you still in the humour to laugh, and to believe that these are very upright men, very good republicans?"—"No, I am not tempted to laugh, but I can hardly repress the tears which must be shed for the country, when one sees its legislators a prey to such frightful suspicions on such paltry grounds. I am sure that there is nothing real in all your suspicions; but I am sure, too, that your suspicions are a very real and a very great danger. Almost all these men are your enemies, but none of them, excepting Dumouriez, is an enemy to the republic; and if you could on all sides divest yourselves of your animosities, the republic would no longer be in any danger."—"Are you not going to propose to me to remodel Bishop Lamouret's motion?"—"No; I have profited sufficiently by the lessons at least which you have given me: and the three National Assemblies have taken the trouble to teach me that the best patriots hate their enemies much more than they love their country. But I have one question to ask; and I beg you to reflect before you answer me: Have you any doubt about all that you have just been saying?"—"None." I left him, and withdrew in long amazement, and in great fear on account of what I had just heard.

"A few days afterwards I was leaving the executive council; I met Salles coming out of the National Convention. Circumstances became more alarming. All who had any esteem for one another could not meet without feeling irresistibly impelled to talk about public affairs.

"'Well,' said I to Salles, on meeting him, 'is there no way of putting an end to these horrible quarrels?'"—"Why, yes, I hope so; I hope that I shall soon tear off all the veils that still cover those atrocious villains and their atrocious conspiracies. But as for you, I know that you always had a blind confidence; I know that it is your mania not to believe anything."—"You are wrong; I believe, like other people, but on presumptions, not on suspicions, on attested facts, not on imaginary ones. Why do you suppose me, then, to be so incredulous? Is it because I would not believe you in 1789, when you assured me that Necker was plundering the exchequer, and that people had seen mules laden with gold and silver, which he was sending off by millions to Geneva? This credulity, I confess, has been

It was immediately proposed, as is always the case in moments of danger, to accelerate the action of the executive power and that of the tribunals, in

quite incorrigible in me, for, to this very day, I am persuaded that Necker left here more millions of his own than he carried away of ours to Geneva.'—'Necker was a knave; but he was nothing in comparison with the villains by whom we are now surrounded; and it is about these things that I want to talk to you, if you will hear me. I will tell you everything, for I know it all. I have unravelled all their plots. All the plots, all the crimes, of the Mountain began with the Revolution: Orleans is the chief of that band of brigands; and it is the author of that infernal novel, *Liaisons Dangereuses*, who drew up the plan of all the atrocities which they have been committing for these five years. The traitor Lafayette was their accomplice, and it was he who, making believe to thwart the plot in its very outset, sent Orleans to England to arrange everything with Pitt, the Prince of Wales, and the cabinet of St. James's. Mirabeau was also in that affair. He received money from the King to cloak his connexion with Orleans, but he received still more from Orleans to be serviceable to him. The grand business for the Orleans' party was to induce the Jacobins to enter into its designs. They durst not attempt this in a direct manner; it was therefore to the Cordeliers that they first applied. In the Cordeliers all were instantly bought up and became their devoted tools. Bear in mind that the Cordeliers have always been less numerous than the Jacobins, and have always made less noise: that is, because they wish everybody to be their instrument, but they do not wish everybody to be in their secret. The Cordeliers have always been the hotbed of conspirators: it is there that Danton, the most dangerous of all, forms and trains them to audacity and lying, brings them up to murder and massacres; it is there that they practise the part which they are afterwards to act at the Jacobins; and the Jacobins, who assume the air of leading France, are themselves led, without being aware of it, by the Cordeliers. The Cordeliers, who seem to be concealed in a hole in Paris, are negotiating with Europe, and have envoys in all their courts, who have sworn the ruin of our liberty. The fact is certain: I have proofs of it. In short, it is the Cordeliers who have engulfed one throne in a sea of blood in order to make another throne spring up from it. They well know that the right side, on which are all the virtues, is also the side that includes the genuine republicans; and, if they accuse us of royalism, it is because they want a pretext for letting loose upon us the fury of the multitude; it is because it is easier to find daggers against us than reasons. In a single conspiracy there are three or four. When the whole of the right side shall be slaughtered, the Duke of York will come and place himself on the throne, and Orleans, who has promised it him, will assassinate him; Orleans will himself be assassinated by Marat, Danton, and Robespierre, who have given him the same promise, and the triumvir will divide France, covered with ashes and blood, among them, until the ablest of them, that is, Danton, assassinates the other two and reigns alone, first under the title of dictator, afterwards, without disguise, under that of king. Such is their plan, be assured; by dint of reflection I have found it out; everything proves and makes it evident; see how all the circumstances bind and unite together; there is not an occurrence in the Revolution but is a part and a proof of these horrid plots. You look surprised, I see; can you still be incredulous?'—'I am indeed surprised; but tell me, are there many of you, that is of the right side, who think like you on this subject?'—'All, or nearly all. Condorcet once made some objections; Sieyes communicates but little with us; Rabaud, for his part, has another plan, which in some respects agrees with, and in some differs from mine; but all the others have no more doubt than myself of what I have just told you; all feel the necessity of acting promptly, *of putting the irons in the fire*, in order to prevent so many crimes and calamities, in order not to lose all the fruit of a Revolution which has cost us so dear. In the right side there are members who have not sufficient confidence in you; but I, who have been your colleague, who know you for an honest man, for a friend of liberty, assure them that you will be for us, that you will assist us with all the means that your office places at your disposal. Can you now have the slightest doubt left as to what I have just told you about those villains?'—'I should be too unworthy of the esteem which you express for me, if I gave you reason to think that I believe the truth of this whole plan, which you conceive to be that of your enemies. The greater the number of circumstances, men, and things, you introduce into it, the more probable it appears to yourself and the less so it appears to me. Most of the circumstances out of which you weave the tissue of this plan have had an object which there is no need to lend them, which is self-evident; and you give them an object which is not self-evident, and which you must lend them. Now, there must be proofs in the first place for rejecting a natural explanation, and there must be other proofs afterwards to induce the adoption of an explanation that does not naturally present itself. For instance, every-

order to guard at once against what was called the external and internal enemy.

The commissioners appointed for the recruiting were therefore instantly despatched, and the question whether the Convention ought not to take a greater share in the execution of the laws was investigated. The manner in which the executive power was organized appeared insufficient. Ministers, placed out of the pale of the Assembly, acting upon their own motion, and under its very remote superintendence; a committee charged to make reports on all measures of general security; all these authorities controlling one another, and eternally deliberating without acting, appeared quite inadequate to the immense task which they had to perform. Moreover, this ministry, these committees, were composed of members suspected, because they were moderate; and at this time, when promptness and energy were indispensable conditions of success, any dilatoriness, any moderation, induced suspicions of conspiracy. It was therefore proposed to institute a committee, which should unite in itself the functions of the diplomatic com-

body believes that Lafayette and Orleans were enemies, and that it was to deliver Paris, France, and the National Assembly, from many inquietudes, that Orleans was prevailed upon or forced by Lafayette to withdraw for a time from France: it is necessary to establish, not by assertion but by proofs, 1st, that they were not enemies; 2dly, that they were accomplices; 3dly, that the journey of the Duke of Orleans to England had for its object the execution of their plots. I know that, with so strict a mode of reasoning, we run the risk of letting crimes and calamities run off before us without overtaking them, and without stopping them by foresight: but I know too, that, in giving the reins to the imagination, we build systems upon past events and upon future events; we lose all the means of clearly discerning and duly appreciating present events, and, while dreaming of thousands of misdeeds, which nobody is meditating, we deprive ourselves of the faculty of seeing with certainty those by which we are threatened; we derive enemies who are not over scrupulous to the temptation of committing such as they would never have thought of. I have no doubt that there are many villains about us; the unbinding of all the passions has produced them, and they are paid by foreign gold. But, depend upon it, if their plans are atrocious, they are neither so vast, nor so great, nor so complicated, nor conceived and framed at such a distance. In all this there are many more thieves and murderers than profound conspirators. The real conspirators against the republic are the kings of Europe and the passions of the republicans. To repulse the kings of Europe our armies are sufficient and more than sufficient; to prevent our passions from consuming us there is one way, but it is unique; lose no time in organizing a government possessing strength and deserving confidence. In the state in which your quarrels leave the government, a democracy even of twenty-five millions of angels would soon be a prey to all the furies and to all the dissensions of pride: as Jean-Jacques observed, it would require twenty-five millions of gods, and nobody ever yet took it into his head to imagine so many. My dear Salles, men and great assemblies are not so formed as that there shall be only gods on one side and only devils on the other. Wherever there are men with conflicting interests and opinions, even the good have bad passions, and the bad themselves, if you strive to penetrate into their souls with kindness and patience, are susceptible of right and good impressions. I find in the bottom of my soul the evident and invincible proof of at least one-half of this truth; I am good myself, and as good, I will venture to say, as any of you; but when, instead of refuting my opinions with argument and good temper, they are repelled with suspicion and insult, I am ready to drop reasoning and to see if my pistols are properly charged. You have made me twice minister, and twice you have done me a very ill-service; nothing but the dangers that surround you, and that surround me, could induce me to retain the post which I hold. A brave man does not apply for leave of absence on the eve of a battle. The battle, I foresee, is not far distant; and though I foresee too that you will fire at me from both sides, I am determined to remain. I will tell you on every occasion what I shall believe in my reason and my conscience to be true; but let me tell you that I shall take for guides my own conscience and my own reason, and not those of any other man on earth. I have not laboured for thirty years of my life to make a lantern for myself, and then to suffer myself to be lighted on my way by the lantern of others.

"Salles and I parted, shaking hands and embracing, as though we had still been colleagues in the Constituent Assembly."

mittee, of the military committee, and of the committee of general safety, which should be authorized, in case of need, to order and to act upon its own motion, and to check or to make amends for the ministerial action.

Various plans of organization were presented for accomplishing this object, and referred to a committee appointed to discuss them. Immediately afterwards, the Assembly directed its attention to the means of reaching the internal enemy, that is, *the aristocrats, the traitors*, by whom it was said to be surrounded. "France,"—such was the cry—"is full of refractory priests, of nobles, of their former creatures, of their old servants; and these retainers, still numerous, surround us, betray us, and threaten us as dangerously as the hostile bayonets. It behoves us to discover them, to mark them, and to throw upon them a light which shall prevent them from acting." The Jacobins had therefore proposed, and the Convention had decreed, that, according to a custom borrowed from China, the names of all persons dwelling in a house should be inscribed on the door. It was next enacted that all *suspected* citizens should be disarmed, and all nonjuring priests, the nobles, the late *seigneurs*, the dismissed functionaries, &c., were designated as such. The disarming was to be effected by means of domiciliary visits; and the only mitigation attached to this measure was, that the visits should not take place at night.

Having thus insured the means of discovering and reaching all those who gave the least umbrage, the Assembly finally added the means of striking them in the most speedy manner by installing the revolutionary tribunal. It was on the motion of Danton, that this terrible instrument of revolutionary suspicion was set to work. That formidable man was well aware of the abuse to which it was liable, but he had sacrificed everything to the object. He well knew that to strike quickly is to examine less attentively; that to examine less attentively is to run the risk of a mistake, especially in times of party virulence; and that to commit a mistake is to commit an atrocious injustice. But, in his view, the Revolution was society, accelerating its action in all things, in matters of justice, of administration, and of war. In tranquil times, said he, society chooses rather to let the guilty one escape than to strike the innocent, because the guilty one is not very dangerous; but in proportion as he becomes more so, it tends more to secure him; and when he becomes so dangerous as to have it in his power to destroy it, or at least when it believes so, it strikes all that excites its suspicions, and then deems it better to punish an innocent man, than to let a guilty one escape. Such is the dictatorship, that is, the violent action in societies when threatened. It is rapid, arbitrary, faulty, but irresistible.

Thus the concentration of powers in the Convention, the installation of the revolutionary tribunal, the commencement of the inquisition against suspected persons, and redoubled hatred against the deputies who opposed these extraordinary measures, were the result of the battle of Neerwinden, the retreat from Belgium, the threats of Dumouriez, and the insurrection in La Vendée.*

* "When the agitation of the public mind in La Vendée first occupied the attention of government, Petion proposed that a force should be sent there sufficient to overawe the people, and thus spare the effusion of blood. But the ruling party ceased to preach moderation, when the tidings of the more general insurrection reached the Convention. It came indeed from all sides—one cry of alarm. The Convention instantly outlawed every person who should have taken part with the counter-revolutionists; the institution of juries was suspended; every man taken in arms was to be put to death within four-and-twenty hours; and the evidence of a single witness before a military commission was to be considered proof sufficient. Death and confiscation of property were also declared against the nobles and priests. The

The ill humour of Dumouriez had increased with his reverses. He had just learned that the army of Holland was retreating in disorder, abandoning Antwerp and the Scheldt, and leaving the two French garrisons in Breda and Gertruydenburg; that d'Harville had not been able to keep the citadel of Namur, and was falling back upon Givet and Maubeuge; lastly, that Neuilly, so far from being able to maintain himself at Mons, had been obliged to retire upon Condé and Valenciennes, because his division, instead of taking position on the heights of Nimy, had plundered the magazines and fled. Thus by the disorders of that army he beheld the frustration of his plan of forming in Belgium a semicircle of fortresses, which should pass from Namur into Flanders and Holland, and in the centre of which he meant to place himself in order to act with the greater advantage. He would soon have nothing to offer in exchange to the Imperialists, and as he grew weaker he would sink into dependence upon them. His indignation increased as he approached France, and had a closer view of the disorders, and heard the cries raised against him. He no longer used any concealment; and the language which he held in the presence of his staff, and which was repeated in the army, indicated the projects that were fermenting in his head. The sister of the Duke de Chartres and Madame de Sillery, flying from the proscriptions which threatened them, had repaired to Belgium to seek protection from the brothers of the former. They were at Ath, and this circumstance furnished fresh food for suspicion.

Three Jacobin emissaries, one named Dubuisson, a refugee from Brussels, Proly, a natural son of Kaunitz, and Pereyra, a Portuguese Jew, arrived at Ath, upon the pretext, whether false or true, of a mission from Lebrun. They introduced themselves to the general as spies of the government, and had no difficulty to discover plans which Dumouriez no longer concealed. They found him surrounded by General Valence and the sons of the Duke of Orleans, were very uncourteously received, and addressed in language anything but flattering to the Jacobins and the Convention. Next day, however, they returned and had a private interview. On this occasion Dumouriez expressed himself without reserve. He began by telling them that he was strong enough to fight in front and rear; that the Convention was composed of two hundred brigands and six hundred idiots, and that he laughed at its decrees, whose validity would soon be confined to the district of Paris. "As for the revolutionary tribunal," he added with rising indignation, "I

effect which this system produced was to madden the Vendéans—cruelties provoked cruelties; and on their side the burning desire of vengeance was exasperated by conduct on the part of their enemies more resembling that of infernal agents than of men. It is affirmed that it was one of their pleasures to burn the cattle alive in their stalls, and that more than eleven hundred thousand were destroyed by them thus wantonly and in sport. Rossignol offered a reward of ten livres for every pair of royalist ears—it was actually claimed and paid, and there were men who wore human ears as cockades!—The insurrection in La Vendée, according to Hoche's statement, cost the lives of six hundred thousand Frenchmen, and not a fifth part of the male population was left alive. The state in which these unhappy provinces were left, may be understood from a single anecdote. Near Chollet there were extensive bleaching-grounds, the proprietors of which kept a great number of watch-dogs; the town, after having been sacked and burned, was repeatedly disputed, till at length both parties, weary of contending for a heap of ruins, abandoned it. The dogs, to the number of four or five hundred, took possession of the ruins, and remained there for many weeks feeding on the unburied bodies; after the pacification, when the refugees attempted to return and rebuild their houses, the animals had become so ferocious, that they attacked and would have devoured them; and a battalion of republican soldiers were actually obliged to march against the dogs, and exterminate them, before the place could be reinhabited."—*Quarterly Review*. E.

will find means to put it down, and while I have three inches of steel by my side, that monster shall not exist. He then launched out against the volunteers, whom he called cowards: he said that he would have none but the troops of the line, and that with them he would go and put an end to the disorders in Paris. "Would you do away then with the Constitution?" inquired the three interlocutors. "The new constitution devised by Condorcet is too silly."—"And what will you set up in its place?"—"The old one of 1791, bad as it is."—"But then you must have a king, and the name of Louis is an abomination."—"Whether his name is Louis or Jacques is of no consequence."—"Or Philippe," added one of the envoys. "But how will you replace the present Assembly?" Dumouriez considered for a moment, and then replied: "There are local administrations, all chosen by the confidence of the nation; and the five hundred presidents of districts shall be the five hundred representatives."—"But before their meeting, who shall have the initiative of this revolution?"—"The Mamalukes, that is, my army. It will express this wish; the presidents of districts will cause it to be confirmed, and I will make peace with the coalition, which, unless I stop it, will be in Paris in a fortnight."

The three envoys, whether, as Dumouriez conceived, they came to sound him on behalf of the Jacobins, or wished to induce him to reveal still more of his schemes, then suggested an idea. "Why," said they, "not put the Jacobins, who are a deliberative body ready prepared, in the place of the Convention?" At these words an indignation mingled with contempt overspread the face of the general, and they dropped their proposition. They then spoke to him concerning the danger to which his plan would expose the Bourbons confined in the Temple, and for whom he appeared to interest himself. Dumouriez immediately replied that were they to perish to the very last of them, in Paris and at Coblenz, France would find a chief and be saved; that, moreover, if Paris should commit any fresh barbarities on the unfortunate prisoners in the Temple, he should presently be there, and that with twelve thousand men he would be master of the city. He should not imitate the idiot Broglie, who, with thirty thousand men, had suffered the Bastille to be taken; but with two posts, at Nogent and Pont St. Maxence, he would starve the Parisians. "Your Jacobins," added he, "have it in their power to atone for all their crimes. Let them save the unfortunate prisoners and drive out the seven hundred and forty-five tyrants of the Convention, and they shall be forgiven."

His visitors then adverted to his danger. "I shall always have time enough," said he, to gallop off to the Austrians."—"Would you then share the fate of Lafayette?"—"I shall go over to the enemy in a very different way from what he did; besides, the powers have a very different opinion of my talents, and cannot reproach me with the 5th and 6th of October."

Dumouriez had reason not to dread the fate of Lafayette. His talents were rated too highly, and the firmness of his principles not highly enough, to cause him to be confined at Olmütz. The three envoys left him, saying that they would go and sound Paris and the Jacobins on the subject.

Dumouriez, though he believed his visitors to be staunch Jacobins, had not on that account expressed his sentiments the less boldly. At this moment, in fact, his plans became evident. The troops of the line, and the volunteers watched each other with suspicion, and everything indicated that he was on the point of hoisting the standard of revolt.

The executive power had received alarming reports, and the committee of general welfare had proposed and obtained a decree summoning Dumouriez

to the bar. Four commissioners, accompanied by the minister at war, were directed to proceed to the army to notify the decree, and to bring the general to Paris. These four commissioners were Bancal, Quinette, Camus, and Lamarque.* Beurnonville had joined them, and his part was a difficult one, on account of the friendship which subsisted between him and Dumouriez.

These commissioners set out on the 30th of March. The same day Dumouriez moved to the field of Bruille, where he threatened at once the three important fortresses of Lille, Condé, and Valenciennes. He was quite undecided what course to pursue, for his army was divided in opinion. The artillery, the troops of the line, and the cavalry, all the organized corps, appeared to be devoted to him; but the national volunteers began to murmur, and to separate themselves from the others. In this situation he had but one expedient—to disarm the volunteers. But this exposed him to the risk of a battle, and the issue would be precarious, for the troops of the line might feel repugnance to slaughter their comrades. Besides, among these volunteers there were some who had fought well, and who appeared to be attached to him. Hesitating as to this measure of severity, he considered how to make himself master of the three fortresses amidst which he was posted. By means of them he should have supplies, and a point of support against Paris, and against the enemy, of whom he still had a distrust. But in these three places the public opinion was divided. The popular societies, aided by the volunteers, had there risen against him, and threatened the troops of the line. At Valenciennes and Lille, the commissioners of the Convention excited the zeal of the republicans, and in Condé alone the influence of Neuilly's division gave his partizans the advantage. Among the generals of division, Dampierre behaved towards him as he had himself behaved towards Lafayette after the 10th of August, and several others, without as yet declaring themselves, were ready to abandon him.

On the 31st, six volunteers, having the words *Republic or Death* written with chalk upon their hats, met him in his camp, and seemed to entertain a design to secure his person. Assisted by his faithful Baptiste, he kept them at bay, and gave them into the custody of his hussars. This occurrence produced a great sensation in the army; the different corps presented to him in the course of the day addresses which renewed his confidence. He instantly raised the standard, and detached Miaczinsky with a few thousand men to march upon Lille. Miaczinsky advanced upon that place, and communicated the secret of his enterprise to St. George, a mulatto, who commanded a regiment of the garrison. The latter advised Miaczinsky to enter the town with a small escort. The unfortunate general suffered himself to be persuaded, and, no sooner had he entered Lille, than he was surrounded and delivered up to the authorities. The gates were closed, and the division wandered about without commander on the glacis of Lille. Dumouriez immediately sent an aide-de-camp to rally it. But the aide-de-camp was taken also, and the division, being dispersed, was lost to him. After this unfortunate attempt, he made a similar one upon Valenciennes,

* "F. Lamarque was a member of the Convention, and voted for the death of Louis XVI. He early declared against the Girondins, and was sent to the army of the North, with some other commissioners, to arrest Dumouriez; but that general delivered them up to the Prince of Coburg, and they were kept in confinement by the Austrians till 1795, when they were exchanged for the daughter of Louis. In 1800, Lamarque was appointed prefect of the department of the Tarn, which he held till the year 1804, when he was appointed one of the tribunal of cassation, and decorated with the legionary cross."—*Biographie Moderne*. E.

where General Ferrand* commanded. That general he thought very favourably disposed towards him. But the officer sent to surprise the place betrayed his plans, joined Ferrand and the commissioners of the Convention, and that fortress also was lost to him. Thus Condé alone was left. Placed between France and the enemy, he had but this last point of support. If he lost that he must submit to the Imperialists, he must put himself entirely into their hands, and he must run the risk of causing his army to revolt by directing them to march along with it.

On the 1st of April he transferred his head-quarters to the marshes of St. Amand, that he might be nearer to Condé. He ordered Lecointre, son of the deputy of Versailles, to be arrested, and sent him as an hostage to Tournay, begging Clairfayt, the Austrian, to keep him as a deposit in the citadel. On the evening of the 2d the four deputies of the Convention, preceded by Beurnonville, arrived at the quarters of Dumouriez. The Berciny hussars were drawn up before the door, and all his staff were around him. Dumouriez first embraced his friend Beurnonville, and asked the deputies the object of their mission. They refused to explain themselves before such a number of officers, whose dispositions appeared to be far from satisfactory, and wished to step into an adjoining apartment. Dumouriez consented, but the officers insisted that the door should be left open. Camus then read the decree, and enjoined him to submit to it. Dumouriez replied that the state of his army required his presence, and that when it was reorganized he should see how he ought to act. Camus insisted with emphasis; but Dumouriez replied that he should not be such a dupe as to go to Paris and give himself up to the revolutionary tribunal; that tigers were demanding his head, but he would not give it to them. To no purpose did the four commissioners assure him that no harm was intended to his person, that they would be answerable for his safety, that this step would satisfy the Convention, and that he should soon return to his army. He would not listen to anything, begged them not to drive him to extremity, and told them that they had better issue a moderate resolution (*arrêté*) declaring that General Dumouriez had appeared to them too necessary to be withdrawn from his army. As he finished these words he retired, enjoining them to come to a decision. He then went back with Beurnonville to the room where he had left his staff, and waited among his officers for the resolution (*arrêté*) of the commissioners. The latter, with noble firmness, came out a moment afterwards, and repeated their summons. "Will you obey the Convention?" said Camus. "No," replied the general. "Well, then," replied Camus, "you are suspended from your functions; your papers will be seized, and your person secured."—"It is too bad!" exclaimed Dumouriez; "this way, hussars!" The hussars ran to him. "Arrest these men," said he to them in German; "but do them no harm." Beurnonville begged that he would let him share their fate. "Yes," replied he; "and I think I am rendering you a real service. I am saving you from the revolutionary tribunal."

Dumouriez ordered refreshments to be given to them, and then sent them off to Tournay, to be kept as hostages by the Austrians. The very next morning he mounted his horse, issued a proclamation to the army and to

* "P. E. Ferrand, a nobleman, and, during the Revolution, a general of brigade, was born at Castres. In 1792 he was employed under Dumouriez, and commanded part of his left wing at Jemappes. Some time after he was appointed commander of Mons, and in 1793 defended Valenciennes for eighty-seven days. In 1804 he retired to La Planchette near Paris, and died there in 1805, at seventy years of age.—*Biographie Moderne*. F

France, and found in his soldiers, especially those of the line, dispositions to all appearance the most favourable.

Tidings of all these circumstances had successively reached Paris. The interview of Dumouriez with Proly, Dubuisson, and Pereyra, his attempts upon Lille and Valenciennes, and lastly, the arrest of the four commissioners were known there. The convention, the municipal assemblies, the popular societies immediately declared themselves permanent. A reward was offered for the head of Dumouriez; and all the relatives of the officers of his army were apprehended to serve as hostages. Forty thousand men were ordered to be raised in Paris and the neighbouring towns, for the purpose of covering the capital, and Dampierre was invested with the chief command of the army in Belgium. To these urgent measures had, as on all occasions, been added calumnies. Dumouriez, Orleans, and the Girondins, were everywhere classed together, and declared accomplices. Dumouriez was, it was said, one of those military aristocrats, a member of those old staffs, whose bad principles were continually betraying themselves; Orleans was the first of those grandees who had feigned a false attachment for liberty, and who were unmasking after an hypocrisy of several years; lastly, the Girondins were but deputies who had become unfaithful, like all the members of all the right sides, and who abused their mandates for the overthrow of liberty. Dumouriez was only doing a little later what Bouillé and Lafayette had done a little earlier. Orleans was pursuing the same conduct as the other members of the family of the Bourbons had already pursued, and he merely persisted in the Revolution a little longer than the Count de Provence. The Girondins, as Maury and Cazalès, in the Constituent, Vaublanc and Pastoret in the Legislative Assembly, betrayed their country quite as visibly, but only at different periods. Thus Dumouriez, Orleans, Brissot, Vergniaud, Guadet, Gensonné, &c., all accomplices, were the traitors of the current year.

The Girondins replied by asserting that they had always been hostile to Orleans, and that it was the party of the Mountain who had defended him; that they had quarrelled with Dumouriez, and had no connexion with him; while, on the contrary, those who had been sent to him into Belgium, those who had accompanied him in all his expeditions, those who had always shown themselves his friends, and had even palliated his conduct, were Mountaineers. Lasource, carrying boldness still farther, had the imprudence to name Lacroix and Danton, and to accuse them of having checked the zeal of the Convention by disguising the conduct of Dumouriez. This allegation of Lasource roused suspicions already entertained respecting the conduct of Lacroix and Danton in Belgium. It was actually asserted that they had exchanged indulgence with Dumouriez; that he had supported their rapine, and that they had excused his defection. Danton who desired nothing from the Girondins but silence, was filled with fury, rushed to the tribune, and swore war against them to the death. "No more peace or truce," he exclaimed, "between you and us!"* Distorting his face in a frightful manner, and shaking his fist at the right side of the Assembly, "I have intrench-

* "One man alone could have saved the Girondins, but they completely alienated him, although Dumouriez had counselled them to keep fair with him. This man was Danton. To a hideous figure, a heart harsh and violent, much ignorance and coarseness, he united great natural sense, and a very energetic character. If the Girondins had possessed good sense enough to have coalesced with him, he would have humbled the atrocious faction of Marat, either tamed or annihilated the Jacobins; and perhaps Louis would have been indebted to him for his life; but the Girondins provoked him, and he sacrificed everything to his vengeance."—*Dumouriez's Memoirs*. E.

ed myself," said he, "in the citadel of reason. I will sally from it with the cannon of truth, and grind to powder the villains who have dared to accuse me."

The result of these reciprocal accusations was: 1. The appointment of a commission for the purpose of investigating the conduct of the commissioners sent to Belgium; 2. The adoption of a decree which was destined to have fatal consequences, and which purported that, without regard to the inviolability of representatives, they should be placed under accusation whenever they were strongly presumed to be guilty of complicity with the enemies of the state; 3. Lastly, the apprehension and transfer to the prison of Marseilles of Philip of Orleans and all his family. Thus this prince, the football of all the parties, alternately suspected by the Jacobins and the Girondins, and accused of conspiring with everybody because he conspired with nobody, furnished a proof that no past greatness could subsist amid the present revolution, and that the deepest and the most voluntary abasement could neither dispel distrust, nor save from the scaffold.

Dumouriez felt that he had not a moment to lose. Seeing Dampierre and several generals of division about to forsake him, others only waiting for a favourable opportunity to do so; lastly, a multitude of emissaries busy among his troops, he thought that it would be well to set them in motion, in order to engage his officers and his men, and to withdraw them from every other influence but his own. Besides, time pressed, and it became necessary to act. In consequence, he agreed upon an interview with the Prince of Coburg, on the morning of the 4th, for the purpose of settling definitely with him and Colonel Mack the operations which he meditated. The meeting was to take place near Condé. His intention was to enter the fortress afterwards, to purge the garrison, and then proceeding with his whole army upon Orchies, to threaten Lille and endeavour to reduce it by displaying all his force.

On the morning of the 4th, he set out for the purpose of repairing to the place of rendezvous and afterwards to Condé. He had ordered an escort of only fifty horse, and, as it did not arrive in time, he started, leaving directions that it should be sent after him. Thouvenot,* the sons of Orleans, some officers, and a certain number of attendants, accompanied him. No sooner was he on the road to Condé than he met two battalions of volunteers, whom he was extremely surprised to find there, as he had given no orders for them to shift their quarters. He was just alighting near a house to write an order for them to return, when he heard shouts raised, and the firing of muskets. These battalions were in fact dividing; some pursued him, crying "Stop!" others endeavoured to intercept his flight towards a ditch. He instantly dashed off with those who accompanied him, and distanced the volunteers who were in pursuit of him. On reaching the edge of the ditch, his horse refused to leap it, on which he threw himself into it, and arrived on the other side amidst a shower of shot, and taking the horse of one of the attendants, he fled at full speed towards Bury. After riding the whole day, he arrived there in the evening, and was joined by Colonel Mack, who was apprised of what had happened. He spent the whole night in writing and arranging with Colonel Mack, and the Prince of Coburg all

* "Thouvenot possessed much knowledge relative to the details of reconnoitering, encamping, and marching; he possessed also much courage, infinite resources in the time of action, indefatigable exertion, and extensive views. Lafayette had employed, and placed the utmost reliance on him."—*Dumouriez's Memoirs*. E.

the conditions of their alliance, and he astonished them by his intention of returning to his army after what had occurred.

Accordingly, in the morning, he mounted, and accompanied by some imperial horse, returned by way of Maulde to his army. Some troops of the line surrounded him and still gave him demonstrations of attachment; but many faces looked very sullen. The news of his flight to Bury, into the midst of the enemy's armies, and the sight of the imperial dragoons, produced an impression fatal for him, honourable for our soldiers, and happy for the fortune of France. He was informed, in fact, that the artillery, on the tidings that he had gone over to the Austrians, had left the camp, and that the departure of that very important portion of the army had disheartened the rest. Whole divisions were proceeding to Valenciennes to join Dampierre. He then found himself obliged to quit his army definitely, and to go back to the Imperialists. He was followed by a numerous staff, in which were included the two sons of Orleans, and Thouvenot, and by the Berchiny hussars, the whole regiment of which insisted on accompanying him.

The Prince of Coburg and Colonel Mack, whose friend he had become, treated him with great distinction, and wished to renew with him the plans of the preceding night, by appointing him to the command of a new emigrant force which should be of a different character from that of Coblenz. But, after two days, he told the Austrian prince that it was with the soldiers of France, and accepting the Imperialists merely as auxiliaries, that he had hoped to execute his projects against Paris, but that his quality of Frenchmen forbade him to march at the head of foreigners. He demanded passports for the purpose of retiring to Switzerland. They were immediately granted. The high estimate formed of his talents, and the low opinion entertained of his political principles, gained him favours not shown to Lafayette, who was at this moment expiating his heroic constancy in the dungeons of Olmütz.

Thus terminated the career of that superior man, who had displayed all sorts of talents, those of the diplomatist, the administrator, and the general; every sort of courage—that of the civilian, withstanding the storms of the tribune, that of the soldier braving the balls of the enemy, that of the commander confronting the most dangerous situations and the perils of the most daring enterprises; but who, without principles, without the moral ascendancy which they confer, without any other influence than that of genius, soon spent in that rapid succession of men and circumstances, had resolutely tried to struggle with the Revolution, and proved, by a striking example, that an individual cannot prevail against a national passion until it is exhausted. In going over to the enemy, Dumouriez had not for his excuse either Bouillé's aristocratic infatuation or Lafayette's delicacy of principles, for he had tolerated all the disorders till the moment when they ran counter to his projects. By his defection he may fairly be alleged to have hastened the fall of the Girondins, and the great revolutionary crisis. Yet it must not be forgotten that this man, without attachment to any cause, had the preference of reason for liberty; it must not be forgotten that he loved France; that when no one believed it possible to withstand the foreign foe, he attempted it, and relied more upon us than we did upon ourselves; that at St. Menes he taught us to face the enemy with coolness; that at Jemappes he kindled our ardour and replaced us in the rank of the first-rate powers; lastly, we must not forget that if he forsook us, it was he who saved us. Moreover, he passed a sad old age far away from his country; and one cannot help feeling deep regret at the sight of a man fifty of whose years were spent in court in-

trigues, and thirty in exile, while three only were occupied on a theatre worthy of his genius.

Dampierre was invested with the chief command of the army of the North, and intrenched his troops in the camp of Famars, in such a manner as to be able to succour any of our fortresses that might be threatened. This position which was strong, and the plan of campaign adopted by the allies, according to which they had agreed not to penetrate farther until the fortress of Mayence should be retaken, could not but retard the events of the war in this quarter. Custine, who, to excuse his own blunders, had never ceased to accuse his colleagues and the ministers, was favourably heard, when speaking against Beurnonville, who was regarded as an accomplice of Dumouriez, though delivered up to the Austrians, and he obtained the command of the Rhine from the Vosges and the Moselle to Huningue. As the defection of Dumouriez had begun with negotiations, the penalty of death was decreed against any general who should listen to proposals from the enemy, unless the sovereignty of the people and the republic were previously recognised. Bouchotte* was then appointed minister at war, and Monge, though highly agreeable to the Jacobins for his complaisance, was superseded as inadequate to all the details of that immense department. It was also resolved that three commissioners of the Convention should remain constantly with the armies, and that one of them should be replaced every month.

At the same time, the project so frequently brought forward, of giving greater energy to the action of the government by concentrating it in the Convention, was carried into execution. After various plans, that of a committee, called the committee of *public welfare*, was adopted. This committee, composed of nine members, was to deliberate in private. It was charged to superintend and to accelerate the action of the executive power; it was even authorized to suspend its resolutions (*arrêtés*) when it deemed them contrary to the general interest, with the proviso that it should inform the Convention of the circumstance; and to take on all urgent occasions measures of internal and external defence. The *arrêtés* signed by the authority of its members were to be instantly carried into effect by the executive power. It was instituted for one month only, and could not deliver any order of arrest, unless against actual perpetrators.

The members nominated to compose this committee were Barrère, Delmas, Bréard,† Cambon, Robert Lindet,‡ Guyton-Morveaux, Treilhard, and Lacroix, of Eure and Loire. Though not yet uniting all the powers, this

* "Bouchotte, commandant of Cambray, having long remained in obscurity, was raised in 1793, to the administration of the war department, in the room of Beurnonville. Having escaped the perils of the Reign of Terror, he retired to Metz, and was there called to the municipal and elective functions in 1799. He retired from active life in the year 1805."—*Biographie Moderne*. E.

† "Jean Jacques Bréard was a landholder at Marennes. In 1791 he was appointed deputy to the Legislative Assembly, was re-elected to the National Convention, and voted for the death of the King. He was then appointed president, and soon afterwards a member of the committee of public safety. In 1795 he entered into the council of ancients, and retired into private life in the year 1803."—*Biographie Moderne*. E.

‡ "Jean Baptiste Robert Lindet, a lawyer, and attorney-syndic of the district of Bernay, was deputy from Eure to the legislature, where he showed some degree of moderation, but having afterwards connected himself with the party of the Mountain, he was generally considered as one of the most wary chiefs of the party. He voted for the King's death in the Convention, and proposed a scheme for organizing a revolutionary tribunal. In 1799 he was summoned to the administration of finance, a place which he retained till the Revolution of the 18th Brumaire."—*Biographie Moderne*. E.

committee nevertheless had immense influence. It corresponded with the commissioners of the Convention, gave them their instructions, and had authority to substitute any measure that it thought fit in place of those of the ministers. Through Cambon it ruled the finances, and with Danton it could not fail to acquire the influence of that powerful party-leader. Thus, by the growing effect of danger, was the country urged on towards a dictatorship.

On recovering from the alarm caused by the desertion of Dumouriez, the parties next began to charge each other with being accomplices in it; and it was but natural that the stronger should overwhelm the weaker. The sections, the popular societies, which in general led the way in everything, took the initiative, and denounced the Girondins in petitions and addresses.

A new society, more violent than any yet existing, had been founded agreeably to a principle of Marat. He had said that up to that day men had done nothing but *prate* about the sovereignty of the people; that, according to this doctrine well understood, each section was sovereign in its own district, and had a right to recall at any moment the powers that it had given. The most furious agitators, laying hold of this doctrine, had, in fact, pretended to be deputed by these sections to ascertain the use that was made of these powers, and to consult upon the public welfare. They met at the Evêché, and declared themselves authorized to correspond with all the municipalities of the republic. In consequence, they called themselves the Central Committee of Public Welfare. Hence proceeded the most inflammatory propositions. This committee had resolved to go in a body to the Convention, to inquire if it possessed the means of saving the country. It had attracted the notice, not only of the Assembly, but also of the commune of the Jacobins. Robespierre, who no doubt was glad enough of the consequences of insurrection, but who dreaded the means, and who had shown fear at every disturbance, inveighed against the violent resolutions which seemed to be preparing in these inferior associations, persevered in his favourite policy, which consisted in defaming the deputies, whom he stigmatized as unfaithful, and ruining them in the public opinion, before he had recourse to any other measure against them. Fond of accusing his opponents, he dreaded the employment of force, and preferred the contests of the tribunes, which were without danger, and in which he carried off all the honour.

Marat, who had at times the vanity of moderation as well as all other sorts of vanity, denounced the society of the Evêché, though he had furnished the principles upon which it was formed. Commissioners were sent to ascertain if the members composing it were men of extravagant zeal or bribed agitators. Having satisfied themselves, that they were merely too zealous patriots, the society of the Jacobins would not exclude them from its bosom, as had been at first suggested, but directed a list of them to be made out, for the purposes of watching them; and it proposed a public disapprobation of their conduct, alleging that there ought not to be any other centre of public welfare than itself. Thus the insurrection of the 10th of April had been prepared, and condemned beforehand. All those who have not the courage to act, all those who are displeased at seeing themselves distanced, disapprove the first attempts, though all the while they desire their results. Danton alone maintained profound silence, neither disavowing nor disapproving the subordinate agitators. He was not fond of triumphing in the tribune by long-winded accusations; and preferred the means of action which he possessed in the highest degree, having at his beck all the most immoral and turbulent spirits that Paris contained. It is not known, however, whether he was acting in secret, but he kept a threatening silence.

Several sections condemned the association at the Evêché, and that of Mail presented to the convention an energetic petition on the subject. That of Bonne-Nouvelle came, on the contrary, and read an address in which it denounced Brissot, Vergniaud, Guadet, Gensonné, &c., as friends of Dumouriez, and insisted that they ought to be struck by the sword of the law. After vehement agitation, in a contrary spirit, the petitioners were admitted to the honours of the sitting, but it was declared that thenceforward the Assembly would not listen to any accusation against its members, and that every denunciation of this kind should be addressed to the committee of public welfare.

The section of the Halle-au-Blé, which was one of the most violent, drew up another petition, under the presidency of Marat, and sent it to the Jacobins, to the sections, and to the commune, that it might receive its approbation, and that sanctioned thus by all the authorities of the capital, it might be solemnly presented by Pache, the mayor, to the Convention. In this petition carried about from place to place and universally known, it was alleged that part of the Convention was corrupted, that it conspired with the forestallers, that it was implicated with Dumouriez, and that it ought to be superseded by the commissioners. On the 10th of April, while this petition was hawking about from section to section, Petion, feeling indignant, desired to be heard on a motion of order. He inveighed with a vehemence, unusual with him, against the calumnies levelled at a portion of the Convention, and called for measures of repression. Danton, on the contrary, claimed honourable mention on behalf of the petition which was preparing. Petion, still more incensed, proposed that its authors should be sent to the revolutionary tribunal. Danton replied that upright representatives, strong in a clear conscience, need not be afraid of calumny; that it is inevitable in a republic, and that besides, they had not yet either repulsed the Austrians or framed a constitution; consequently it was doubtful whether the Convention deserved praise. He afterwards insisted that the Assembly should cease to pay attention to private quarrels, and that those who deemed themselves calumniated ought to appeal to the tribunals. The question was therefore disposed of; but Fonfrède brought it forward again, and again it was set aside. Robespierre, who dearly loved personal quarrels, brought it forward afresh, and demanded permission to rend the veil. He was allowed to speak, and he began a speech full of the most bitter, the most atrocious defamation, of the Girondins in which he had ever indulged. We must notice this speech, which shows in what colours his gloomy mind painted the conduct of his enemies.

According to him there existed below the aristocracy dispossessed in 1789 a burgher aristocracy, as vain and as despotic as the preceding, and whose treasons succeeded those of the nobility. A frank revolution did not suit this class, and it wanted a king with the constitution of 1791, to assure its domination. The Girondins were its leaders. Under the Legislative Assembly, they had secured the ministerial departments by means of Roland, Clavières, and Servan. After they had lost them, they endeavoured to revenge themselves by the 20th of June; and on the eve of the 10th of August, they were treating with the court, and offering peace, upon condition that the power should be restored to them. On the 10th of August itself, they were content to suspend the King without abolishing royalty, and appointed a governor for the prince-royal. After the 10th, they seized the ministerial departments, and slandered the commune, for the purpose of ruining its influence and securing an exclusive sway. When the Convention was formed, they

made themselves masters of the committees, continued to calumniate Paris and to represent that city as the focus of all crimes, and they perverted the public opinion by means of their journals, and by the immense sums which Roland devoted to the circulation of the most perfidious writings. Lastly, in January they opposed the death of the tyrant, not out of attachment to his person, but out of attachment to royalty. This faction, continued Robespierre, is the only cause of the disastrous war which we are at this moment waging. It desires it, in order to expose us to the invasion of Austria, which promised a congress, with the burgher constitution of 1791. It has directed it with perfidy, and, after employing the traitor Lafayette, it has since employed the traitor Dumouriez, to attain the end which it has been so long pursuing. At first it feigned a quarrel with Dumouriez, but the quarrel was not serious, for it formerly placed him in the ministry by means of his friend Genouë, and caused him to be allowed six millions, for secret service money. Dumouriez, in concert with it, saved the Prussians in the Argonne, when he might have annihilated them.* In Belgium, it is true, he gained a great victory, but it required an important success to obtain the public confidence, and, once obtained, he abused it in every possible way. He did not invade Holland, which he might have conquered in the very first campaign; he prevented the union of the conquered countries with France, and the diplomatic committee, in unison with him, omitted nothing to keep away the Belgian deputies who demanded the union. Those envoys of the executive power, whom Dumouriez had so harshly treated because they annoyed the Belgians, were all chosen by the Girondins; and they contrived to send disorganizers whose conduct could not fail to be publicly condemned, in order to dishonour the republican cause. Dumouriez, after making, when too late, an attack upon Holland, returned to Belgium, lost the battle of Neerwinden, and it was Miranda, the friend and the creature of Petion, who by his retreat decided the loss of that battle. Dumouriez then fell back, and raised the standard of revolt at the very moment when the faction was exciting the insurrections of royalism in the West. All was therefore prepared for this moment. A perfidious minister had been placed in the war department for this important circumstance. The committee of general safety composed of all the Girondins, excepting seven or eight faithful deputies, who did not attend its meetings,—this committee did nothing to prevent the public dangers. Thus nothing had been neglected for the success of the conspiracy. A king was wanted: but all the generals belonged to *Egalité*. The *Egalité* family was collected around Dumouriez; his sons, his daughter, ay even the intriguing Sillery, were along with him. Dumouriez began by manifestoes, and what did he say?—all that the orators and the writers of the faction said in the tribune and in the newspapers; that the Convention was composed of villains, with the exception of a small sound portion: that Paris was the focus of all sorts of crimes; that the Jacobins were disorganizers who excited disturbance and civil war.

Such was the manner in which Robespierre accounted as well for the defection of Dumouriez, as for the opposition of the Girondins. After he had at great length developed this artful tissue of calumnies, he proposed to send

* "The Jacobins endeavoured to convert all Dumouriez's proceedings into so many crimes. Even the retreat of the Prussians served as the foundation of a thousand foibles. After imagining that he had released himself from his embarrassments by deceiving the Prussians, the moment the Jacobins learned the dismal state of the enemy's army, and yet beheld it saved, they attributed the excellence of its retreat to a collusion between Dumouriez and the King of Prussia."—*Dumouriez's Memoirs*. E.

to the revolutionary tribunal the accomplices of Dumouriez, all the members of the Orleans family and their friends. "As for the deputies Guadet, Gensonné, Vergniaud, &c., it would be," said he, with malicious irony, "a sacrilege to accuse such upright men; and feeling my impotence in regard to them, I leave them to the wisdom of the Assembly."

The tribunes and the Mountain applauded their *virtuous* orator. The Girondins were incensed at this infamous system, in which a perfidious hatred had as large a share as a natural distrust of disposition; for there was in this speech an extraordinary art in combining facts and obviating objections; and Robespierre had displayed in this base accusation more real talent than in all his ordinary declamations. Vergniaud rushed to the tribune and demanded permission to speak, with such vehemence, earnestness, and resolution, that it was granted, and that the tribunes and the Mountain at length left it to him undisturbed. To the premeditated speech of Robespierre he opposed one delivered on the spur of the moment, with the warmth of the most eloquent and the most innocent of men.

He would presume, he said, to reply to Monsieur Robespierre, and he would not employ either time or art in his reply, for he needed nothing but his soul. He would not speak for himself, for he knew that in times of revolution the dregs of nations are stirred up, and for a moment rise above the good, but in order to enlighten France. His voice, which more than once had struck terror into that palace from which he had assisted to hurl tyranny, should carry terror also into the souls of the villains who were desirous of substituting their own tyranny for that of royalty.

He then replied to every inculpation of Robespierre, what any one may reply from the mere knowledge of the facts. By his speech in July, he provoked the dethronement of the King. Shortly before the 10th of August, doubting the success of the insurrection, not even knowing whether it would take place, he pointed out to an agent of the court what it ought to do in order to reconcile itself with the nation and to save the country. On the 10th of August, he was sitting in his place amidst the thunder of cannon, while Monsieur Robespierre was in a cellar. He had not caused the dethronement to be pronounced, because the combat was doubtful, and he proposed the appointment of a governor for the dauphin, because in case royalty should succeed in maintaining itself, a good education given to the young prince might insure the future happiness of France. Himself and his friends caused war to be declared, because it was already begun, and it was better to declare it openly and to defend oneself, than to suffer without making it. He and his friends were appointed to the ministry and upon committees by the public voice. In the commission of twenty-one, in the Legislative Assembly, they opposed the suggestion for leaving Paris, and it was they who prepared the means which France displayed in the Argonne. In the committee of general safety of the Convention, they had laboured assiduously, and before the faces of their colleagues who, if they pleased, might have witnessed all their proceedings. Robespierre had deserted it, and never made his appearance there. They had not calumniated Paris, but combated the murderers who usurped the name of Parisians, and disgraced Paris and the republic. They had not perverted the public opinion, since, for his own part, he had not written a single letter, and what Roland had circulated was well known to everybody. He and his friends demanded the appeal to the people on the trial of Louis XVI., because they were of opinion that, on so important a question, the national adhesion could not be dispensed with. For his own part, he scarcely knew Dumouriez, and had seen him but twice.

the first time on his return from the Argonne; the second on his return from Belgium; but Danton and Santerre saw him, congratulated him, covered him with caresses, and made him dine with them every day. As for Egalité, he had just as little acquaintance with him. The Mountaineers alone knew and associated with him; and whenever the Girondins attacked him, the Mountaineers invariably stood forward in his defence. What then could he and his friends be reproached with? Underhand dealings, intrigues? . . . But they did not run to the sections to stir them up. They did not fill the tribunes to extort decrees by terror. They never would suffer the ministers to be taken from among the assemblies of which they were members. Or were they accused of being moderates? . . . But they were not so on the 10th of August, when Robespierre and Marat were hiding themselves. They were so in September when the prisoners were murdered and the Garde-Meuble was plundered.

"You know," said Vergniaud in conclusion, "whether I have endured in silence the mortifications heaped upon me during the last six months, whether I have sacrificed to my country the most just resentments; you know whether upon pain of cowardice, upon pain of confessing myself guilty, upon pain of compromising the little good that I am still allowed to do, I could have avoided placing the impostures and the malignity of Robespierre in their true light. May this be the last day wasted by us in scandalous debates!" Vergniaud then moved that the section of the Halle-aux-Blés should be summoned and desired to bring its registers.

The talent of Vergniaud had captivated his very enemies. His sincerity, his touching eloquence, had interested and convinced the great majority of the Assembly, and the warmest testimonies of approbation were lavished upon him on all sides. Guadet desired to be heard, but, at sight of him, the Mountain, before silent, became agitated, and sent forth horrid yells. He nevertheless obtained in his turn permission to reply, and he acquitted himself in such a manner as to excite the passions much more powerfully than Vergniaud had done. None, he admitted, had conspired; but appearances were much stronger against the Mountaineers and the Jacobins, who had been in connexion with Dumouriez and Egalité, than against the Girondins, who had quarrelled with both. "Who," exclaimed Guadet, "who was with Dumouriez at the Jacobins, at the theatres? Your Danton."—"Aha! dost thou accuse me?" rejoined Danton; "thou knowest not my power."

The conclusion of Guadet's speech was deferred till the following day. He continued to fix all conspiracy, if there were any, on the Mountaineers. He finished with reading an address, which, like that of the Halle-aux-Blés, was signed by Marat. It was from the Jacobins, and Marat had signed it as president of the society. It contained these words, which Guadet read to the Assembly; "Citizens, let us arm. Counter-revolution is in the government; it is in the bosom of the Convention. Citizens, let us march thither, let us march!"

"Yes," cried Marat from his place, "yes, let us march!" At these words the Assembly rose, and demanded a decree of accusation against Marat. Danton opposed it, saying that the members on both sides of the Assembly appeared to agree upon accusing the family of Orleans, that it ought, therefore, to be sent before the tribunals, but, as for Marat, he could not be placed under accusation for an expression which had escaped him amidst a stormy discussion. Some one replied that the family of Orleans ought not to be tried in Paris, but at Marseilles. Danton would have continued, but, without listening to him, the Assembly gave the priority to the

decree of accusation against Marat, and Lacroix moved that he should be immediately apprehended. "Since my enemies have lost all modesty," cried Marat, "I demand one thing; the decree is calculated to excite a commotion; let two gendarmes accompany me to the Jacobins, that I may go and recommend peace to them." Without listening to these ridiculous sallies, the Assembly ordered him to be taken into custody, and directed that the act of accusation should be prepared by noon the next day.

Robespierre hastened to the Jacobins to express his indignation, to praise the energy of Danton, and the moderation of Marat, and to recommend to them to be calm, that people might not have to say that Paris rose to liberate a Jacobin.

On the next day the act of accusation was read and approved by the Assembly, and the accusation so frequently proposed against Marat, was seriously prosecuted before the revolutionary tribunal.*

It was an intended petition against the Girondins that had produced these violent altercations between the two sides of the Assembly; but nothing had been enacted on the subject, neither, indeed, was it possible to enact anything, since the Assembly had not the power to check the commotions produced by the petitions. The project of a general address from all the sections had been prosecuted with activity; the particular form of it had been determined upon; out of the forty-three sections, thirty-five had adopted it; the general council of the commune had approved it; and, on the 15th, the commissioners of the thirty-five sections, with Pache, the mayor, at their head, appeared at the bar. It might be considered as the manifesto in which the commune of Paris declared its intentions, and threatened insurrection in case of refusal. So it had done before the 10th of August, so it again did on the eve of the 31st of May. The address was read by Real, *procureur* of the commune. After dwelling upon the criminal conduct of a certain number of deputies, the petition prayed for their expulsion from the Convention, and named them one after another. There were twenty-two: Brissot, Guadet, Vergniaud, Gensonné, Grange-Neuve, Buzot, Barbaroux, Salles, Biroteau, Pontécoulant, Petion, Lanjuinais, Valazé, Hardy, Louvet, Lehardy, Gorsas, Gauchet, Lanthénas, Lasource, Valady, and Chambon.

The reading of these names drew forth applause from the tribunes. The president informed the petitioners that the law required them to sign their petition. They instantly complied. Pache alone, striving to prolong his neutrality, hung back. He was asked for his signature, but replied that he was not one of the petitioners, and had only been directed by the general council to accompany them. But, perceiving that it was impossible for him to recede, he advanced and signed the petition. The tribunes rewarded him with boisterous applause.

Boyer-Fonfrède immediately went up to the tribunes, and said that, if modesty were not a duty, he would beg to be added to the glorious list of the twenty-two deputies. The majority of the Assembly, impelled by a generous emotion, cried, "Put us all down, all!" and then surrounded the twenty-two deputies, embracing them, and giving them the most expressive

* "The Convention felt the necessity of making an effort to resist the inflammatory proceedings of the Jacobins. By a united effort of the Girondins and the neutral party, Marat was sent for trial to the Revolutionary Tribunal, on the charge of having instigated the people to demand the punishment of the National Representatives. This was the first instance of the inviolability of the Convention being broken in upon; and as such, it afforded an unfortunate precedent, which the sanguinary Jacobins were not slow in following."—*Alison*. E.

tokens of sympathy. The discussion, interrupted by this scene, was adjourned to the following days.

On the appointed day the subject was accordingly brought forward. Reproaches and justification recommenced between the two sides of the Assembly. Some deputies of the centre took occasion, from letters written on the state of the armies, to propose that they should direct their attention to the general interests of the republic, and not waste their time on private quarrels. The Assembly assented; but on the 18th, a fresh petition against the right side caused that of the thirty-five sections to be again brought forward. Various acts of the commune were at the same time denounced. By one it declared itself in a continual state of revolution, and by another it appointed within its bosom a committee of correspondence with all the municipalities in the realm. It had, in fact, been long striving to give to its purely local authority a character of generality, that would permit it to speak in the name of France, and enable it to rival the authority of the Convention. The committee of the Evêché, dissolved on the recommendation of the Jacobins, had also had for its object to put Paris in communication with all the other towns; and now the commune was desirous of making amends by organizing that correspondence in its own bosom. Vergniaud addressed the Assembly, and, attacking at once the petition of the thirty-five sections, the acts imputed to the commune, and the designs revealed by its conduct, moved that the petition should be declared calumnious, and that the municipality should be required to bring its registers to the Assembly, to show what resolutions (*arrêtés*) it had passed. These propositions were adopted, in spite of the tribunes and the left side. At this moment the right side, supported by the Plain, began to sway all the decisions. It had caused Lasource, one of the most ardent of its members, to be appointed president; and it had again the majority, that is, the legality, a feeble resource against strength, and which serves at best but to irritate it the more.

The municipal officers summoned to the bar, came boldly to submit the registers of their deliberations, and seemed to expect the approbation of their resolutions (*arrêtés*). These registers purported; 1. That the general council declared itself in a state of revolution, so long as supplies of provisions were not insured; 2. That the committee of correspondence with the forty-four thousand municipalities should be composed of nine members, and put immediately in activity; 3. That twelve thousand copies of the petition against the twenty-two should be printed and distributed by the committee of correspondence; 4. Lastly, that the general council would consider the blow aimed at itself, when any of its members, or when a president or secretary of a section or of a club, should be prosecuted for their opinions. This last resolution had been adopted for the purpose of screening Marat who was accused of having, as president of a section, signed a seditious address.

The commune, as we see, resisted the Assembly foot to foot, and on each debated point adopted a decision contrary to that of the latter. If the question related to the supply of necessaries, it immediately constituted itself in a state of revolution, if violent means were rejected. If it related to Marat, it covered him with its shield. If it related to the twenty-two, it appealed to the forty-four thousand municipalities, and placed itself in correspondence with them, for the purpose of demanding from them, as it were, general powers against the Convention. The opposition was complete at all points, and accompanied moreover by preparations for insurrection.

No sooner was the reading of the registers finished, than the younger

Robespierre demanded the honours of the sitting for the municipal officers. The right side opposed this: the Plain hesitated, and said that it might perhaps be dangerous to lower magistrates in the estimation of the people by refusing them a customary honour, which was not denied even to the humblest petitioners. Amidst these tumultuous debates, the sitting was prolonged till eleven at night; the right side and the Plain withdrew, and one hundred and forty-three members only remained with the Mountain to admit the Parisian municipalities to the honours of the sitting. On one and the same day declared guilty of calumny, repulsed by the majority, and admitted to the honours of the sitting by the Mountain and the tribunes, it could not fail to be deeply exasperated, and to become the rallying-point for all those who wished to break down the authority of the Convention.

Marat had, at length, been brought before the revolutionary tribunal, and it was not by the energy of the right side, which had as it were carried the Plain along with it, that his accusation had been decided upon. But every energetic movement, while it is honourable to, only precipitates the ruin of a party struggling against a superior movement. The Girondins, by their courageous prosecution of Marat, had only prepared a triumph for him. The act purported in substance that Marat, having in his papers encouraged murder, carnage, the degradation and dissolution of the National Convention, and the establishment of a power destructive of liberty, was decreed to be under accusation, and delivered over to the revolutionary tribunal. The Jacobins, the Cordeliers, all the agitators of Paris had set themselves in motion in behalf of this austere philosopher, "formed," they said, "by adversity and meditation, combining great sagacity and a deep knowledge of the human heart with a soul of fire, and whose penetration discovered the traitors in their triumphal car, at the moment when the stupid herd were yet offering them incense! The traitors," cried they, "will pass away, while the reputation of Marat is only commencing!"

Though the revolutionary tribunal was not then composed as it was at a later period, still Marat could not be condemned by it. The discussion lasted only a few moments. The accused was unanimously acquitted, amidst the applause of a numerous concourse assembled to witness his trial. This was the 24th of April. He was immediately surrounded by a mob, composed of women, sans-culottes with pikes, and detachments of the armed sections. They laid hold of him, and set out for the Convention, to replace him in his seat as deputy. Two municipal officers opened the procession. Marat, lifted, in the arms of some sappers, his brow encircled by a wreath of oak, was borne in triumph to the middle of the hall. A sapper stepped forward from the crowd, presented himself at the bar, and said, "Citizen president, we bring you the worthy Marat. Marat has always been the friend of the people, and the people will always be the friends of Marat. If Marat's head must fall, the head of the sapper shall fall first." As he uttered these words, the grim petitioner brandished his axe, and the tribunes applauded with tumultuous uproar. He demanded permission for the escort to file off through the hall. "I will consult the Assembly," replied Latorse, the president, dismayed at this hideous scene. But the crowd would not wait till he had consulted the Assembly, and rushed from all sides into the hall. Men and women poured in pell-mell, and took the seats left vacant by the departure of the deputies disgusted at the scene. Marat, transferred from hand to hand, was hailed with applause. From the arms of the petitioners he passed into those of his colleagues of the Mountain, and he was embraced with the strongest demonstrations of joy. At length,

he tore himself away from his colleagues, ran to the tribune and declared to the legislators that he came to offer them a pure heart, a justified name, and that he was ready to die in defence of liberty and the rights of the people.

New honours awaited the Jacobins. The women had prepared a great number of crowns. The president offered him one. A child about four years old, mounted on the bureau, placed another upon his head. Marat pushed away the crowns with an insolent disdain. "Citizens," said he, "indignant at seeing a villanous faction betraying the republic, I endeavoured to unmask it, and to *put the rope about its neck*. It resisted me by launching against me a decree of accusation. I have come off victorious. The faction is humbled, but not crushed. Waste not your time in decreeing triumphs. Defend yourselves with enthusiasm. I lay upon the bureau the two crowns which have been just presented to me, and I invite my fellow-citizens to await the end of my career before they decide."

Numerous plaudits hailed this impudent modesty. Robespierre was present at this triumph, the too mean and too popular character of which he no doubt disdained. He, too, however, was destined to feel, like any other, the vanity of the triumpher. The rejoicings over, the Assembly hastened to return to the ordinary discussion, that is to say, the means of purifying the government, and expelling from it the traitors, the Rolandists, the Brisotins, &c. For this purpose it was proposed to draw up a list of the persons employed in all the departments of the administration, and to mark such as had deserved to be dismissed. "Send me that list," said Marat, "I will pick out such as ought to be dismissed and retained, and signify the result to the ministers." Robespierre made an observation; he said that the ministers were almost all accomplices of the culprits; that they would not listen to the society; that it would be better to address themselves to the committee of public safety, placed by its functions above the executive council, and that moreover the society could not without compromising itself communicate with ministers who were guilty of malversation. "These reasons are frivolous," replied Marat, with disdain; "a patriot so pure as myself *might communicate with the devil*. I will address myself to the ministers, and summon them to satisfy us, in the name of the society."

A respectful consideration always surrounded the eloquent Robespierre; but the audacity, the insolent cynicism of Marat, astonished and struck every enthusiastic mind. His hideous familiarity attached to him some sturdy market-porters, who were flattered by this intimacy with *the friend of the people*, and who were always ready to lend his puny person the aid of their arms and their influence in the public places.

The anger of the Mountain was excited by the obstacles which it had to encounter; but these obstacles were much greater in the provinces than in Paris; and the disappointments which its commissioners, sent to forward the recruiting, met with on their way, soon increased its irritation to the highest pitch. All the provinces were most favourably disposed towards the Revolution, but all had not embraced it with equal ardour, or signalized themselves by so many excesses as the city of Paris. It is always idle ambition, ardent minds, superior talents, that are the first to engage in revolutions. A capital

* "There can be little doubt that Marat regarded himself as the apostle of liberty, and the more undeniably wrong he was, the more infallible he thought himself. Others had more delight in the actual spilling of blood; no one else had the same disinterested and dauntless confidence in the theory. He might be placed almost at the head of a class that exist at all times, but only break out in times of violence and revolution; who form crime into a code, and proclaim conclusions that make the hair of others stand on end."—*Hazlitt*. F.

always contains a larger portion of them than the provinces, because it is the rendezvous of all those, who, from independence or ambition, abandon the soil, the profession, and the traditions of their fathers. Paris of course contained the greatest number of revolutionists. Situated, moreover, at no great distance from the frontiers, the aim of all the enemy's blows, it had been exposed to greater danger than any city in France. The seat of the authorities, it had seen all the great questions discussed in its bosom. Thus danger, discussion, everything, had concurred to produce in it excitement and excess.

The provinces, which had not the same motives for agitation, beheld these excesses with horror, and had participated in the sentiments of the right side and of the Plain. Dissatisfied more especially with the treatment experienced by their deputies, they imagined that they discovered in the capital not only revolutionary exaggeration, but also the ambition to rule France, as Rome ruled the conquered provinces.

Such were the feelings with which the quiet, industrious, moderate mass, regarded the revolutionists of Paris. These dispositions, however, were more or less strongly expressed according to local circumstances. Each province, each city, had also its hot-headed revolutionists, because in all places there are adventurous spirits, and ardent characters. Almost all the men of this stamp had made themselves masters of the municipalities, and to this end they had availed themselves of the general renewal of the authorities ordered by the Legislative Assembly after the 10th of August. The inactive and moderate mass always gives way to the more bustling, and it was natural that the most violent spirits should possess themselves of the municipal functions, the most difficult of all, and those which require most zeal and activity. The great number of the peaceable citizens had withdrawn into the sections, which they sometimes attended, to give their votes, and to exercise their civil rights. The departmental functions had been conferred on persons possessing either the most wealth or the most consideration, and, for that very reason, the least active and the least energetic of men. Thus all the hot revolutionists were intrenched in the municipalities, while the middling and wealthy mass occupied the sections and the departmental functions.

The commune of Paris, feeling this position, had resolved to put itself in correspondence with all the municipalities. But, as we have seen, it had been prevented by the Convention. The parent society of the Jacobins had made amends for this by its own correspondence, and the connexion which could not yet be established between municipality and municipality, existed between club and club, which amounted to nearly the same thing; for the same men who deliberated in the Jacobin clubs afterwards went to act in the general councils of the communes. Thus the whole Jacobin party of France, collected in the municipalities and in the clubs, corresponding from one extremity of the country to the other, found itself arrayed against the middling mass, an immense mass, but divided into a multitude of sections, not exercising active functions, not corresponding from city to city, forming here and there a few moderate clubs, and assembling occasionally in the sections, or in the departmental councils, to give an uncertain and timid vote.

It was this difference of position that encouraged the revolutionists to hope that they could control the mass of the population. This mass admitted the republic, but desired it without its excesses; and at the moment it had still the advantage in all the provinces. Since the municipalities, armed with a terrible police, having authority to pay domiciliary visits, to seek out foreigners, to disarm suspected persons, could annoy the peaceable citizens

with impunity, the sections had endeavoured to effect a reaction; and they had joined for the purpose of curbing the municipalities. In almost all the towns of France they had plucked up a little courage; they were in arms; they resisted the municipalities, inveighed against their inquisitorial police, supported the right side, and together with it demanded order, peace, and respect of person and property. The municipalities and the Jacobin clubs demanded, on the contrary, new measures of police, and the institution of revolutionary tribunals in the departments. The people of certain towns were ready to come to blows upon these questions. The sections, however, were so strong in number, that they counteracted the energy of the municipalities. The Mountaineer deputies sent to forward the recruiting and to rekindle the revolutionary zeal, were dismayed at this resistance, and filled Paris with their alarms.

Such was the state of almost all France, and the manner in which it was divided. The conflict was more or less violent, and the parties were more or less menacing, according to the position and dangers of each town. Where the dangers of the Revolution were greater, the Jacobins were more inclined to use violent means, and consequently the moderate mass was more disposed to resist them. But it was not the military danger that most exasperated the revolutionary passions. It was the danger of domestic treason. Thus, on the northern frontier, threatened by the enemy's armies, and not much wrought upon by intrigue, people were tolerably unanimous; their minds were intent on the common defence; and the commissioners sent to all parts between Lille and Lyons had made the most satisfactory reports to the Convention. But at Lyons, where secret machinations concurred with the geographical and military position of the city to render the peril greater, storms had arisen as terrible as those which had burst upon Paris.

From its eastern situation and its vicinity to Piedmont, Lyons had always attracted the notice of the counter-revolutionists. The first emigrants at Turin had projected a movement there in 1790, and even sent a French prince to that city. Mirabeau had also planned one in his way. After the great majority of emigrants had removed to Coblenz, an agent had been left in Switzerland, to correspond with Lyons, and, through Lyons, with the camp of Jalès and the fanatics of the South. These machinations had produced a reaction of Jacobinism, and the royalists had caused Mountaineers to spring up in Lyons. The latter had a club called the central club, composed of envoys from all the clubs of the quarter. At their head was a Piedmontese, whom a natural restlessness of disposition had driven from country to country, and at length fixed at Lyons, where he owed his revolutionary ardour to his having been successively appointed municipal officer, and president of the civil tribunal. His name was Chaliar,* and he had held

* "M. J. Chaliar, an extravagant Jacobin, an inhabitant of Lyons, was born in 1747, at Beautard, in Dauphiné, of a Piedmontese family, who returned to their native country, where he was educated. He embraced the ecclesiastical profession, was driven from his country, and, after having narrowly escaped the gibbet in Portugal, and again in Naples, he went to Lyons, was received into the family of a merchant as a preceptor, said mass in that town for about two years, and at last went into business, in which he accumulated a considerable fortune by dishonesty and trick. He joined the revolutionary party with an enthusiasm bordering on madness; and went to Paris, where he spent six months with Marat to profit by his lessons. On his return to Lyons he was appointed municipal officer, and all his colleagues were ready to second his fury. The mayor alone sought to oppose their efforts. Twelve hundred citizens had been imprisoned. Chaliar, despairing of their condemnation, appeared in 1793, in the central society, with a poniard in his hand, and obtained a decree that a tribunal.

in the central club such language as at the Jacobins in Paris would have caused him to be accused by Marat of tending to convulse everything, and for being in the pay of foreigners. Besides this club, the Lyonnese Mountaineers had the whole municipality, excepting Nivière, the mayor, a friend and disciple of Roland, and head of the Girondin party at Lyons. Weary of so much dissension, Nivière had, like Petion, resigned his office, and like Petion, been re-elected by the sections, more powerfully and more energetic at Lyons than anywhere else in France. Out of eleven thousand voters, nine thousand had obliged Nivière to resume the functions of mayor; but he had again resigned, and this time the Mountaineer municipality had succeeded in completing itself by effecting the election of a mayor of its choice. On this occasion the party had come to blows. The youth of the sections had driven Chalier from the central club, and gutted the hall in which he vented his fanaticism. The department had sent in alarm for the commissioners of the Convention, who, by first censuring the sections and then the excesses of the commune, had displeased all parties, been denounced by the Jacobins, and recalled by the Convention. Their task had been confined to awarding compensation to the central club, affiliating it with the Jacobins, and, without abridging its energy, ridding it of some too impure members. In the month of May, the irritation had reached its greatest height. On the one hand, the commune, composed entirely of Jacobins, and the central club, with its president, Chalier, demanded a revolutionary tribunal for Lyons, and paraded through the public places a guillotine which had been procured from Paris, and which was exposed to public view to strike terror into traitors and aristocrats; while, on the other, the sections, in arms, were ready to curb the municipality, and to prevent the establishment of the sanguinary tribunal, from which the Girondins had not been able to save the capital. In this state of things, the secret agents of royalty scattered in Lyons, awaited the favourable moment for turning to account the indignation of the Lyonnese, which was ready to break forth.

In all the rest of the South, as far as Marseilles, the moderate republican spirit prevailed in a more equal manner, and the Girondins possessed the undivided love of the country. Marseilles was jealous of the supremacy of Paris, incensed at the insults offered to Barbaroux, its favourite deputy, and ready to rise against the Convention, if the national representation were attacked. Though wealthy, it was not situated in an advantageous manner for the counter-revolutionists abroad; for it bordered only upon Italy, where nothing was hatching, and its port did not interest the English like that of Toulon. Secret machinations had consequently not excited such alarm there as in Lyons and Paris: and the municipality, feeble and threatened, was near being supplanted by the all-powerful sections. Moise Bayle, the deputy, who was very coldly received, had found great ardour for the recruiting, but absolute devotedness to the Gironde.

From the Rhone in the East to the shores of the Ocean on the West, fifty or sixty departments entertained the same dispositions. At Bordeaux, lastly,

similar to those at Paris which had committed the September massacres, should be established on the quay St. Clair, with a guillotine, that nine hundred persons should there be executed, and their bodies thrown into the Rhone, and that in case executioners should be wanting, that the members of the society should themselves perform this office. The mayor, at the head of the armed force, prevented this horrible execution; but he could not obtain the trial of several members who had been seized. The people of Lyons, irritated at length by such tyranny, raised the standard of war against the Convention, and delivered Chalier to a tribunal which condemned him to death in 1793."—*Biographie Moderne*. E.

the unanimity was complete. There, the sections, the municipality, the principal club, everybody, in short, agreed to resist Mountaineer violence, and to support that glorious deputation of the Gironde to which this portion of France was so proud of having given birth. The adverse party had found an asylum in a single section only, and everywhere else it was powerless and doomed to silence. Bordeaux demanded neither *maximum* nor provisions, nor revolutionary tribunal, prepared petitions against the commune of Paris, and battalions for the service of the republic.

But along the coast of the Ocean, extending from the Gironde to the Loire, and from the Loire to the mouths of the Seine, were to be found very different dispositions and very different dangers. There the implacable Mountain had not only to encounter the mild and generous republicanism of the Girondins, but the constitutional royalism of 1789, which repelled the republic as illegal, and the fanaticism of the feudal times, which was armed against the Revolution of 1793 as well as against the Revolution of 1789, and which acknowledged only the temporal authority of the gentry and the spiritual authority of the church.

In Normandy, and particularly at Rouen, its principal city, there was a feeling of strong attachment to Louis XVI., and the constitution of 1790 had gratified all the wishes that were formed for liberty and the throne. Ever since the abolition of royalty and the constitution of 1790, that is, since the 10th of August, a condemnatory and threatening silence had prevailed in Normandy. Bretagne exhibited still more hostile sentiments, and the people there were engrossed by fondness for the priests and the gentry. Nearer to the banks of the Loire, this attachment amounted to insurrection; and lastly, on the left bank of that river, in the Bocage, Le Loroux, and La Vendée, the insurrection was complete, and large armies of ten and twenty thousand men were already in the field.

This is the proper place for describing that singular country, covered with a population so obstinate, so heroic, so unfortunate, and so fatal to France, which it nearly ruined by a mischievous diversion, and the calamities of which it aggravated by driving the revolutionary dictatorship to the highest pitch of irritation.

On both banks of the Loire, the people had retained a strong attachment to their ancient habits, and particularly to their religion and its ministers. When, in consequence of the civil constitution, the members of the clerical body found themselves divided, a real schism ensued. The *curés*, who refused to submit to the new circumscription of the churches and to take the oath, were preferred by the people; and when, turned out of their livings, they were obliged to retire, the peasants followed them into the woods, and considered both themselves and their religion as persecuted. They collected in little bands, annoyed the constitutional *curés* as intruders, and committed the most heinous outrages upon them. In Bretagne, in the environs of Rennes, there were more general and more serious insurrections, which originated in the dearth of provisions and the threat to destroy the Church, contained in this expression of Cambon: *Those who will have mass, shall pay for it.* Government had, however, succeeded in quelling these partial disturbances on the right bank of the Loire, and it had only to dread their communication with the left bank, the theatre of the grand insurrection.

It was particularly on this left bank, in Anjou, and Upper and Lower Poitou, that the famous war of La Vendée had broken out. It was in this part of France that the influence of time was least felt, and that it had produced least change in the ancient manners. The feudal system had there

acquired a truly patriarchal character; and the Revolution, instead of operating a beneficial reform in the country, had shocked the most kindly habits and been received as a persecution. The Bocage and the Marais constitute a singular country, which it is necessary to describe, in order to convey an idea of the manners of the population, and the kind of society that was formed there.

Setting out from Nantes and Saumur and proceeding from the Loire to the sands of Olonne, Luçon, Fontenay, and Niort, you meet with an unequal undulating soil, intersected by ravines and crossed by a multitude of hedges, which serve to fence in each field, and which have on this account obtained for the country the name of the *Bocage*. As you approach the sea the ground declines, till it terminates in salt marshes, and is everywhere cut up by a multitude of small canals, which render access almost impossible. This is what is called the *Marais*. The only abundant produce in this country is pasturage, consequently cattle are plentiful. The peasants there grew only just sufficient corn for their own consumption, and employed the produce of their herds and flocks as a medium of exchange. It is well known that no people are more simple than those subsisting by this kind of industry. Few great towns had been built in these parts. They contained only large villages of two or three thousand souls. Between the two high-roads leading, the one from Tours to Poitiers, and the other from Nantes to La Rochelle, extended a tract thirty leagues in breadth, where there were none but cross-roads leading to villages and hamlets. The country was divided into a great number of small farms, paying a rent of from five to six hundred francs, each let to a single family, which divided the produce of the cattle with the proprietor of the land. From this division of farms, the *seigneurs* had to treat with each family, and kept up a continual and easy intercourse with them. The simplest mode of life prevailed in the mansions of the gentry: they were fond of the chase, on account of the abundance of game; the gentry and the peasants hunted together, and they were all celebrated for their skill and vigour.* The priests, men of extraordinary purity of character, exercised there a truly paternal ministry. Wealth had neither corrupted their manners, nor provoked censure regarding them. People submitted to the authority of the *seigneur*, and believed the words of the *curé*, because there was no oppression in the one, nor scandal in the other. Before humanity throws itself into the track of civilization, there is a point of simplicity, ignorance, and purity, where one would wish to stop it, were it not its lot to proceed through evil towards all sorts of improvement.

When the Revolution, so beneficent in other quarters, reached this country, with its iron level, it produced profound agitation. It had been well if it could have made an exception there, but that was impossible. Those who

* "The gentlemen's residences were built and furnished without magnificence, and had neither extensive parks, nor fine gardens. Their owners lived without pomp, and even with extreme simplicity. When called to the capital on business or pleasure, they did not return to the Bocage with the airs and manners of Paris. Their greatest luxury at home was the table, and their only amusement field sports. The women travelled on horseback, and in litters or carriages drawn by oxen. The Seigneur went to the weddings of his tenant's children, and drank with the guests. On Sunday, the tenants danced in the court of the chateau, and the ladies often joined. When there was to be a hunt of the wolf, or boar, or stag, the information was communicated by the curate to the parishioners in church after service. With these habits, the inhabitants of the Bocage were an excellent people, mild, pious, hospitable, full of courage and vivacity; of pure manners and honest principles. Crimes were never heard of, and lawsuits were rare."—*Memoirs of the Marchioness de La-rochejaquelein*. E.

have accused it of not adapting itself to localities, of not varying with them, are not aware of the impossibility of exceptions, and the necessity of one uniform and absolute rule in great social reforms. In these parts, then, people knew scarcely anything about the Revolution; they knew what the discontent of the gentry and the *curés* had taught them. Though the feudal dues were abolished, they continued to pay them. They were obliged to assemble for the purpose of electing mayors; they did so, and begged the *seigneurs* to accept the office. But when the removal of the non-juring priests deprived the peasants of the ministers in whom they had confidence, they were vehemently exasperated, and, as in Bretagne, they ran into the woods and travelled to a considerable distance to attend the ceremonies of a worship, the only true one in their estimation. From that moment a violent hatred was kindled in their souls, and the priests neglected no means of fanning the flames. The 10th of August drove several Poitevin nobles back to their estates; the 21st of January estranged them, and they communicated their indignation to those about them. They did not conspire, however, as some have conceived. The known dispositions of the country had incited men who were strangers to it to frame plans of conspiracy. One had been hatched in Bretagne, but none was formed in the Bocage; there was no concerted plan there; the people suffered themselves to be driven to extremity. At length, the levy of three hundred thousand men excited in the month of March a general insurrection. At bottom, it was of little consequence to the peasants of Lower Poitou what France was doing; but the removal of their clergy, and, above all, the obligation to join the armies, disgusted them. Under the old system, it was only those who were urged by a naturally restless disposition to quit their native land, who composed the contingent of the country; but now the law laid hold of all, whatever might be their personal inclinations. Obligated to take arms, they chose rather to fight against the republic than for it. Nearly about the same time, that is, at the beginning of March, the drawing was the occasion of an insurrection in the Upper Bocage and in the Marais. On the 10th of March, the drawing was to take place at St. Florent, near Ancenis, in Anjou. The young men refused to draw. The guard endeavoured to force them to comply. The military commandant ordered a piece of cannon to be pointed and fired at the mutineers. They dashed forward with their bludgeons, made themselves masters of the piece, disarmed the guard, and were, at the same time, not a little astonished at their own temerity. A carrier, named Cathelineau,* a man highly esteemed in that part of the country, possessing great bravery and powers of persuasion, quitting his farm on hearing the tidings, hastened to join them, rallied them, roused their courage, and gave some consistency to the insurrection by his skill in keeping it up. The very same day he resolved to attack a republican post consisting of eighty men. The peasants followed him with their bludgeons and their muskets. After a first volley, every shot of which told, because they were excellent marksmen, they rushed upon the post, disarmed it, and made themselves master of the position.

Next day, Cathelineau proceeded to Chemillé, which he likewise took, in

* "Jacques Cathelineau was a wool-dealer of the village of Pin en Mauges, who took the resolution of standing up for his King and country, facing the evils which were not to be avoided, and doing his duty manfully in arms. His wife entreated him not to form this perilous resolution; but this was no time for such humanities; so, leaving his work, he called the villagers about him, and succeeded in inducing them to take up arms."—*Quarterly Review*. E.

spite of two hundred republicans and three pieces of cannon. A game-keeper at the *château* of Maulevrier, named Stofflet,* and a young peasant of the village of Chanzeau, had on their part collected a band of peasants. These came and joined Cathelineau, who conceived the daring design of attacking Chollet, the most considerable town in the country, the chief place of a district, and guarded by five hundred republicans. Their mode of fighting was this: Favoured by the hedges and the inequalities of the ground, they surrounded the enemy's battalion, and began to fire upon it under cover, and taking steady aim. Having daunted the republicans by this terrible fire, they took advantage of the first moment of hesitation that appeared, to rush upon them with loud shouts, broke their ranks, disarmed them, and despatched them with their cudgels. Such was afterwards their whole system of military tactics; nature taught it them, and it was that best adapted to their country. The troops whom they attacked, drawn up in line and uncovered, received a fire which it was impossible for them to return, because they could neither make use of their artillery, nor charge scattered enemies with the bayonet. In this situation, if they were not inured to war, they could not fail to be soon staggered by a fire so incessant, so true, that no regular fire of troops of the line could ever equal it. When, in particular, they saw these furious assailants rushing upon them, setting up loud shouts, they could scarcely help being intimidated, and suffering their ranks to be broken. It was then all over with them; for flight, so easy to the country people, was impossible for troops of the line. It would, therefore, have required the most intrepid soldiers to surmount so many disadvantages, and those who, in the first danger, were opposed to the rebels, were national guards of the first levy taken from the villages, almost all staunch republicans, and whose zeal carried them for the first time to the fight.

The victorious band of Cathelineau entered Chollet, seized all the arms that it could find, and made cartridges out of the charges of the cannon. It was always in this manner that the Vendéans procured ammunition. By none of their defeats was their enemy a gainer, because they had nothing but a musket or a bludgeon, which they carried with them across the country; and each of their victories was sure to give them a considerable *matériel* of war. The insurgents, when victorious, celebrated their success with the money which they found, and then burned all the papers of the administrations, which they regarded as an instrument of tyranny. They then returned to their villages and their farms, which they would not leave again for a considerable time.

Another much more general revolt had broken out in the Marais and the department of La Vendée. At Machecoul and Challans, the recruiting was the occasion of a universal insurrection. A hairdresser named Gaston killed an officer, took his uniform, put himself at the head of the troop, took Challans, and then Machecoul, where his men burned all the papers of the administrations and committed murders of which the Bocage had furnished no example. Three hundred republicans were shot by parties of twenty or thirty. The insurgents first made them confess, and then took them to the edge of a ditch, beside which they shot them, to spare themselves the trouble

* "Stofflet was at the head of the parishes on the side of Maulevrier. He was from Alsace, and had served in a Swiss regiment. He was a large and muscular man, forty years of age. The soldiers did not like him, as he was harsh and absolutely brutal; but they obeyed him better than any other officer, which rendered him extremely useful. He was active, intelligent, and brave, and the generals had great confidence in him."—*Memoirs of the Marchioness de Larochejaquelein*. E.

of burying the bodies. Nantes instantly sent several hundred men to St. Philibert, but, learning that there was a disturbance at Savenay, it recalled those troops, and the insurgents of Machecoul remained masters of the conquered country.

In the department of La Vendée, that is, to the south of the theatre of this war, the insurrection assumed still more consistence.

The national guards of Fontenay, having set out on their march for Chantonnay, were repulsed and beaten. Chantonnay was plundered. General Verteuil, who commanded the eleventh military division, on receiving intelligence of this defeat, despatched General Marcé with twelve hundred men, partly troops of the line and partly national guards. The rebels who were met at St. Vincent, were repulsed. General Marcé had time to add twelve hundred more men and nine pieces of cannon to his little army. In marching upon St. Fulgent, he again fell in with the Vendéans in a valley and stopped to restore a bridge which they had destroyed. About four in the afternoon of the 18th of March, the Vendéans, taking the initiative, advanced and attacked him. Availing themselves as usual of the advantages of the ground, they began to fire with their wonted superiority, by degrees surrounded the republican army, astonished at this so destructive fire, and utterly unable to reach an enemy concealed and dispersed in all the hollows of the ground. At length they rushed on to the assault, threw their adversaries into disorder, and made themselves masters of the artillery, the ammunition, and the arms, which the soldiers threw away that they might be the lighter in their flight.

These more important successes in the department of La Vendée properly so called, procured for the insurgents the name of Vendéans, which they afterwards retained, though the war was far more active out of La Vendée. The pillage committed by them in the Marais caused them to be called *brigands*, though the greater number did not deserve that appellation. The insurrection extended into the Marais from the environs of Nantes to Les Sables, and into Anjou and Poitou, as far as the environs of Vihiers and Parthenay. The cause of the success of the Vendéans was in the country, in its configuration, in their skill and courage to profit by it, and finally in the inexperience and imprudent ardour of the republican troops, which, levied in haste, were in too great a hurry to attack them, and thus gave them victories and all their results, military stores, confidence, and courage.

Easter recalled all the insurgents to their homes, from which they never would stay away long. To them a war was a sort of sporting excursion of several days; they carried with them a sufficient quantity of bread for the time, and then returned to inflame their neighbours by the accounts which they gave. Places of meeting were appointed for the month of April. The insurrection was then general and extended over the whole surface of the country. It might be comprised in a line which, commencing at Nantes, would pass through Pornic, the Isle of Noirmoutiers, Les Sables, Luçon, Fontenay, Niort, and Parthenay, and return by Airvault, Thouar, Doué, and St. Florent, to the Loire. The insurrection, begun by men who were not superior to the peasants whom they commanded, excepting by their natural qualities, was soon continued by men of a higher rank. The peasants went to the mansions and forced the nobles to put themselves at their head. The whole Marais insisted on being commanded by Charette. He belonged to a family of ship-owners at Nantes; he had served in the navy, in which he had become lieutenant, and at the peace had retired to a mansion belonging to his uncle, where he spent his time in field-sports. Of a weak and delicate

constitution, he seemed to be unfit for the fatigues of war; but living in the woods, where he passed whole months, sleeping on the ground with the huntsmen, he had hardened, and made himself perfectly acquainted with the country, and was known to all the peasantry for his address and courage. He hesitated at first to accept the command, representing to the insurgents the dangers of the undertaking. He nevertheless complied with their earnest desire, and by allowing them to commit all sorts of excesses, he compromised them and bound them irrevocably to his service. Skilful, crafty, of a harsh disposition, and unconquerably obstinate, he became the most formidable of the Vendean chieftains.* All the Marais obeyed him, and with fifteen and sometimes twenty thousand men, he threatened Les Sables and Nantes. No sooner were all his men collected than he took possession of the Isle of Noirmoutiers, an important island, which he could convert into his fortress, and his point of communication with the English.

In the Bocage, the peasants applied to Messrs. de Bonchamps, d'Elbée,† and de Laroche-Jacquelin, and forced them from their mansions to place them at their head. M. de Bonchamps had formerly served under M. de Suffren, had become an excellent officer, and combined great intrepidity with a noble and elevated character. He commanded all the insurgents of Anjou and the banks of the Loire. M. d'Elbée had also been in the service, and united to excessive devotion a persevering disposition and great skill in that sort of warfare. He was at the moment the most popular chief in that part of the Bocage. He commanded the parishes around Chollet and Bois-Préau. Cathelineau and Stofflet retained their commands, earned by the confidence which they inspired, and joined Messrs. de Bonchamps and d'Elbée, for the purpose of marching upon Bressuire, where General Que-

* "Charette, who was of a noble and ancient Breton family, and in his thirtieth year, was living upon his estates when the insurgents called on him to take the command. He refused at first, and pointed out to them the perilous consequences of so rash a measure; a second time they came, and were a second time dismissed with the same prudential advice. But a week after Cathelineau had raised the standard in Anjou, the insurgents again appeared and declared they would put him to death unless he consented to be their leader. 'Well,' said he, 'you force me to it; I will lead you on; but remember that you obey me or I will punish you severely.' An oath of obedience was voluntarily taken; and the chief and people swore to combat and die for the re-establishment of their religion and the monarchy. Turreau calls Charette the most ferocious of all the rebel chiefs."—*Quarterly Review*. E.

† Charette was a sensualist. He loved women very much for his own sake—very little for theirs; always won by them, but never subjected, he gave himself up to the impulse of passion, without bending his soul to the insinuating and sometimes perfidious blandishments of a mistress."—*Le Bouvier Desmortiers*. E.

‡ "M. de Bonchamps, chief of the army of Anjou, was thirty-two years old, and had served with distinction in India. His valour and talents were unquestioned. He was considered as one of the ablest of the chiefs, and his troops as the best disciplined. He had no ambition, no pretensions, was gentle, of an easy temper, much loved by the army, and possessing its confidence.—In the grand army, the principal chief at one time was M. d'Elbée, who commanded particularly the people round Chollet and Beaupreau. He had been a sub-lieutenant, and retired for some years; he was forty, of a small stature, extremely devout, enthusiastic, and possessed an extraordinary and calm courage. His vanity, however, was easily wounded, which made him irritable, although ceremoniously polite. He had some ambition, but his views were narrow. His tactics consisted in rushing on with these words: 'My friends, Providence will give us the victory.' His piety was very sincere, but, as he found it was a means of animating the peasants, he carried it to a degree of affectation often ridiculous. He carried about his person images of saints, and talked so much of Providence that the peasants, much as they loved him, used to call him, without meaning a joke, 'General Providence.' But, in spite of these foibles, M. d'Elbée inspired every one with respect and attachment."—*Memoirs of the Marchioness de Larochejacquelein*. E.

tineau then was. That officer had caused the Lescure family to be carried off from the *château* of Clisson where he suspected it to be conspiring, and confined it at Bressuire. Henri de Laroche-Jacquelein, a young gentleman formerly belonging to the King's guard, and now living in retirement in the Bocage, happened to be at Clisson, with his cousin de Lescure.* He escaped, and raised the Aubiers, where he was born, and all the parishes around Chatillon. He afterwards joined the other chiefs, and with them forced General Quetineau to retreat from Bressuire. M. de Lescure was then set at liberty with his family. He was a young man, of about the age of Henri de Laroche-Jacquelein.† He was calm, prudent, possessing a cool intrepidity, that nothing could shake, and to these qualities he added a rare spirit of justice. Henri, his cousin, had heroic and frequently too impetuous bravery; he was fiery and generous. M. de Lescure now put himself at the head of his peasantry, who collected around him, and all the chiefs joined at Bressuire, with the intention of marching upon Thouars. Their ladies distributed cockades and colours; the people heightened their enthusiasm by songs, and marched as to a crusade. The army was not encumbered with baggage; the peasants who would never stay long away, carried with them the bread requisite for each expedition, and in extraordinary cases, the parishes on being apprized, prepared provisions for those who ran short of them. The army was composed of about thirty thousand men, and was called the royal and catholic grand army. It faced Agers, Saumur, Doué, Thouars, and Parthenay. Between this army and that of the Marais, commanded by Charette, were several intermediate assemblages, the principal of which, under M. de Royrand, might amount to ten or twelve thousand men.

The main army, commanded by Messrs. de Bonchamps, d'Elbée, de Lescure, de Laroche-Jacquelein, Cathelineau, and Stofflet, arrived before Thouars on the 3d of May, and prepared to attack it on the morning of the 4th. It was necessary to cross the Thoué, which almost completely surrounds the town of Thouars. General Quetineau ordered the passages to be defended. The Vendéans kept up a cannonade for some time with artillery, taken from the republicans, and a fire of musketry from the bank, with their usual success. M. de Lescure then resolved to attempt the passage, and advanced amidst the balls by which his clothes were perforated, but could induce only a single peasant to follow him. Laroche-Jacquelein hastened up, followed by his people. They crossed the bridge, and the republicans were driven back into the town. It was necessary to make a breach, but

* "The Marquis of Lescure was born in 1766. Among the young people of his own age none was better informed, more virtuous in every respect; he was at the same time so modest, that he seemed ashamed of his own merit, and his endeavour was to conceal it. He was timid and awkward, and, although of a good height and figure, his manners and unfashionable dress, might not be prepossessing at first. He was born with strong passions, yet he conducted himself with the most perfect correctness. He took the sacrament every fortnight, and his constant habit of resisting all external seductions had rendered him rather unsocial and reserved. His temper was always equal, his calmness unalterable, and he passed his time in study and meditation."—*Memoirs of the Marchioness de Larochejacquelein*. E.

† "Henri de Larochejacquelein was twenty years old at the breaking out of the war in La Vendée. He had lived little in the world; and his manners and laconic expressions had something in them remarkably simple and original. There was much sweetness as well as elevation, in his countenance. Although bashful, his eyes were quick and animated. He was tall and elegant, had fair hair, an oval face, and the contour rather English than French. He excelled in all exercises, particularly in horsemanship. When he first put himself at the head of the insurrection, he said to his soldiers, 'My friends, I am but a boy, but by my courage I shall show myself worthy of commanding you. Follow me, if I go forward—kill me, if I fly—avenge me, if I fall.'—*Memoirs of the Marchioness de Larochejacquelein*. E

this they had not the means of effecting. Henri de Laroche-Jacquelein, hoisted up on the shoulders of his men, had nearly reached the ramparts. M. d'Elbée made a vigorous attack on his side, and Quetineau, unable to resist, consented to surrender in order to prevent mischief to the town. The Vendéans, owing to their chiefs, behaved with moderation; no outrages were committed upon the inhabitants, and the conquerors contented themselves with burning the tree of liberty and the papers of the administrations. General Lescure repaid Quetineau the attentions which he had received from him during his detention at Bressuire; and strove to persuade him to stay with the Vendean army, in order to escape the severity of the government, which, regardless of the impossibility of resistance, would perhaps punish him for having surrendered. Quetineau generously refused, and determined to return to the republicans and demanded a trial.*

These tidings from La Vendée, concurring with those from the North, where Dampierre was receiving checks from the Austrians, with those from the Pyrenees, where the Spaniards assumed a threatening position, with the accounts from several provinces, where most unfavourable dispositions were manifested—these tidings excited the strongest ferment. Several departments contiguous to La Vendée, on learning the success of the insurgents, conceived themselves authorized to send troops to oppose them. The department of L'Herault raised six millions in money and six thousand men, and sent an address to the people of Paris, exhorting them to do the same. The Convention, encouraging this enthusiasm, approved the conduct of the department of L'Herault, and thereby authorized all the communes of France to perform acts of sovereignty, by raising men and money.

The commune of Paris did not remain behindhand. It declared that it was for the people of Paris to save France, and it hastened to prove its zeal and to exercise its authority by raising an army. It immediately resolved that, agreeably to the *solemn approbation bestowed by the Convention on the conduct of the department of L'Herault*, an army of twelve thousand men should be raised in the city of Paris to be sent against La Vendée. After the example of the Convention, the general council of the commune appointed commissioners to accompany this army. These twelve thousand men were to be taken from the companies of the armed sections, and each company of one hundred and twenty-six was to furnish fourteen. According to the revolutionary practice, a kind of dictatorial power was left to the revolutionary committee of each section, to point out those whose departure would be attended with the least inconvenience. The resolution of the commune was, consequently, thus formed: All the unmarried clerks in all the

* "All the chiefs lodged in the same house with General Quetineau. Lescure who had known him a grenadier, and looked on him as a man of honour, took him to his own apartment, and said, 'you have your liberty, sir, and may leave us when you please, but I would advise you to remain with us. We differ in opinion, therefore we shall not expect you to fight for us, but you will be a prisoner on parole, and you shall be well treated. If you return to the republicans, they will never pardon you your capitulation, which was however unavoidable. It is an asylum I offer you from their vengeance.' Quetineau replied, 'I shall be thought a traitor if I go with you; there will then be no doubt that I betrayed the town, although I only advised a capitulation at the moment it was taken by assault. It is in my power to prove that I did my duty: but I should be dishonoured if they could suppose me in intelligence with the enemy.' This brave man continued inflexible in his resolution, although others renewed, but in vain, the proposals M. de Lescure had made him. This sincerity and devotion to his principles acquired him the esteem of all our chiefs. He never lowered himself to any supplication, and always preserved a firm and dignified tone."—*Memoirs of the Marchioness de Larochejacquelein*. E.

public offices in Paris, excepting the *chefs* and *sous-chefs*, the clerks of notaries and solicitors, the clerks of bankers and merchants, shopmen, attendants on the offices, &c. . . . shall be required in the undermentioned proportions: out of two one shall go; out of three, two; out of four, two; out of five, three; out of six, three; out of seven, four; out of eight, four; and so on. Such clerks of public offices as go shall retain their places and one-third of their salary. None shall be at liberty to refuse to go. The citizens required shall inform the committee of their section what they need for their equipment and it shall be supplied forthwith. They shall meet immediately afterwards to appoint their officers, and thenceforth obey their orders.

But it was not enough to raise an army and to form it in such a violent manner; it was necessary also to provide for the expenses of its maintenance, and to this end it was agreed to apply to the rich. The rich, it was said, would not do any thing for the defence of the country and of the Revolution; they lived in happy idleness, and left the people to spill their blood for the country; it was right to make them contribute by means of their wealth to the general welfare. To this end it was proposed to raise a forced loan, to be furnished by the citizens of Paris, according to the amount of their incomes. From an income of one thousand francs to fifty thousand, they were to furnish a proportionate sum, amounting from thirty francs to twenty thousand. All those who had above fifty thousand francs were to reserve thirty thousand for themselves, and to give up all the rest. The property, moveable and immoveable, of those who should not have paid this patriotic contribution, was to be seized and sold at the requisition of the revolutionary committees, and their persons were to be considered as suspicious.

Such measures, which would reach all classes, either by laying hold of persons to oblige them to take arms, or of fortunes to make them contribute, could not fail to produce a violent resistance in the sections. We have already seen that there were dissensions among them, and that they were more or less agitated, according to the proportion of the low people that happened to be among them. In some, and especially in the Quinze-Vingts, the Graviilliers, and the Halle-au-Blé, the new recruits declared that they would not march while any federalists and paid troops which served, it was said, as *body-guards* for the Convention, should remain in Paris. These resisted from a spirit of Jacobinism, but many others resisted from a contrary cause. The population of clerks and shopmen reappeared in the sections, and manifested a strong opposition to the two resolutions of the commune. They were joined by the old servants of the fugitive aristocracy, who contributed greatly to agitate Paris; crowds assembled in the streets and in the public places, shouting *Down with the Jacobins! Down with the Mountain!* and the same obstacles which the revolutionary system had to encounter in the provinces, it encountered on this occasion in Paris.

There was then one general outcry against the aristocracy of the sections. Marat said that Messieurs the shopkeepers, the solicitors, the clerks, were conspiring with Messieurs of the right side and Messieurs the rich, to oppose the Revolution; that they ought to be all apprehended as suspicious persons and reduced to the class of *sans-culottes*, *by not leaving them wherewith to cover their loins (en ne pas leur laissant de quoi se couvrir le derrière)*.

Chaumette, procureur of the commune, made a long speech, in which he deplored the wretched state of the country, arising, he said, from the perfidy of the governors, the selfishness of the opulent, the ignorance of the people, the weariness and disgust of many of the citizens for the public cause. He

proposed, therefore, and caused a resolution to be passed, that application should be made to the Convention for the means of public instruction, the means of overcoming the selfishness of the rich, and relieving the poor; that there should be formed an assembly composed of the presidents of the revolutionary committees of the sections, and of deputies from all the administrative bodies; that this Assembly should meet on Sundays and Thursdays at the commune, to consider of the dangers of the public welfare; that, lastly, all good citizens should be invited to attend the sectional assemblies, in order to give patriotism the predominance there.

Danton, ever prompt at finding resources in moments of difficulty, proposed to form two armies of *sans-culottes*. One was to march to La Vendée, the other to remain in Paris, to curb the aristocracy; to pay both at the expense of the rich; and lastly, in order to secure a majority in the sections, to pay the citizens who should lose their time in attending their meetings. Robespierre, borrowing Danton's ideas, developed them at the Jacobins, and further proposed to form new classes of suspicious persons, not to confine them as before to the *ci-devant* nobles, priests, or financiers, but to include all the citizens who should in any way have exhibited proof of disaffection to the public welfare: to confine them till the peace; to accelerate the action of the revolutionary tribunal; and to counteract the effect of the bad newspapers by new means of communication. With all these resources, he said, they might be able, without any illegal means, without any violation of the laws, to withstand the other party and its machinations.

All these ideas were directed, then, towards one end—to arm the populace, to keep one part of it at home, and to send another away; to arm it at the expense of the rich, and to make it even attend all the deliberative assemblies at their expense; to confine all the enemies of the Revolution under the denomination of suspicious persons, much more largely defined than it had ever yet been; to establish a medium of correspondence between the commune and the sections, and for this purpose to create a new revolutionary assembly, which should resort to new means, that is to say, insurrection. The assembly of the Evêché, previously dissolved, but now revived, on the proposal of Chaumette, and with a much more imposing character, was evidently destined to this end.

From the 8th to the 10th of May, one alarming piece of intelligence succeeded another. In the army of the North, Dampierre had been killed. In the interior, the provinces continued to revolt. All Normandy seemed ready to join Bretagne. The insurgents of La Vendée had advanced from Thouars to Loudun and Montreuil, taken those two towns, and thus almost reached the banks of the Loire. The English, landing on the coasts of Bretagne, were come, it was said, to join them and to attack the very heart of the republic. The citizens of Bordeaux, indignant at the treatment experienced by their deputies, had assumed the most threatening attitude, and disarmed a section to which the Jacobins had retired. At Marseilles, the sections were in full insurrection. Disgusted by the outrages committed upon the pretext of disarming suspected persons, they had met, turned out the commune, transferred its powers to a committee, called the central committee of the sections, and instituted a popular tribunal to prosecute the authors of the murders and pillages. After taking these measures in their own city, they had sent deputies to the sections of the city of Aix, and were striving to propagate their example throughout the whole department. Not sparing even the commissioners of the Convention, they had seized their papers, and insisted on their retiring. At Lyons, too, there were serious dis-

turbances. The administrative bodies united with the Jacobins, having ordered, in imitation of Paris, a levy of six millions in money and six thousand men, having moreover attempted to carry into effect the disarming of suspected persons, and to institute a revolutionary tribunal, the sections had revolted and were on the point of coming to blows with the commune. Thus, while the enemy was advancing on the north, insurrection, setting out from Bretagne and La Vendée, and supported by the English, was likely to make the tour of France by Bordeaux, Rouen, Nantes, Marseilles, and Lyons.* These tidings, arriving one after another, in the space of two or three days, between the 12th and 15th of May, excited the most gloomy forebodings in the minds of the Mountaineers and the Jacobins. The measures already proposed were again urged with still greater vehemence: they insisted that all the waiters at taverns and coffee-houses, and all domestic servants, should set off immediately; that the popular societies should march in a body; that commissioners of the Assembly should repair forthwith to the sections to compel them to furnish their contingents; that thirty thousand men should be sent off by post in carriages kept for luxury; that the rich should contribute without delay and give a tenth of their fortune; that suspicious persons should be imprisoned and kept as hostages; that the conduct of the ministers should be investigated; that the committee of public welfare should be directed to draw up an address to the citizens whose opinion had been led astray; that all civil business should be laid aside; that the activity of the civil tribunals should be suspended; that the theatres should be closed; that the tocsin should be sounded, and the alarm gun fired.

In order to infuse some assurance amidst this general consternation, Danton made two remarks: the first was, that the fear of stripping Paris of the good citizens who were necessary for its safety ought not to prevent the recruiting, since there would still be left in Paris one hundred and fifty thousand men, ready to rise and to exterminate the aristocrats who should dare to show themselves; the second was, that the agitation of civil war, instead of being a subject of hope, must on the contrary be a subject of terror to the foreign enemy. "Montesquieu," said he, "has already remarked, with reference to the Romans, that a people all whose hands are armed and exercised, all whose souls are inured to war, all whose minds are excited, all whose passions are changed into a mania for fighting—such a people has nothing to fear from the cold and mercenary courage of foreign soldiers. The weaker of the two parties arrayed against each other by civil war, would always be strong enough to destroy the puppets in whom discipline cannot supply the place of life and fire."

It was immediately ordered that ninety-six commissioners should repair to the sections, in order to obtain their contingents, and that the committee of public welfare should continue its functions for another month. Custine was appointed general of the army of the North, and Houchard† of the

* "Bordeaux, Marseilles, Toulon, and Lyons, had declared themselves against the Jacobin supremacy. Rich from commerce and their maritime situation, and, in the case of Lyons, from their command of internal navigation, the wealthy merchants and manufacturers of those cities foresaw the total insecurity of property, and, in consequence, their own ruin, in the system of arbitrary spoliation and murder upon which the government of the Jacobins was founded."—*Scott's Life of Napoleon*. E.

† "J. N. Houchard was born at Forbach. He entered service very young, was at first a common soldier, obtained rapid promotion during the Revolution, and in 1792 was made colonel of a regiment of cavalry hussars. In 1793, he obtained the chief command of the

army of the Rhine. The distribution of the armies around the frontiers was fixed. Cambon presented a plan for a forced loan of one thousand millions, which should be furnished by the rich, and for which the property of the emigrants should be pledged. "It is one way," said he, "of obliging the rich to take part in the Revolution, by forcing them to purchase a portion of the national domains, if they wish to pay themselves for their credit upon the pledge itself."

The commune, on its part, resolved that a second army of *sans-culottes* should be raised in Paris, to awe the aristocracy, while the first should march against the rebels; that a general imprisonment of all suspected persons should take place; and that the central assembly of the sections, composed of the administrative authorities, of the presidents of the sections, of the members of the revolutionary committees, should meet as soon as possible, to make the assessment of the forced loan, and draw up the lists of the suspected persons.

Discord was now at its height. On the one hand, it was alleged that the aristocrats abroad and those at home were leagued together; that the conspirators at Marseilles, La Vendée, and Normandy, acted in concert; that the members of the right side directed that vast conspiracy; and that the tumult of the sections was but the result of their intrigues in Paris: on the other, all the excesses committed in all parts were attributed to the Mountain, to which was imputed a design to convulse France, and to murder the twenty-two deputies. On both sides, people asked how they were to extricate themselves from this peril, and what was to be done to save the republic. The members of the right side mustered their courage, and advised some act of extraordinary energy. Certain sections, such as those of the Mail and the Buttes-des-Moulins, and several others, strongly supported them, and refused to send commissioners to the central assembly formed at the *mairie*. They refused to subscribe to the forced loan, saying that they would provide for the maintenance of their own volunteers, and opposed the new lists of suspected persons, alleging that their own revolutionary committee was adequate to the superintendence of the police within its own jurisdiction. The Mountaineers, the Jacobins, the Cordeliers, the members of the commune, on the contrary, cried treason; and everywhere repeated that things must be brought to a point, and that it behoved them to unite, and to take measures for saving the republic from the conspiracy of the twenty-two. At the Cordeliers, it was said openly that they ought to be seized, and put to death. In an assembly composed of furious women, it was proposed to take occasion of the first tumult in the Convention, and to despatch them. These furies carried daggers, made a great noise every day in the tribunes, and declared that they would themselves save the republic. The number of these daggers was everywhere talked of; a single cutler in the fauxbourg St. Antoine had made several hundred. People belonging to both parties went armed, and carried about them all the means of attack and defence. There was as yet no decided plot, but the passions were in that state of excitement, at which the slightest occurrence is sufficient to produce an explosion. At the Jacobins, measures of all sorts were proposed. It was alleged that the acts of accusation directed by the commune against the twenty-two did not

army of the Rhine in the place of Custine, and in the same year passed to that of the North. Without possessing great military talents, Houchard was bold and active, and defeated the allies in several battles. Under pretence that he had neglected his duty, the Jacobins brought Houchard before the revolutionary tribunal, which condemned him to the scaffold in 1793."

~*Biographie Moderne*. E.

prevent them from retaining their seats, and that consequently an act of popular energy was required; that the citizens destined for La Vendée ought not to depart before they had saved the country; that the people had the power to save it, but that it was necessary to point out to them the means, and that to this end a committee of five members ought to be appointed, and allowed by the society to have secrets of its own. Others replied, that there was no occasion for reserve in the society, that it was useless to pretend to conceal anything, and that it was high time to act openly. Robespierre, who deemed these declarations imprudent, opposed illegal means, and asked if they had exhausted all the useful and safer means which he had proposed. "Have you organized your revolutionary army?" said he. "Have you done what is needful for paying the *sans-culottes* called to arms or sitting in the sections? Have you secured the suspected? Have you covered your public places with forges and workshops? You have then employed none of the judicious and natural measures which would not compromise the patriots, and you suffer men who know nothing about the public welfare to propose measures which are the cause of the calumnies poured forth against you! It is not till you have tried all the legal means that you ought to recur to violent means; and even then it is not right to propose them in a society which ought to be discreet and politic. I am aware," added Robespierre, "that I shall be accused of *moderation*; but I am too well known to be afraid of such imputations."

In this instance, as before the 10th of August, people felt the necessity of adopting a course; they roved from scheme to scheme; they called for a meeting wherein they might come to an understanding with one another. The assembly of the *mairie* had been formed, but the department was not present at it; only one of its members, the Jacobin Dufourny, had attended; several sections kept away; the mayor had not yet appeared, and it had adjourned the consideration of the object of the meeting to Sunday, the 19th of May. Though this object, as fixed by the resolution of the commune, was apparently very limited, yet the same language had been held in that assembly as in everywhere else, and it admitted there, as in all other places, that a new 10th of August was wanted. Nothing more had been ventured upon, however, than foul language and club exaggerations: women had attended along with the men, and this tumultuous assemblage displayed only the same licentiousness of spirit and language as all the other public meetings exhibited.

The 15th, 16th, and 17th of May, passed in agitation, and everything was made an occasion of quarrel and uproar in the Assembly. The people of Bordeaux sent an address, in which they announced their intention of rising to support their deputies. They declared that one portion of them would march to La Vendée to fight the rebels, while the other would march to Paris, to exterminate the anarchists who should dare to offer violence to the national representation. A letter from Marseilles intimated that the sections of that city persisted in their opposition. A petition from Lyons claimed relief for fifteen hundred prisoners, confined as suspected persons, and threatened with the revolutionary tribunal by Chalier and the Jacobins. These petitions excited a tremendous tumult. In the Assembly, as in the tribunes, the parties seemed on the point of coming to blows. Meanwhile the right side, roused by the danger, communicated its courage to the Plain, and a great majority decreed that the petition of the Bordelais was a model of patriotism, annulled every revolutionary tribunal erected by the local authorities, and authorized the citizens, whom any attempt should be made

to bring before it, to repel force by force. These decisions kindled at once the indignation of the Mountain and the courage of the right side. On the 18th the irritation had attained the highest pitch. The Mountain, deprived of a great number of its members, sent as commissioners into the departments and to the armies, cried out against oppression. Guadet immediately solicited permission to speak, for the purpose of making an historical application to present circumstances, and he seemed to foretell, in a fearful manner, the destiny of the parties. "In England," he said, "when a generous majority endeavoured to oppose the fury of a factious minority, that minority cried out against oppression, and succeeded by means of that cry in oppressing the majority itself. It called around it the patriots *par excellence*. Such was the appellation assumed by a misled multitude, to which it promised pillage and a division of lands. This continued appeal to the patriots *par excellence* against the oppression of the majority, led to the proceeding known by the name of the *purgation of the parliament*—a proceeding in which Pride, who from a butcher had become a colonel, was the chief actor. One hundred and fifty members were expelled from the parliament-house, and the minority consisting of fifty or sixty members were left masters of the state. What was the result? These patriots *par excellence*, tools of Cromwell, and whom he led to the commission of folly after folly, were expelled in their turn. Their own crimes served as a pretext to the usurper."

Here Guadet, pointing to Legendre, the butcher, Danton, Lacroix, and all the other deputies, accused of dissolute manners and peculations, thus proceeded: "Cromwell went out one day to the parliament-house, and addressing these same members, who alone, according to their own assertions, were capable of saving the country, he bade them begone, saying to one, Thou art a robber; to another, Thou art a drunkard; to this, Thou hast fattened upon the public money; to that, Thou art a whoremaster and frequentest places of bad repute. Begone then, all of you, and give place to godly men. They did give place, and Cromwell took it."

This striking and terrible allusion made a profound impression upon the Assembly, which remained silent. Guadet proceeded, and, in order to prevent such a purgation, proposed various measures of police, which the Assembly adopted amidst murmurs. But, while he was returning to his seat, a scandalous scene took place in the tribunes. A woman had laid hold of a man for the purpose of turning him out of the hall: she was seconded on all sides, and the poor fellow, who struggled hard, was on the point of being attacked by the whole population of the tribunes. The guard strove in vain to restore tranquillity. Marat exclaimed that this man whom they wanted to turn out was an aristocrat. The Assembly was indignant against Marat, because he increased the unfortunate man's danger, and exposed him to the risk of assassination. He replied that he should not be easy till they were delivered from aristocrats, accomplices of Dumouriez, *statesmen* . . . so he called the members of the right side on account of their reputation for abilities.

Isnard, the president, took off his hat, and said that he had an important communication to make. The Assembly listened in profound silence. In a tone of the deepest grief, he said, "A plan devised in England, with which it is my duty to acquaint you, has been revealed to me. It is the object of Pitt to arm one point of the people against the other, by urging it to insurrection. This insurrection is to be commenced by women; they will attack several deputies, murder them, dissolve the National Convention, and this

moment will be chosen to effect a landing upon our coasts. Such," concluded Isnard, "is the declaration which I owe to my country."

The majority applauded Isnard. His communication was ordered to be printed; it was again decreed that the deputies should not separate, and that they should share all dangers in common. Some explanation was then given respecting the disturbances in the tribunes. It was said that the women who made them belonged to a society called *The Fraternity*, that they came for the purpose of occupying the hall, excluding strangers and the federalists of the departments from it, and interrupting the deliberations by their hootings. Marat, who had kept pacing the corridors, passing from one bench in the hall to another, and talking of *statesmen*, pointed to one of the members of the right side, saying, "Thou art one of them; yes, thou: but the people will do justice on thee and the rest." Guadet then rushed to the tribune, to provoke amidst this danger a courageous determination. He dwelt on all the commotions of which Paris was the theatre, the expressions used in the popular assemblies, the horrid language used at the *Jacobins*, the plans brought forward in the Assembly which met at the *mairie*: he declared that the tumults which they witnessed had no other design than to bring about a state of confusion, amidst which the meditated murders were to be executed. Interrupted every moment, he nevertheless contrived to make himself heard till he had finished, and proposed two measures of heroic but impracticable energy.

"The evil lies," said he, "in the anarchical authorities of Paris; I propose to you then, to cashier them, and to replace them by all the presidents of sections.

"The Convention being no longer free, it is requisite that another assembly be convoked in some other place, and that a decree be passed directing all the new deputies to meet at Bourges, and to be ready to constitute themselves there in convention, at the first signal that you shall give them, or on the first intimation they shall receive of the dissolution of the Convention."

At this twofold proposition, a tremendous uproar ensued in the Assembly. All the members of the right side rose, crying out that this was the only medium of safety, and seemingly grateful to the bold genius of Guadet which had devised it. The left side also rose, threatened its adversaries, cried out, in its turn, that the conspiracy was at length discovered, that the conspirators were unmasked, and that their designs against the unity of the republic were avowed. Danton would have ascended the tribune, but he was stopped, and Barrère was permitted to occupy it in the name of the committee of public welfare.

Barrère with his insinuating address, and his conciliatory tone, said that if he had been allowed to speak, he could several days before have revealed many facts respecting the state of France. He then stated that a plan for dissolving the Convention was everywhere talked of; that the president of the section had heard Chaumette, the *procureur*, use language which seemed to indicate that intention; that at the *Evêché*, and at another assembly held at the *mairie*, the same question had been brought forward: that, in order to effect this object, the scheme was to excite a tumult, to employ women to raise it, and to take the lives of thirty-two deputies under favour of the disturbance. Barrère added that the minister for foreign affairs and the minister of the interior must be in possession of information on the subject, and that it would be right to hear what they had to say. Then, adverting to the proposed measures, he added that he was of the same opinion as Guadet respecting the authorities of Paris; he found a feeble department, sections acting

as sovereigns, a commune instigated to all sorts of excesses by Chaumette, its *procureur*, formerly a monk, and a suspicious character, like all of the *ci-devant* priests and nobles; but he thought that the cashiering of these authorities would produce an anarchical uproar. As for the assemblage of new representatives at Bourges, that could not save the Convention or furnish a substitute for it. There was, he conceived, a way to ward off the real dangers which surrounded them without plunging into too great inconveniences; this was to appoint a commission of twelve members, empowered to verify the acts of the commune during the last month, to investigate the plots hatched within the republic, and the designs formed against the national representation; to collect from all the committees, from all the ministers, from all the authorities, such information as it should need; and lastly, be authorized to dispose of all the means requisite for securing the persons of conspirators.

The first ebullition of enthusiasm and courage over, the majority eagerly adopted this conciliatory scheme of Barrere. Nothing was more common than to appoint commissions: on every occurrence, on every danger, for every want, a committee was appointed to attend to it; and the moment the individuals were nominated to carry anything into execution, the Assembly seemed to take it for granted that the thing was executed, and that, for its sake, committees would have courage, or intelligence, or energy. This last was not likely to be deficient in energy, and it was composed of deputies almost all belonging to the right side. It included among others, Boyer-Fonfrède, Rabaut St. Etienne, Kervelegan, Henri Larivière,* all members of La Gironde. But the very energy of this committee was fated to prove baneful to it. Instituted for the purpose of screening the Convention from the movements of the Jacobins, it served only to excite them still more, and to increase the danger which it was designed to dispel. The Jacobins had threatened the Girondins by their daily cries; the Girondins replied to the threat by instituting a commission, and this menace the Jacobins finally answered by a fatal stroke, that of the 31st of May and the 2d of June.

No sooner was this commission appointed, than the popular societies raised an outcry, as usual, against the inquisition and martial law. The assembly at the *mairie*, adjourned to Sunday, the 19th, accordingly met, and was more numerous than in the preceding sittings. The mayor, however, was not there, and an administrator of police presided. Some sections did not attend, and there were not more than thirty-five which had sent their representatives. The Assembly called itself the *Central Revolutionary Committee*. It was agreed at the outset to commit nothing to writing, to keep no minutes, and to prevent every one who wished to retire from departing before the sitting was over. The next point was to fix upon the subjects of their future deliberations. Their real and avowed object was the loan and the list of suspected persons; nevertheless, the very first words began with stating that the patriots of the Convention had not the power to save

* "P. F. J. Henri Larivière, a lawyer at Falaise, was, in 1791, deputed from Calvados to the Legislative Assembly. Being re-elected to the Convention, he proposed the exile of Louis till there should be a peace. Shortly afterwards when the struggle arose between the Mountain and the Gironde, he took a decided part in favour of the latter. He was one of the twelve commissioners appointed to put an end to the conspiracies of the municipality of Paris, but gave up the cause, by resigning in the midst of the denunciations directed against it. Having contrived to remain concealed during the Reign of Terror, Larivière joined the council of Five Hundred, and inveighed strongly against the Jacobins. Some time afterwards he went to England, and joined the partisans of the Bourbons."—*Biographie Moderne*. E.

the commonwealth ; that it was necessary to make amends for their impotence, and for this purpose to search after suspected persons, whether in the administrations, in the sections, or in the Convention itself, and to secure them for the purpose of putting it out of their power to do further mischief. A member, speaking coldly and slowly, said that he knew of no suspected persons but in the Convention, and it was there that the blow ought to be struck. He therefore proposed a very simple method, namely, to seize the twenty-two deputies, to convey them to a house in the fauxbourgs, to put them to death, and to forge letters to induce a belief that they had emigrated. "We will not do this ourselves," added this man ; "but with money it will be easy for us to find executioners." Another member immediately replied that this measure was impracticable, and that it would be right to wait till Marat and Robespierre had proposed at the Jacobins their means of insurrection, which would, no doubt, be preferable." "Silence !" cried several voices, "no names must be mentioned." A third member, a deputy of the section in 1792, represented that it was wrong to commit murder, and that there were tribunals for trying the enemies of the Revolution. On this observation, a great tumult arose. The doctrine of the person who had just spoken was condemned ; it was said that such men only as could raise themselves to a level with circumstances ought to be tolerated, and that it was the duty of every one to denounce his neighbour if he suspected his energy. The person who had presumed to talk of laws and tribunals was forthwith expelled from the Assembly. It was perceived, at the same time, that a member of the section of La Fraternité, a section very unfavourably disposed towards the Jacobins, was taking notes, and he was turned out like the other. The Assembly continued to deliberate in the same tone on the proscription of the deputies, on the place to be selected for this *Septembrisation*, and for the imprisonment of the other suspected persons, whether of the commune or of the sections. A member proposed that the execution should take place that very night. He was told that it was not possible, on which he replied that there were men in readiness, adding that Coligny was at court at twelve o'clock in night and dead at one.

Meanwhile, time passed away, and the consideration of these various subjects was deferred till the following day. It was agreed that they should confine themselves to three points : 1, the seizure of the deputies ; 2, the list of suspected persons ; 3, the purification of the public offices and committees. The meeting adjourned till six in the evening of the next day.

Accordingly, on Monday the 20th, the Assembly again met. This time Pache was present. Several lists, containing names of all sorts, were handed to him. He observed that it was wrong to give them any other designation than lists of suspected persons, which was legal, since those lists had been ordered. Some members observed that they ought to take care, lest the handwriting of any member should be known, and that it would be well to have fresh copies made of the lists. Others said that republicans ought not to be afraid of anything. Pache added that he cared not who knew that he was furnished with these lists, for they concerned the police of Paris, which was under his superintendence. The subtle and reserved character of Pache was duly sustained ; and he was desirous of bringing all that was required of him within the limits of the law and of his functions.

A member noticing these precautions, then said that he was no doubt unacquainted with what had passed in the sitting of the preceding day, and with the order of the questions which it was right to apprise him of ; and that the first related to the seizure of twenty-two deputies. Pache

observed that the persons of the deputies were under the safeguard of the city of Paris; that any attempt upon their lives would compromise the capital with the departments and provoke a civil war. He was then asked how it happened that he had signed the petition presented on the 15th of April in the name of the forty-eight sections of Paris against the twenty-two. Pache replied that he then did his duty in signing a petition which he had been instructed to present; but that the question now proposed was not comprehended in the powers of the Assembly there met to consider of the loan and of suspected persons, and that he should be obliged to put an end to the sitting if such discussions were persisted in. On these observations, a great uproar ensued; and, as nothing could be done in the presence of Pache, and the Assembly did not choose to confine its attention to the mere lists of suspected persons, it adjourned *sine die*.

On Tuesday the 21st, there were only about a dozen members present. Some would no longer attend the meetings of so tumultuous and so violent an assembly; others thought that it was not possible to deliberate there with sufficient energy.

It was at the Cordeliers that all the fury of the conspirators vented itself on the following day. Women as well as men uttered horrible threats. It was a prompt insurrection that they required, and, not content with a sacrifice of twenty-two deputies, they insisted on that of three hundred. A woman, speaking with all the vehemence of her sex, proposed to assemble all the citizens in the Place de la Réunion, to go in a body to present a petition to the Convention, and not to stir till they had wrung from it the decrees indispensable for the public welfare. Young Varlet, who had long been conspicuous in all the commotions, presented in a few articles a plan of insurrection. He proposed to repair to the Convention, carrying the rights of man covered with crape, to seize all the deputies who had belonged to the Legislative and the Constituent Assemblies, to cashier all the ministers, to destroy all that were left of the family of the Bourbons, &c. After him Legendre pressed forward to the tribune, for the purpose of opposing these suggestions. The utmost efforts of his voice could scarcely overcome the cries and yells raised against him, and it was not without the greatest difficulty that he succeeded in stating his objections to the inflammatory motions of young Varlet. It was nevertheless insisted that a time should be fixed for the insurrection; it was also proposed that a day should be appointed to go and demand what was required of the Convention; but, the night being now advanced, the meeting broke up without coming to any decision.

All Paris was already informed of what had been said, as well at the two meetings held at the *mairie* on the 19th and 20th, as at the sitting of the Cordeliers on the 22d. Many of the members of the Central Revolutionary Committee had themselves denounced the language used and the motions made there; and the rumour of a plot against a great number of citizens and deputies was universally circulated. The commission of twelve was apprized of what had passed, even to the minutest circumstances, and prepared to act against the designated authors of the most violent propositions.

The section of La Fraternité formally denounced them on the 24th in an address to the Convention; it stated all that had been said and done at the meeting held at the *mairie* and loudly condemned the mayor for having attended it. The right side covered this courageous denunciation with applause, and moved that Pache should be summoned to the bar. Marat replied that the conspirators were the very members themselves of the right side; that Valazé, at whose house they met every day, had advised them to

arm themselves; and that they had carried pistols with them to the Convention—"Yes," replied Valazé, "I did give that advice, because it became necessary for us to defend our lives, and most assuredly we should have defended them."—"That we should!" emphatically exclaimed all the members of the right side. Lasource added a very important fact, that the conspirators, apparently conceiving that the execution was fixed for the preceding night, had come to his house to carry him off.

At this moment, intelligence was received that the commission of twelve was in possession of all the information necessary for discovering the plot and prosecuting its orders, and that a report from it might be expected on the following day. The Convention meanwhile declared that the section of La Fraternité had deserved well of the country.

The same evening there was a great uproar at the municipality against the section of La Fraternité, which, it was alleged, had calumniated the mayor and the patriots, in supposing that they had a design to murder the national representatives. Since this project had been only a proposition, opposed besides by the mayor, Chaumette and the commune inferred that it was a calumny to suppose the existence of any real conspiracy. Most certainly it was not a conspiracy, in the true signification of the word. It was not one of those deeply and secretly planned conspiracies which are framed in palaces; but it was one of those conspiracies which the rabble of a great city are capable of forming; it was the commencement of those popular projects, tumultuously proposed and executed by a misled mob, as on the 14th of July and the 10th of August. In this sense, it was a real conspiracy. But such as these it is useless to attempt to stop, for they do not take ignorant and slumbering authority by surprise, but overpower openly and in the face of day authority forewarned and wide awake.

Next day, two other sections, those of the Tuileries and the Butte-des-Moulins, joined that of La Fraternité in denouncing the same proceedings. "If reason cannot gain the ascendancy," said the Butte-des-Moulins, "make an appeal to the good citizens of Paris, and we can assure you beforehand that our section will contribute not a little to make those disguised royalists who insolently assume the name of *sans-culottes*, shrink back again into the dust." The same day, the mayor wrote to the Assembly, to explain what had passed at the *mairie*. "It was not a plot," said he, "it was a mere deliberation on the composition of the list of suspected persons. Some mischievous persons had certainly interrupted the deliberation by certain unreasonable suggestions, but he [Pache] had recalled to order those who were straying from it, and those movements of excited minds had no result."

Little account was taken of Pache's letter, and the Assembly listened to the commission of twelve, who came to propose a decree of general safety. This decree placed the national representation, and the buildings containing the public treasure, under the safeguard of the good citizens. At the sound of the drums, all were to repair to the rendezvous of the company of the quarter, and to march at the first signal that should be given them. None was to absent himself from the rendezvous; and, till the appointment of a commandant-general, to succeed Santerre, who was gone to La Vendée, the oldest chief of the legions was to have the chief command. The meetings of sections were to break up by ten o'clock, and the presidents were rendered responsible for the execution of this article. The proposed decree was adopted entire, notwithstanding some discussion, and in spite of Danton, who said that, in thus placing the Assembly and the public establishments under the safeguard of the citizens of Paris, they decreed fear.

Immediately after proposing this decree, the commission of twelve gave orders at once for the apprehension of two persons named Marino and Michel, administrators of police, who were accused of having brought forward in the meeting at the *mairie* the propositions which caused such a sensation. It also caused Hebert, the deputy of the *procureur* of the commune to be apprehended. This man wrote, under the name of *Père Duchêne*, a paper still more loathsome than that of Marat, and adapted by its hideous and disgusting language to the comprehension of the lowest of the rabble. In this paper, Hebert circulated openly all that Marino and Michel were accused of having proposed verbally at the *mairie*. The commission therefore deemed it right to prosecute both those who preached and those intended to execute a new insurrection. No sooner was the order issued for Hebert's apprehension, than he posted off at full speed to the commune to state what had happened, and to show the general council the order of his arrest. He was torn, he said, from his functions, but he should obey. At the same time the commune ought not to forget the oath it had taken, to consider itself as struck when a blow was given to one of its members. It was not for his own sake that he appealed to this oath, for he was ready to lay down his head on the scaffold, but for the sake of his fellow-citizens, who were threatened with a new slavery. Hebert was greeted with vehement applause. Chaumette, the chief *procureur*, embraced him; and the president kissed him in behalf of the whole council. The sitting was declared permanent till they should have received tidings of Hebert. The members of the council were requested to convey consolation and relief to the wives and families of all those who were or should be imprisoned.

The sitting was permanent, and from hour to hour they sent to the commission of twelve to obtain tidings of the magistrate, torn away, as they said, from his functions. At half-past two in the morning, they learned that he was under examination, and that Varlet had also been apprehended. At four, it was stated that Hebert had been sent to the Abbaye. At five, Chaumette went to the prison to see him, but could not obtain admittance. In the morning, the general resolved upon a petition to the Convention, and sent it round by horsemen to the sections, in order to obtain their adhesion. Nearly all the sections were at variance among themselves; they were for changing every moment the bureau and the presidents, for preventing or effecting arrests, for adhering to or opposing the system of the commune, for signing or rejecting the petition which it proposed. At length, this petition, approved by a great number of sections, was presented on the 28th to the Convention. The deputation of the commune complained of the calumnies circulated against the magistrates of the people; it desired that the petition of the section of La Fraternité should be transmitted to the public accuser, that the guilty, if there were any, or the calumniators, might be punished. Lastly, it demanded justice against the commission of twelve, which had committed an attack on the person of a magistrate of the people, by causing him to be withdrawn from his functions, and confining him in the Abbaye. Isnard presided at this moment, and it was his duty to answer the deputation. "Magistrates of the people," said he, in a grave and severe tone "there is an urgent necessity for you to listen to important truths. France has committed her representatives to the care of the city of Paris. She wishes them to be in safety there. If the national representation were to be violated by one of those conspiracies by which we have been surrounded ever since the 10th of March, and of which the magistrates have been the last to apprise us, I declare, in the name of the republic, that Paris

would feel the vengeance of France, and be erased from the list of cities.”* This solemn and dignified answer produced a deep impression upon the Assembly. A great number of voices desired that it should be printed. Danton maintained that it was likely to widen the breach which already began to separate Paris and the departments, and that they ought to avoid doing anything that tended to increase the mischief. The Convention, deeming the energy of the reply and the energy of the commission of twelve sufficient for the occasion, passed to the order of the day, without directing the president’s answer to be printed.

The deputies of the commune were, therefore, dismissed without obtaining anything. All the rest of the 25th, and the whole of the 26th, were passed in tumultuous scenes in the sections. They were everywhere at variance; and the two opinions had by turns the upper hand, according to the hour of the day and the more or less numerous attendance of the members of each party. The commune continued to send deputies to inquire concerning Hebert. Once he had been found lying down; at another time he had begged the commune to make itself easy on his account. They complained that he had but a wretched pallet to sleep on. Some sections took him under their protection; others prepared to demand anew his release, and with more energy than the municipality had done. Lastly, women, running about the streets with a flag, endeavoured to persuade the people to go to the Abbaye and deliver their beloved magistrate.

On the 27th the tumult had reached the highest pitch. People went from one section to another, to decide the advantage there by knocking each other down with chairs. At length, towards evening, about twenty-eight sections had concurred in expressing a wish for the release of Hebert, and in drawing up an imperative petition to the Convention. The commission of twelve, foreseeing the tumult that was preparing, had desired the commandant on duty to require the armed force of three sections, and had taken care to specify the sections of the Butte-des-Moulins, Lepelletier, and Mail, the most strongly attached to the right side, and ready even to fight for it. These three sections had cheerfully come forward, and, about six in the evening of the 27th of May, they were placed in the courts of the National Palace, on the side next to the Carrousel, with their arms, and cannon with lighted matches. They thus composed a respectable force, and one capable of protecting the national representation. But the crowd which thronged about their ranks, and about the different doors of the palace, the tumult which prevailed, and the difficulty there was in getting into the hall, gave to this scene the appearance of a siege. Some deputies had had great trouble to enter; they had even experienced some insults from the populace, and they excited some uneasiness in the Assembly by saying that it was besieged. This, however, was not the case, and if the doors were obstructed, ingress and egress were not denied. Appearances, however, were sufficient for irri-

* “‘Listen,’ said Isnard, ‘to my words. If ever the Convention is exposed to danger; if another of these insurrections breaks out; and we are outraged by an armed faction, France will rise, as one man, to avenge our cause; Paris will be destroyed, and soon the stranger will be compelled to inquire on which bank of the Seine the city stood!’ This indignant reply produced at the moment a great impression; and upon the continued refusal of Isnard to liberate Hebert, crowds from the benches of the Mountain rose to drag him from his seat. The Girondins assembled to defend him. In the midst of the tumult, Danton, in a voice of thunder, exclaimed, ‘So much impudence is beyond belief! We will resist you. Let there be no longer any trade between the Mountain and the base men who wished to save the tyrant.’”—*Mignet*. E.

tated imaginations, and tumult prevailed in the Assembly. Isnard presided. The section of the Cité arrived, and demanded the liberty of its president, named Dobsen, apprehended by order of the commission of twelve, for having refused to communicate the registers of his section. It demanded also the liberation of the other prisoners, the suppression of the commission of twelve, and insisted that the members composing it should be put under accusation. "The Convention," replied Isnard, "forgives your youth. It will never suffer itself to be influenced by any portion of the people." The Convention approved the reply. Robespierre, on the contrary, was for passing a censure on it. The right side opposed this; a most violent contest ensued, and the noise within, and that without, contributed to produce a most frightful uproar. At this moment, the mayor and the minister of the interior appeared at the bar, believing, as it was the talk in Paris, that the Convention was besieged. At the sight of the minister of the interior, a general cry arose on all sides to call him to account for the state of Paris and the environs of the hall. Garat's situation was embarrassing; for it required him to pronounce between the two parties, which the mildness of his character and his political scepticism alike forbade him to do. Still, as this scepticism proceeded from a real impartiality of mind, he would have felt happy if the Assembly could at that moment listen to and understand him. He addressed it, and went back to the cause of the disturbances. The first cause, in his opinion, was the rumour which was circulated of a secret meeting formed at the *mairie*, for the purpose of plotting against the national representation. Garat then repeated what Pache had stated, that this meeting was not an assemblage of conspirators, but a legal meeting, having a known object; that if, in the absence of the mayor, some overheated minds had made guilty propositions, these propositions, repelled with indignation when the mayor was present, had had no result, and that it was impossible to regard this as a real plot; that the institution of the commission of twelve to investigate this alleged plot, and the apprehensions which had taken place by its order, had become the cause of the commotion which they then witnessed; that he was not acquainted with Hebert, and had received no accounts of him that were unfavourable; that he merely knew that Hebert was the author of a kind of paper, despicable undoubtedly, but which it was wrong to consider as dangerous; that the Constituent and Legislative Assemblies had disdained to notice all the disgusting publications circulated against them, and that the severity exercised against Hebert could not fail to appear new, and perhaps unseasonable; that the commission of twelve, composed of worthy men and excellent patriots, was under the influence of singular prepossessions, and that it appeared to be too much actuated by the desire of displaying great energy. These words were loudly applauded by the left side and by the Mountain. Garat, then adverting to the present situation, declared that the Convention was not in danger, and that the citizens by whom it was surrounded were full of respect for it. At these words, he was interrupted by a deputy, who said that he had been insulted. "Granted," replied Garat, "I cannot answer for what may happen to an individual amidst a crowd composed of persons of all sorts; but let the whole Convention in a body appear at the door, and I answer for it that the people will respectfully fall back before it, that they will hail its presence, and obey its injunctions."

Garat concluded by presenting some conciliatory views, and by intimating, with the greatest possible delicacy, that those who were for repressing the violence of the Jacobins only ran the risk of exciting it still more. Assuredly

Garat was right; by placing yourself upon the defensive against a party, you only irritate it the more, and hasten the catastrophe; but, when the conflict is inevitable, ought we to succumb without resistance? Such was the situation of the Girondins; their institution of the commission of twelve was an imprudence, but an inevitable and generous imprudence.

Garat, when he had finished, nobly seated himself on the right side, which was reputed to be in danger; and the Convention voted that his report should be printed and distributed. Pache spoke after Garat. He exhibited things nearly in the same light. He stated that the Assembly was guarded by three sections, which were attached to it and which had been called out by the commission of twelve; he showed that in this the commission of twelve had transgressed its powers, for it had not a right to require the armed force. He added that a strong detachment had secured the prisons of the Abbaye against any infraction of the laws, that all danger was dispelled, and that the Assembly might consider itself in perfect safety. He then begged that the Convention would be pleased to hear the citizens who came to solicit the release of the prisoners.

At these words, loud murmurs arose in the Assembly. "It is ten o'clock," cried a member of the right side; "president, put an end to the sitting."—"No, no," replied voices on the left, "hear the petitioners." Henri Lavière insisted on occupying the tribune. "If you desire to hear any one," said he, "you ought to hear your commission of twelve, which you accuse of tyranny, and which must make you acquainted with its acts, in order to enable you to appreciate them." His voice was drowned by loud murmurs. Isnard, finding it impossible to repress this disorder, left the arm-chair, which was taken by Hérault-Séchelles,* who was greeted by the applause of the tribunes. He consulted the Assembly, which, amidst threats, uproar, and confusion, voted that the sitting should be continued.

The speakers were conducted to the bar, followed by a host of petitioners. They insolently demanded the suppression of an odious and tyrannical commission, the release of the persons in confinement, and the *triumph of virtue*. "Citizens," replied Hérault-Séchelles, "*the force of reason and the force of the people are one and the same thing.*"† This dogmatic absurdity

* "M. J. Hérault de Séchelles, born at Paris in 1760, began his career at the bar by holding the office of the King's advocate at the Châtelet. In the house of Madame de Polignac, where he visited, he met the Queen, who, delighted with his conversation, promised to befriend him. Having eagerly embraced revolutionary notions, he was appointed commissioner of government to the tribunal of cassation, and was afterwards deputed to the original legislature, as also to the Convention, on becoming a member of which, he joined the revolutionary part of that body with uncommon ardour. Hérault was absent from Paris during the King's trial, but wrote a letter to the Convention declaring that he deserved death. In the contest that afterwards took place between the Mountain and the Gironde, Hérault figured in the Convention among the most conspicuous and zealous supporters of the former faction. Having made himself obnoxious to Robespierre, he was sentenced to death in 1794. He then gave himself up for a time to gloomy reflections, walked for above two hours with the other captives in the prison, while waiting the moment of execution, and took leave of them with great tranquillity. Hérault enjoyed a very considerable fortune; his figure was elegant, his countenance pleasing, and his dress studied, which, during the reign of *sans-culottism*, drew on him many sarcasms from his colleagues. In the midst of the blood and tears which drenched France in 1793, he still found leisure for gallantry and poetry, which made no slight impression on the young and beautiful wife of Camille-Desmoulins."—*Biographie Moderne*.

"Hérault de Séchelles was the author of that ridiculous code of anarchy, the constitution of 1793."—*Mercier*. E.

† "It well became Hérault de Séchelles, during the struggle between the Mountain and the Gironde, impudently to violate all law, who had previously violated all reason, by exclaiming that 'the powers of the people and of reason were the same!'"—*Prudhomme*. E.

was received with thunders of applause. "You demand justice," added he, "justice is our first duty; you shall have it."

Other petitioners succeeded the former. Various speakers were then heard, and a *projet* of decree was drawn up by which the citizens imprisoned by the commission of twelve were released, the commission of twelve was dissolved, and its conduct referred for investigation to the committee of general welfare. The night was far advanced; the petitioners were introduced in crowds and obstructed the hall. The darkness, the shouts, the tumult, the concourse, all contributed to increase the confusion. The decree was put to the vote, and passed without its being possible to tell whether it had been voted or not. Some said that the president had not been heard, others that there was not a sufficient number of votes, others again that the petitioners had taken the seats of the absent deputies and that the decree was invalid. It was nevertheless proclaimed, and the tribunes and the petitioners hurried away to inform the commune, the sections, the Jacobins, and the Cordeliers, that the prisoners were released and the commission dissolved.*

These tidings produced great popular rejoicing and a momentary tranquillity in Paris. The face of the mayor himself seemed to express sincere satisfaction at seeing the disturbances appeased. The Girondins, however, being determined to fight to the last extremity, and not to resign the victory to their adversaries, met the following day, burning with indignation. Lanjuinais, in particular, who had taken no part in the animosities resulting from personal pride which divided the two sides of the Convention, and who was pardoned for his obstinacy, because he seemed to be actuated by no personal resentment—Lanjuinais came full of ardour and resolution to make the Assembly ashamed of its weakness on the preceding night. No sooner had Osselin moved the reading of the decree and its definitive preparation, in order that the prisoners might be forthwith released, than Lanjuinais rushed to the tribune and desired to be heard, for the purpose of maintaining that the decree was invalid and had never been passed. He was interrupted by violent murmurs. "Grant me silence," said he to the left, "for I am determined to remain here till you have heard me." It was insisted that Lanjuinais had no right to speak except with reference to the wording of the decree: yet, after doubtful trials, it was decided that Lanjuinais should have the benefit of the doubt and be heard. He then commenced his explanation, and asserted that the question before the Assembly was one of the greatest importance for the general safety. "More than fifty thousand citizens," said he, "have been imprisoned throughout all France by your commissioners; more arbitrary arrests have taken place in a month, than in a century under the old government; and yet you complain of the apprehension of two or three men, who are preaching up murder and anarchy in penny publications. Your commissioners are proconsuls who act far away out of your sight, and whom you suffer to act, and your commission, placed by your side, under your immediate superintendence, you distrust, you suppress! Last Sunday it was proposed in the *Jacobiniere* to get up a massacre in Paris; the same deliberation is this evening resumed at the Evêché; proofs of this are furnished, are tendered to you, and you reject them! You protect the men of blood!" Murmurs arose at these words and drowned the voice of Lanjuinais. "We can deliberate no longer," exclaimed Cambon; "all that we

* "The motion was put, that the commission of twelve should be abolished, and Hebert set at liberty; it was carried at midnight amid shouts of triumph from the mob, who constituted the majority, by climbing over the rails, and voting on the benches of the Mountain with the Jacobins."—*Lacretelle*. E.

can do is to retire to our departments.”—“Your doors are beset,” resumed Lanjuinais. “It is false,” cried the left. “Yesterday,” rejoined Lanjuinais, with all his might, “you were not free; you were controlled by the preachers of murder.” Legendre, raising his voice from his seat said, “They want to make us waste the sitting; I declare that if Lanjuinais continues his lies, I will go and throw him out of the tribune.” At this scandalous threat, the Assembly was indignant and the tribunes applauded. Guadet immediately moved that the words of Legendre should be inserted in the minutes (*Procès-verbal*) and published to all France, that it might know how its deputies were treated. Lanjuinais, in continuation, maintained that the decree of the preceding evening had not been passed, for the petitioners had voted with the deputies, or that, if it had been passed, it ought to be repealed because the Assembly was not free. “When you are free,” added Lanjuinais, “you do not vote the impunity of crime.” On the left, it was affirmed that Lanjuinais was misrepresenting facts, that the petitioners had not voted, but had withdrawn to the passages. The contrary was asserted on the right, and, without settling this point, the Assembly proceeded to vote upon the repeal of the decree. By a majority of fifty-one votes the decree was repealed. “You have performed,” said Danton, “a striking act of justice, and I hope that it will be brought forward again before the end of the sitting; but, if the commission which you have just reinstated retains its tyrannical powers, if the magistrates of the people are not restored to liberty and to their functions, I declare to you that, after proving that we surpass our enemies in prudence and discretion, *we will prove that we surpass them in daring and in revolutionary energy.*”^{*} The provisional release of the prisoners was then put to the vote and pronounced unanimously. Rabaut St. Etienne desired permission to speak in the name of the commission of twelve; he claimed attention in the name of the public welfare, but could not obtain a hearing; at length he signified his resignation.

The decree was thus repealed, and the majority, reverting to the right side, seemed to prove that it was only in moments of weakness that decrees could be carried by the left. Though the magistrates whose release had been demanded were set at liberty, though Hebert had been restored to the commune, where he was presented with crowns, still the repeal of the decree had rekindled all the passions, and the storm which seemed to be dispelled for a moment, threatened to burst with aggravated fury.

On the same day, the assembly which had been held at the *mairie*, but ceased to meet there after the mayor put a stop to the propositions of *public safety*, as they were called, was renewed at the Evêché, in the electoral club, to which a few electors occasionally resorted. It was composed of commissioners of sections, chosen from among the committees of *surveillance*, commissioners of the commune, of the department, and of various clubs. The very women had representatives there, and among five hundred persons there were a hundred women, at the head of whom was one notorious for her fanatic extravagances and her popular eloquence.† On the first

* “Danton was afraid to resume the combat, for he dreaded the triumph of the Mountainers as much as that of the Girondins; accordingly, he wished by turns to prevent the 31st of May, and to moderate its results; but he found himself reduced to join his own party during the combat, and to be silent after the victory.”—*Mignet*. E.

† “Theroigne de Mericourt, a celebrated courtesan, born in Luxemburg, acted a distinguished part during the first years of the French Revolution. She was connected with various chiefs of the popular party, and served them usefully in most of the insurrections. Above all, in 1789, at Versailles, she assisted in corrupting the regiment of Flanders by

day, this meeting was attended by the envoys of thirty-six sections only; there were twelve which had not sent commissioners, and a new convocation was addressed to them. The Assembly then proceeded to the appointment of a committee of six members, for the purpose of devising and reporting the next day the means of public welfare. After this preliminary measure, the meeting broke up and adjourned to the following day, the 29th.

The same evening great tumult prevailed in the sections. Notwithstanding the decree of the Convention, which required them to close at ten o'clock, they continued to sit much later, constituting themselves at that hour *patriotic societies*, and by this new title prolonged their meeting till the night was considerably advanced. In some they prepared fresh addresses against the commission of twelve: in others, they drew up petitions to the Assembly, demanding an explanation of those words of Isnard: *Paris will be erased from the list of cities.*

At the commune, Chaumette made a long speech on the evident conspiracy that was hatching against liberty, on the ministers, on the right side, &c. Hebert arrived, gave an account of his detention, received a crown, which he placed upon the bust of J. J. Rousseau, and then returned to the section, accompanied by the commissioners of the commune, who brought back in triumph the magistrate released from confinement.

Next day, the 29th, the Convention was afflicted by disastrous intelligence from the two most important military points, the North and La Vendée. The army of the North had been repulsed between Bouchain and Cambria; all communication between Valenciennes and Cambria was cut off. At Fontenay, the republican troops had been completely defeated by M. de Lescure, who had taken Fontenay itself.* These tidings produced general

taking into the ranks other girls of whom she had the direction, and distributing money to the soldiers. In 1790 she was sent to Liege to assist the people to rise there: but the Austrians arrested her in 1791 and took her to Vienna. Here the Emperor Leopold had an exciting interview with her, and set her at liberty in the course of a short time. In 1792 she returned to Paris, and showed herself again on the theatre of the Revolution. She appeared with a pike in her hand at the head of an army of women, frequently harangued the clubs, and particularly signalized herself on the 10th of August. During the Reign of Terror, she was placed in a mad-house; and among the papers of St. Just was found a letter from her, dated 1794, in which is seen the wandering of a disordered imagination."—*Biographie Moderne*. E.

* "On the 24th of May, towards midday, the Vendéans approached Fontenay, and found twenty thousand republicans, with a powerful train of artillery, waiting for them. Before the attack, the soldiers received absolution. Their generals then said to them, 'Now, friends, we have no powder; we must take these cannon with clubs.' The soldiers of M. de Lescure, who commanded the left wing, hesitated to follow him. He therefore advanced alone, thirty paces before them. A battery of six pieces fired upon him with case-shot. His clothes were pierced—his left spur carried away—his right boot torn—but he himself was not wounded. The peasants took courage, and rushed on. At that moment, perceiving a large crucifix, they threw themselves on their knees before it. They soon rose and again rushed on. Meantime, Larochejaquelein, at the head of the cavalry, charged successfully. The republican horse fled; but, instead of pursuing them, they turned on the flank of the left wing, and broke through it. This decided the victory. Lescure was the first to reach the gate of the town with his left wing, and entered it; but his peasants had not courage to follow him. M. de Bonchamp and M. de Foret perceived his danger, and darted forward to his assistance. These three had the temerity to penetrate alone into the streets, but were soon followed by their soldiers. The battle of Fontenay, the most brilliant the Vendéans had yet fought, procured them forty pieces of cannon, many muskets, a great quantity of powder, and ammunition of all kinds. They took also two boxes, one of which contained nearly 900,000 francs, and was kept for the use of their army. There was considerable encumbrance respecting the republican prisoners, whose numbers amounted to three or four thousand. My father proposed to cut off their hair, which would secure their being known

consternation, and rendered the situation of the moderate party still more dangerous. The sections came in succession with banners, inscribed with the words, *Resistance to Oppression*. Some demanded, as they had announced on the preceding evening, an explanation of the expression used by Isnard; some declared that there was no other inviolability than that of the people; that, consequently, the deputies who had sought to arm the departments against Paris ought to be placed under accusation, that the commission of twelve ought to be suppressed; that a revolutionary army ought to be organized, &c.

At the Jacobins, the sitting was not less significant. On all sides it was said that the moment had arrived, that it was high time to save the people; and whenever a member came forward, to detail the means to be employed, he was referred to the commission of six, appointed at the central club. "That commission," he was told, is directed to provide for everything, and to devise the means of public welfare. Legendre, who would have expatiated on the dangers of the moment, and the necessity of trying all legal means before recourse was had to violent measures, was called a sleepy fellow. Robespierre, without speaking out, said that the commune ought to *unite heartily with the people*; that for his part he was incapable of prescribing the means of welfare; that this was given only to a single individual, but it was not given to him, exhausted, by four years of revolution, and consumed by a slow and deadly fever.*

again and punished, if taken a second time; the measure was adopted, and occasioned much mirth among our people."—*Memoirs of the Marchioness de Larochejaquelein*. E.

* The real sentiments of Robespierre relative to the 31st of May are manifest from the speeches which he made at the Jacobins, where men spoke out much more freely than in the Assembly, and where they conspired openly. Extracts from his speeches at various important periods will show the train of his ideas in regard to the great catastrophe of the days between the 31st of May and the 2d of June. His first speech, delivered on occasion of the pillages in the month of February, affords a first indication.

Sitting of February 25, 1793.

"As I have always loved humanity and never sought to flatter any man, I will proclaim the truth. This is a plot hatched against the patriots themselves. It is intriguers who want to ruin the patriots; there is in the hearts of the people a just feeling of indignation. I have maintained, amidst persecutions and unsupported, that the people are never wrong; I have dared to proclaim this truth at a time when it was not yet recognised; the course of the Revolution has developed it.

"The people have so often heard the law invoked by those who were desirous to bring them beneath their yoke, that they are distrustful of that language.

"The people are suffering; they have not yet reaped the fruit of their labours; they are yet persecuted by the rich, and the rich are still what they always were, that is hard-hearted and unfeeling. (*Applause.*) The people see the insolence of those who have betrayed them; they see wealth accumulated in their hands, they feel their own poverty, they feel not the necessity of taking the means for attaining their aim; and when you talk the language of reason to them, they listen only to their indignation against the rich, and suffer themselves to be hurried into false measures by those who seize their confidence for the purpose of ruining them.

"There are two causes, the first a natural disposition in the people to relieve their wants, a disposition natural and legitimate in itself; the people believe that, in the absence of protecting laws, they have a right to provide themselves for their necessities.

"There is a second cause. That cause consists in the perfidious designs of the enemies of liberty, of the enemies of the people, who are well aware that the only means of delivering us up to the foreign powers is to alarm the people on account of their supply of provisions, and to render them the victims of the excesses thence resulting. I have myself been an eye-witness of the disturbances. Besides the honest citizens, we have seen foreigners and opulent

These words of the tribune produced a powerful effect and drew forth vehement applause. They clearly indicated that he was waiting, like every-

men, dressed in the respectable garb of *sans-culottes*. We have heard them say, 'We were promised abundance after the death of the King, and now that there is no King we are more wretched than ever.' We have heard them declaim not against the intriguing and counter-revolutionary part of the Convention, which sits where sat the aristocrats of the Constituent Assembly, but against the Mountain, against the deputation of Paris, against the Jacobins, whom they represented as forestallers.

"I do not tell you that the people are culpable; I do not tell you that their riots are a crime; but when the people rise, ought they not to have an aim that is worthy of them? But ought paltry shop-goods to engage their attention? They derived no benefit from them, for the loaves of sugar were taken away by the valets of the aristocracy; and supposing that they had profited by them, what are the inconveniences that might thence result? Our adversaries wish to frighten all who possess any property; they wish to persuade men that our system of liberty and equality is subversive of all order, all security.

"The people ought to rise, not to carry off sugar, but to crush the brigands. (*Applause.*) Need I picture to you past dangers? You had nearly fallen a prey to the Prussians and Austrians; a negotiation was on foot, and those who then trafficked with your liberty are the same that have excited the present disturbances. I declare, in the face of the friends of liberty and equality, in the face of the nation, that in the month of September, after the affair of the 10th of August, it was decided in Paris that the Prussians should advance without obstacle to this capital."

Sitting of May 8th, 1793.

"We have to wage an external and an internal war. The civil war is kept up by the enemies of the interior. The army of La Vendée, the army of Bretagne, and the army of Coblenz, are directed against Paris, that citadel of liberty. People of Paris! the tyrants are arming against you, because you are the most estimable portion of humanity; the great powers of Europe are rising against you: all the corrupt men in France are seconding their efforts.

"After you have formed a conception of this vast plan of your enemies, you ought easily to guess the means of defending yourselves. I do not tell you my secret, I have manifested it in the bosom of the Convention.

"I will reveal to you this secret, and were it possible that this duty of the representative of a free people could be deemed a crime, still I would confront all dangers to confound the tyrants and to save liberty.

"I said this morning in the Convention that the partisans of Paris should go forth to meet the villains of La Vendée, that they should take along with them by the way all their brethren of the departments, and exterminate all, yes, all the rebels at once.

"I said that all the patriots at home ought to rise and take away the capacity for mischief both from the aristocrats of La Vendée, and the aristocrats disguised under the mask of patriotism.

"I said that the rebels of La Vendée had an army in Paris; I said that the generous and sublime people, who for five years have borne the weight of the Revolution, ought to take the necessary precautions that our wives and our children may not be delivered up to the counter-revolutionary knife of the enemies whom Paris contains in its bosom. None dared dispute this principle. These measures are of urgent, of imperative necessity. Patriots, fly to meet the banditti of La Vendée.

"They are formidable only because the precaution had been taken to disarm the people. Paris must send forth republican legions; but, while we are making our domestic enemies tremble, it is not right that our wives and our children should be exposed to the fury of the aristocracy. I proposed two measures: the first that Paris should send two legions sufficient to exterminate all the wretches who have dared to raise the standard of rebellion. I demanded that all the aristocrats, all the Feuillans, all the moderates, should be expelled from the sections which they poisoned with their impure breath. I demanded that all suspected citizens should be put under arrest.

"I demanded that the quality of suspected citizens should not be determined by the quality of *ci-devant* nobles, *procureurs*, financiers, and tradesmen. I demanded that all citizens who have given proof of *incivism* may be imprisoned till the end of the war, and that we may have an imposing attitude before our enemies. I said that it was requisite to procure for the

body else, to see what would be done by the municipal authorities at the Evêché. The assembly at the Evêché had met, and, as on the preceding

people the means of attending the sections without prejudice to its means of existence, and that, to this end, the Convention should decree that every artisan living by his labour should be paid for all the time that he might be obliged to keep himself under arms, for the preservation of the tranquillity in Paris. I demanded that the necessary millions should be appropriated to the manufacture of arms and pikes, for the purpose of arming all the *sans-culottes* of Paris.

"I demanded that forges and workshops should be erected in the public places, that all the citizens might be witnesses of the fidelity and activity of the operations. I demanded that all the public functionaries should be displaced by the people.

"I demanded that the municipality and the department of Paris, which possesses the confidence of the people, should cease to be shackled.

"I demanded that the factious who are in the Convention should cease to calumniate the people of Paris, and that the journalists who pervert the public opinion, should be reduced to silence. All these measures are necessary, and to sum up here is the acquittal of the debt which I have contracted towards the people.

"I demanded that the people should make an effort to exterminate the aristocrats who exist everywhere. (*Applause.*)

"I demanded that there should be in the bosom of Paris an army, not like that of Dumonriez, but a popular army, which should be continually under arms to overawe the Feuillans and the moderates: this army to be composed of paid *sans-culottes*. I demand that there be assigned to it sufficient funds for arming the artisans and all good patriots; I demand that they be at all the posts, and that their imposing majesty make all the aristocrats turn pale.

"I demand that to-morrow forges be erected in all the public places, where fire-arms shall be manufactured for arming the people. I demand that the executive council be charged with the execution of these measures upon its responsibility. If there be any who resist, if there be any who favour the enemies of liberty, let them to-morrow be driven away.

"I demand that the constituted authorities be charged to superintend the execution of these measures, and that they bear in mind that they are the representatives of a city which is the bulwark of liberty, and whose existence renders counter-revolution impossible.

"In this critical moment duty commands all patriots to save the country by the most vigorous means; if you suffer the patriots to be slaughtered in detail, all that is most virtuous on earth will be annihilated; it is for you to see if you will save the human race."

(All the members rose by a simultaneous impulse, and waving their hats, cried, *Yes, yes, we will.*)

"It is because your glory, your happiness, are at stake, and it is from this motive alone that I conjure you to watch over the welfare of the country. You conceive perhaps that you ought to revolt, that you ought to assume the air of insurrection: no such thing; it is law in hand that we must exterminate all our enemies.

"It is with consummate impudence that the unfaithful representatives have attempted to separate the people of Paris from the departments, that they have attempted to separate the people of the tribunes from the people of Paris, as if it were a fault in us that we have made all possible sacrifices to enlarge our tribunes for the whole population of Paris. I say that I am speaking to the whole population of Paris, and, if it were assembled in this place, if it were to hear me plead its cause against Buzot and Barbaroux, it is not to be doubted that it would range itself on my side.

"Citizens, people magnify our dangers: they represent the foreign armies united with the rebels of the interior; but what can their efforts accomplish against millions of intrepid *sans-culottes*? And if you adopt this proposition that one freeman is worth a hundred slaves, you may easily calculate that your force surpasses that of all the powers put together.

"You have in the laws all that is requisite for exterminating our enemies legally. You have aristocrats in the sections; expel them. You have liberty to save; proclaim the rights of liberty, and exercise all your energy. You have an immense host of *sans-culottes*, very pure, very vigorous; they cannot leave their work; make the rich pay them. You have a National Convention; it is very possible that the members of that Convention are not all alike friends of liberty and equality; but the greater number are determined to support the rights of the people and to save the republic. The gangrened portion of the Convention will not prevent the people from fighting the aristocrats. Do you then conceive that the Mountain of the Convention will not have sufficient strength to curb all the partizans of Dumouriez, of Orleans, and of Coburg? Indeed you cannot think so.

night it contained a considerable number of women. Its first business was to make proprietors easy by swearing to respect property. "Property,"

"If liberty succumbs, it will be less the fault of the representatives than of the sovereign! People! forget not that your destiny is in your hands; it is your duty to save Paris and mankind; if you fail to do it, you are guilty.

"The Mountain needs the people; the people are supported by the Mountain. They strive to alarm you in every way: they want to make us believe that the departments are enemies to the Jacobins. I declare to you that Marseilles is the everlasting friend of the Mountain; that at Lyons the patriots have gained a complete victory.

"I sum up, and demand, 1st, that the sections raise an army sufficient to form the nucleus of a revolutionary army, that shall collect all the *sans-culottes* of the departments to exterminate the rebels; 2d, that an army of *sans-culottes* be raised in Paris to overawe the aristocracy; 3d, that dangerous intriguers, that all the aristocrats be put in a state of arrest; that the *sans-culottes* be paid at the expense of the public exchequer, which shall be supplied by the rich, and that this measure extend to the whole of the republic.

"I demand that forges be erected in all the public places.

"I demand that the commune of Paris keep up with all its power the revolutionary zeal of the people of Paris.

"I demand that the revolutionary tribunal make it a duty to punish those who lately have blasphemed the republic.

"I demand that this tribunal bring without delay to exemplary punishment certain generals, taken in the fact, and who ought already to be tried.

"I demand that the sections of Paris unite themselves with the commune of Paris, and that they counterbalance by their influence the perfidious writings of the journalists in the pay of foreign powers.

"By taking all these measures, without furnishing any pretext for saying that you have violated the laws, you will give an impulse to the departments, which will join you for the purpose of saving liberty."

Sitting of Sunday, May 12, 1793.

"I never could conceive how it was possible that in critical moments there should be so many men to make propositions which compromise the friends of liberty, while nobody supports those which tend to save the republic. Till it is proved to me that it is not necessary to arm the *sans-culottes*, that it is not right to pay them for mounting guard, and for assuring the tranquillity of Paris, till it is proved to me that it is not right to convert our public places into workshops for making arms, I shall believe and I shall say that those who, setting aside these measures, propose to you only partial measures, how violent soever they may be, I shall say that these men know nothing of the means of saving the country; for it is not till after we have tried all those measures which do not compromise society that we ought to have recourse to extreme measures; besides, these measures ought not to be proposed in the bosom of a society which should be wise and politic. It is not a moment of transient agitation that will save the country. We have for enemies the most artful and the most supple men, who have at their disposal all the treasures of the republic.

"The measures which have been proposed have not and cannot have any result; they have served only to feed calumny, they have served only to furnish the journalists with pretexts for representing us in the most hateful colours.

"When we neglect the first means that reason points out, and without which the public welfare cannot be brought about, it is evident that we are not in the right track. I shall say no more of that, but I declare that I protest against all those means which tend only to compromise the society without contributing to the public welfare. That is my confession of faith; the people will always be able to crush the aristocracy; let the society only beware of committing any gross blunder.

"When I see the pains that are taking to make the society enemies to no purpose, to encourage the villains who are striving to destroy it, I am tempted to believe that people are blind or evil-disposed.

"I propose to the society to resolve upon the measures which I have suggested, and I regard as extremely culpable those who do not cause them to be carried into execution. How can such measures be disapproved? How can any one help feeling their necessity, and, if feeling it, hesitate for a moment to support them and enforce their adoption? I shall propose to the society to listen to a discussion of the principles of the constitution that is pre

some one exclaimed, "was respected on the 10th of August and on the 14th of July," and an oath was immediately taken to respect it on the 31st of May, 1793. Dufourny, a member of the commission of six, then said that without a commandant-general of the Parisian guard, it was impossible to answer for any result, and that the commune ought to be desired to appoint one immediately. A woman, the celebrated Lacombe, then spoke; she seconded Dufourny's proposition, and declared that, without prompt and vigorous measures, it would be impossible to save themselves. Commissioners were immediately despatched to the commune, which replied in Pache's manner that the mode for the appointment of a commandant-general was fixed by the decrees of the Convention, and that, as this mode forbade it to appoint that officer itself, all that it could do was to form wishes on the subject. This was in fact advising the club to class this measure among the extraordinary measures of public welfare, which it was to take upon itself. The Assembly then deliberated upon inviting all the cantons of the department to join it, and sent deputies to Versailles. A blind confidence was demanded in the name of the six, and a promise was required to ex-

paring for France; for it must necessarily embrace all the plans of our enemies. If the society can demonstrate the Machiavelism of our enemies, it will not have wasted its time. I demand, therefore, that, setting aside unseasonable propositions, the society permit me to read to it my paper on the constitution."

Sitting of Sunday, May 26, 1793.

"I said to you that the people ought to repose upon their strength, but when the people are oppressed, when they have nothing left but themselves, he would be a coward who would not bid them rise. It is when all the laws are violated, it is when despotism is at its height, it is when good faith and modesty are trampled under foot, that the people ought to rise. That moment is come: our enemies openly oppress the patriots; they want in the name of the law to plunge the people back into misery and slavery. Never will I be the friend of those corrupt men, what treasures soever they offer me. I would rather die with republicans than triumph with villains. (*Applause.*)

"I know but two modes of existing for a nation; either it governs itself, or it commits this task to representatives. We republican deputies desire to establish the government of the people by their representatives, with responsibility; it is by these principles that we square our opinions, but most frequently we cannot obtain a hearing. A rapid signal given by the president deprives us of the right of expressing our sentiments. I consider that the sovereignty of the people is violated when their representatives give to their creatures the places which belong to the people. On these principles, I am deeply grieved. . . ."

The speaker was here interrupted by the announcement of a deputation. (*Tumult.*)

"I shall continue to speak," resumed Robespierre, "not for those who interrupt me, but for the republicans. I expect every citizen to cherish the sentiment of his rights; I expect him to rely upon his strength and upon that of the whole nation; I exhort the people to put themselves in a state of insurrection in the National Convention against all the corrupt deputies. (*Applause.*) I declare that having received from the people the right to defend their rights, I regard as my oppressor any one who interrupts me or prevents me from speaking, and I declare that I singly put myself in a state of insurrection against the president and against all the members who sit in the Convention. (*Applause.*) When a culpable contempt for the *sans-culottes* shall be affected, I declare that I will put myself in a state of insurrection against the corrupt deputies. I exhort all the Mountaineer deputies to rally and to fight the aristocracy, and I say that there is but one alternative for them; either to resist with all their might the efforts of intrigues, or to resign.

"It is requisite at the same time that the French people should know their rights; for the faithful deputies can do nothing without liberty of speech.

"If treason calls the foreign enemy into the bosom of France, if, when our gunners hold in their hands the thunderbolts which are to exterminate the tyrants and their satellites, we see the enemy approach our walls, then I declare that I will myself punish the traitors, and I promise to consider every conspirator as my enemy and to treat him accordingly." (*Applause.*)

cute without examination, whatever they should propose. Silence was enjoined on every point connected with the great question of *means*; and the meeting adjourned till nine the next morning, then to commence a permanent sitting, which was to be decisive.

The commission of twelve was apprized of everything on the very same evening, and so was the committee of public safety, and it learned, moreover, from a placard printed during the day, that secret meetings were held at Charenton, and attended by Danton, Marat, and Robespierre. The committee of public welfare, taking advantage of a moment when Danton was absent from it, ordered the minister of the interior to cause the strictest search to be made for the purpose of discovering this clandestine meeting. Nothing was discovered, and there is every reason to believe that the rumour circulated concerning it was false. It appears to have been in the assembly of the commune that everything was done. Robespierre earnestly wished for a revolution that should be directed against his antagonists, the Girondins, but he had no need to compromise himself in order to produce it; all that he had to do was not to oppose it, as he had done several times during the month of May.

Accordingly, his speech delivered during the day at the Jacobins, in which he said that the commune ought to unite with the people and devise the means which it was not in his power to discover, was a real consent given to the insurrection. That was quite sufficient; and there was ardour enough in the central club to render his interference unnecessary. As for Marat, he assisted it by his paper, and by the scenes got up by him every day in the Convention, but he was not a member of the commission of six, really and truly charged with the business of insurrection. The only man who can be considered as the secret author of that movement is Danton, but he had opposed it; he desired the suppression of the commission of twelve, but still he had no wish that the national representation should be yet meddled with. Meilhan, meeting him one day at the committee of public welfare, accosted and conversed amicably with him, remarked what a difference the Girondins made between him and Robespierre, and how highly they appreciated his great resources, adding that he might play a high part if he would employ his power in behalf of good, and for the support of honest men. Danton, touched by these words, abruptly raised his head, and said to Meilhan: "Your Girondins have no confidence in me." Meilhan would have proceeded in the same strain. "They have no confidence," repeated Danton, and retired without wishing to prolong the conversation.

These words delineate most correctly the disposition of the man. He despised the municipal populace, he had no liking either for Robespierre or for Marat, and he would much rather have put himself at the head of the Girondins, but they had no confidence in him. Different conduct and principles separated them entirely. Danton, moreover, found neither in their character, nor in their opinion, the energy requisite for saving the Revolution, the grand object which he cherished above all things. Danton, indifferent to persons, sought only to discover which of the two parties was likely to insure to the Revolution the most certain and the most rapid progress. Master of the Cordeliers and of the commission of six, it is to be presumed that he had a great hand in the movement which was preparing; and it appears that he meant first to overthrow the commission of twelve, and then to consider what was to be done in regard to the Girondins.

At length, the plan of insurrection was decided in the heads of the conspirators of the central revolutionary club. They meant not, according to their

own expression, to excite a *physical* but only a *purely moral* insurrection, to respect persons and property, in short, to violate, so to speak, in the most orderly manner, the laws and the liberty of the Convention. Their intention was to declare the commune in a state of insurrection, to call out in its name all the armed force which it had a right to require, to surround the Convention with it, and to present to that assembly an address, which should be apparently only a petition, but really and truly an order. They meant, in short, to petition sword in hand.

Accordingly, on Thursday, the 30th, the commissioners of the sections met at the *Évêché*, and formed what they called the *republican union*. Invested with the full powers of all the sections, they declared themselves in insurrection to save the commonwealth, threatened by the aristocratic faction, the faction oppressive of liberty. The mayor, persisting in his usual circumspection, made some remonstrances on the nature of that measure, which he mildly opposed, and finished by obeying the insurgents, who ordered him to go to the commune and acquaint it with what they had just resolved upon. It was then determined that the forty-eight sections should be called together to give their votes that very day upon the insurrection, and that immediately afterwards the tocsin should be rung, the barriers closed, and the *générale* beaten in all the streets. The sections accordingly met, and the whole day was spent in tumultuously collecting the votes for insurrection. The committee of public welfare, and the commission of twelve, sent for the authorities to obtain information. The mayor, with at least apparent regret, communicated the plan resolved upon at the *Évêché*. *L'Huillier*, *procureur syndic* of the department, confessed openly, and with a calm assurance, the plan of a *purely moral* insurrection, and went back quietly to his colleagues.

Thus ended the day, and at nightfall the tocsin rang, the *générale* was beaten in all the streets, the barriers were closed, and the astonished citizens asked one another if fresh massacres were about to drench the capital in blood. All the deputies of the Gironde and the threatened ministers passed the night out of their own homes.* Roland concealed himself at a friend's house; Buzot, Louvet, Barbaroux, Guadet, Bergoing, and Rabaut St. Etienne, intrenched themselves in a sequestered apartment, provided with good weapons, and ready, in case of attack, to defend themselves to the last drop of their blood. At five in the morning, they left their retreat and proceeded to the Convention, where, under favour of the returning daylight, a few members, summoned by the tocsin, had already assembled. Their arms, which were apparent, procured them an unmolested passage through several groups, and they reached the Convention, where there already some Mountaineers were met, and where Danton was conversing with Garat. "See," said Louvet to Guadet, "what a horrible hope beams from those faces!"—"Yes," replied Guadet, "it is to-day that Clodius banishes Cicero." Garat, on his part, surprised to see Danton so early at the Assembly, was attentively watching him. "What is the reason of all this noise, and what do they want?" said Garat. "It is nothing," coolly replied Danton. "They must be allowed to break in pieces a few presses, and be dismissed with that sa-

* "The Girondins at this period felt without doubt, at the bottom of their hearts, a keen remorse, for the means which they had employed to overturn the throne; and when those very means were directed against themselves; when they recognised their own weapons in the wounds which they received, they must have reflected, without doubt, on that rapid justice of revolutions, which concentrates, in a few instants, the events of several ages."—*Madame de Staël*

tisfaction." Twenty-eight deputies were present. Fermont took the arm-chair for the moment; Guadet courageously acted as secretary. The number of the deputies increased, and they awaited the moment for opening the sitting.

At this instant the insurrection was consummated at the commune. The envoys of the central revolutionary committee, with Dobsen, the president, at their head, repaired to the Hôtel-de-Ville, furnished with revolutionary full powers. Dobsen, addressing the general council, declared that the people of Paris, injured in their rights, had just annulled all the constituted authorities. The vice-president of the council begged to see the full powers of the committee. He examined them, and finding the wish of thirty-three sections of Paris expressed therein, he declared that the majority of the sections annulled the constituted authorities. In consequence, the general council of the bureau retired. Dobsen and the commissioners took possession of the vacant place, amidst shouts of *Vive la République!* He then consulted the new Assembly, and proposed to it to reinstate the municipality and the general council in their functions, since neither of them had ever failed in their duties to the people. Accordingly, the old municipality and the old general council were forthwith reinstated, amidst the most vehement applause. The object of these apparent formalities was only to renew the municipal powers, and to render them unlimited and adequate to the insurrection. Immediately afterwards, a new provisional commandant-general was appointed: this was one Henriot, a vulgar man, devoted to the commune, and commandant of the battalion of the sans-culottes. In order to insure the aid of the people, and to keep them under arms in these moments of agitation, it was next resolved that forty sous per day should be paid to all the citizens on duty who were in narrow circumstances, and that these forty sous should be taken from the produce of the forced loan extorted from the rich. This was a sure way of calling out to the aid of the commune, and against the *bourgeoisie* of the sections, all the working-people, who would rather earn forty sous by assisting in revolutionary movements than thirty by pursuing their usual occupations.

During these proceedings at the commune, the citizens of the capital assembled at the sound of the tocsin, and repaired in arms to the colours placed at the door of each captain of a section. A great number knew not what to think of these movements; many even asked why they were called out, being still ignorant of the measures taken overnight in the sections and at the commune. In this predicament they were incapable of acting and resisting what might be done contrary to their opinion, and they were obliged, even though disapproving of the insurrection, to second it with their presence. More than eighty thousand armed men were traversing Paris with the utmost tranquillity, and quietly allowing themselves to be led by the daring authority which had assumed the command. The sections of the Butte-des-Moulins, the Mail, and the Champs Elysées, which had long been decidedly hostile to the commune and the Mountain, were alone ready to resist, because the danger which they shared with the Girondins gave them rather more courage. They had met in arms, and awaited what was to follow in the attitude of men who conceived themselves to be threatened, and were prepared to defend their lives. The Jacobins and the sans-culottes, alarmed at these dispositions, and exaggerating them in their own minds, hastened to the fauxbourg St. Antoine, saying that these revolted sections were going to hoist the white flag and the white cockade, and that it was necessary to repair with all possible expedition to the centre of Paris, in order to prevent an ex-

plosion of the royalists. To produce a more general movement, it was resolved that the alarm-gun should be fired. This gun was placed on the Pont Neuf, and the penalty of death was incurred by any one who should fire it without a decree of the Convention. Henriot gave orders that the gun should be fired; but the commanding officer of the post resisted this order, and demanded a decree. The emissaries of Henriot returned in force, overcame the resistance of the post, and at that moment the pealing of the alarm-gun mingled with the sounds of the tocsin and of the *générale*.

The Convention, meeting early in the morning, as we have seen, had immediately sent to all the authorities to ascertain what was the state of Paris. Garat, who was in the hall, and engaged in watching Danton, first ascended the tribune, and stated what everybody knew, that a meeting had been held at the Evêché, that it demanded reparation for the insults offered to Paris, and the abolition of the commission of twelve. Scarcely had Garat finished speaking, when new commissioners, calling themselves the administration of the department of the Seine, appeared at the bar, and declared that nothing further was intended than a *purely moral* insurrection, having for its object the reparation of the outrages offered to the city of Paris. They added, that the strictest order was observed; that every citizen had sworn to respect persons and property; that the armed sections were quietly traversing the city; and that all the authorities would come in a body in the course of the day to make known to the Convention their profession of faith and their demands.

Mallarmé, the president, immediately afterwards read a note from the commandant of the post at the Pont Neuf, relative to the contest which had taken place on account of the alarm-gun. Dufriche-Valazé instantly demanded that search should be made after the authors of this movement, and the criminals who had sounded the tocsin, and that the commandant-general, who had had the audacity to order the alarm-gun to be fired without a decree of the Convention, should be arrested. At this demand, the tribunes and the left side raised such cries as might naturally be expected. Valazé was not daunted: he declared that nothing should ever make him renounce his character, that he was the representative of twenty-five millions of men, and that he would do his duty to the last; he concluded with moving that the so grossly calumniated commission of twelve should be immediately heard, and that its report should be read, for what was at that moment occurring afforded a proof of the plots which it had never ceased to denounce. Thuriot* attempted to answer Valazé; the struggle commenced and tumult ensued. Mathieu and Cambon endeavoured to act as mediators; they claimed the silence of the tribunes and the moderation of the members of the right; and they represented that a combat at that moment in the capital would prove fatal to the cause of the Revolution; that calmness was the only means of keeping up the dignity of the Convention, and that dignity was the only means that it possessed for commanding the respect of the evil-disposed.

* "Jacques Alexandre Thuriot Larosiere, a barrister in the parliament of Paris, was appointed, in 1791, deputy from the Marne to the legislature; and being afterwards appointed to the Convention, demanded that the King should be tried within three days, and sentenced to lose his head on the scaffold. In the same year he attacked the Girondins, and accused them of having intrigued to uphold the throne. He was afterwards named president, and then member of the committee of public safety. After the overthrow of Robespierre and his party, Thuriot presided in the Jacobin club, and was, some time afterwards, employed by the Directory in the capacity of civil commissioner to the tribunal of Rheims. In 1805 he was made member of the Legion of Honour."—*Biographie Moderne*. F

Vergniaud, inclined, like Mathieu and Cambon, to employ conciliatory means, said that he too considered the conflict about to commence as fatal to liberty and to the Revolution; he therefore confined himself to a mild censure of Thuriot for having aggravated the danger of the commission of twelve, by describing it as the scourge of France at a moment when all the popular movements were directed against it. He was of opinion that it ought to be dissolved if it had committed arbitrary acts, but that it should be heard first: and, as its report must necessarily excite the passions, he moved that the reading of that report and the discussion upon it should be postponed till a calmer day. This he conceived to be the only means of maintaining the dignity of the Assembly and of proving its liberty. For the moment, it was of consequence to ascertain who had ordered the tocsin to be rung and the alarm-gun to be fired in Paris; it was therefore indispensably necessary that the provisional commandant-general should be summoned to the bar. "I repeat to you," exclaimed Vergniaud, as he concluded, "that whatever be the issue of the conflict which may this day take place, it would lead to the loss of liberty. Let us swear then to adhere firmly to our duty and to die at our posts rather than desert the public cause." The members immediately rose with acclamations, and took the oath proposed by Vergniaud. A discussion then ensued on the suggestion for summoning the commandant-general to the bar. Danton, on whom all eyes were fixed at the moment, and whom Girondins and Mountaineers seemed to ask if he were the author of the movements of the day, appeared at the tribune and immediately obtained profound attention. "The very first thing that requires to be done," said he, "is to suppress the commission of twelve. This is of much greater importance than to summon the commandant-general to the bar. It is to men endowed with some political talents that I address myself. Summoning Henriot will make no change in the state of things, for it is not with the instrument but with the cause of the disturbances that we ought to grapple. Now the cause is this commission of twelve. I pretend not to judge its conduct and its acts; it is not as having ordered arbitrary arrests that I attack it, but as being impolitic that I exhort you to suppress it."—"Impolitic!" exclaimed a voice on the right side, "we do not comprehend that!"—"You do not comprehend it," resumed Danton, "then I must explain it to you. This commission was instituted solely to repress the popular energy; it was conceived entirely in that spirit of *moderation* which will be the ruin of the Revolution and of France. It has made a point of persecuting energetic magistrates, whose only crime consisted in awakening the ardour of the people. I shall not now inquire if in its persecutions it has been actuated by personal resentments, but it has shown dispositions which this day we ought to condemn. You have yourselves, on the report of your minister of the interior, whose character is so bland, whose mind is so impartial and so enlightened—you have yourselves, released the men whom the commission of twelve had imprisoned. What would you do then with the commission itself, since you are annulling its acts? . . . The gun has pealed, the people have risen, but the people must be thanked for their energy in behalf of the very cause which we are defending; and if you are *poetic legislators*, you will congratulate yourselves on their ardour, you will reform your own errors, and you will abolish your commission. I address myself," repeated Danton, "to those men only who have some notion of our situation, and not to those stupid creatures who, in these great movements, can listen to nothing but their passions. Hesitate not then to satisfy the people!"—"What people?" asked a member on the right. "That people," replied Danton, "that

immense people, which is our advanced sentry, which bears a bitter hatred to tyranny and to that base *moderatism* which would bring it back. Hasten to satisfy it; save it from the aristocrats, save it from its own fury; and if when it shall be satisfied, perverse men, no matter to what party they belong shall strive to prolong a movement that is become useless, Paris itself will reduce them to their original nothingness.

Rabaut St. Etienne attempted to justify the commission of twelve on political grounds, and to prove that nothing was more politic than to institute a commission to discover the plots of Pitt and Austria, whose money excited all the disturbances in France. "Down!" cried one, "silence, Rabaut!"—"No," exclaimed Bazire, "let him go on. He is a liar; I will prove that his commission has organized civil war in Paris." Rabaut would have continued. Marat asked permission to introduce a deputation of the commune. "Let me finish first," said Rabaut. Cries of "The commune! the commune! the commune!" proceeded from the tribunes and the Mountain. "I will declare," resumed Rabaut, "that when I would have told you the truth, you interrupted me."—"Well, then, finish," said one. Rabaut concluded with proposing that the commission should be suppressed if they pleased, but that the committee of public welfare should be immediately directed to prosecute all the investigations which it had commenced.

The deputation of the insurrectional commune was introduced, and thus expressed itself. "A great plot has been formed, but it is discovered. The people who rose on the 14th of July and on the 10th of August to overthrow tyranny is again rising to stop the counter-revolution. The general council sends us to communicate the measures which it has taken. The first is to place property under the safeguard of the republicans; the second to give forty sous per day to the republicans who shall remain in arms; the third to form a commission for corresponding with the Convention in this moment of agitation. The general council begs you to assign to this commission a room near your hall, where it may meet and communicate with you."

Scarcely had the deputation ceased speaking when Guadet presented himself to reply to its demands. Among all the Girondins he was not the man whose appearance was most likely to soothe the passions. "The commune," said he, "in pretending that it has discovered a plot, has made a mistake of a single word; it should have said that it has *executed* it." Cries from the tribunes interrupted him. Vergniaud insisted that they should be cleared. A tremendous uproar ensued, and for a long time nothing was to be heard but confused shouts. To no purpose Mallarmé, the president, repeatedly declared that if respect were not paid to the Convention, he must use the authority which the law had conferred on him. Guadet still occupied the tribune, and with difficulty contrived to make himself heard, by delivering now one sentence and then another, during the intervals of this violent commotion. At length, he proposed that the Convention should suspend its deliberations, until its liberty was assured; and that the commission of twelve should be directed to prosecute forthwith those who had rung the tocsin and fired the alarm-gun. Such a proposition was not likely to appease the tumult. Vergniaud would have again mounted the tribune, to endeavour to restore some degree of tranquillity, when a fresh deputation of the municipality came to repeat the demands already made. The Convention, urged afresh, could no longer resist, and decreed that the working-men whose services were required for the security of public order and property should be paid forty sous per day, and that a room should be assigned to the com-

missioners of the authorities of Paris, for the purpose of concerting with the committee of public safety.

After this decree was passed, Couthon* replied to Guadet, and the day, already far advanced, was spent in discussions without result. The whole population of Paris under arms continued to traverse the city in the most orderly manner, and in the same state of uncertainty. The commune was busy in drawing up new addresses relative to the commission of twelve, and the Assembly still continued to be agitated for or against that commission. Vergniaud, who had left the hall for a short time, and had witnessed the singular spectacle of a whole population not knowing what party to espouse, and blindly obeying the first authority that chose to make a tool of it, thought that it would be right to profit by these dispositions, and he made a motion which had for its object to distinguish the agitators from the people of Paris, and to win the attachment of the latter by a token of confidence. "Far be it from me," said he to the Assembly, "to accuse either the majority or the minority of the inhabitants of Paris. This day will serve to show how dearly Paris loves liberty. It is sufficient to walk through the streets, to see the order that prevails there, the numerous patroles passing to and fro; it is sufficient to witness this beautiful sight to induce you to decree that Paris has deserved well of the country!" At these words the whole Assembly rose, and voted by acclamation that Paris had deserved well of the country. The Mountain and the tribunes applauded, surprised that such a motion should have proceeded from the lips of Vergniaud. It was certainly a very shrewd motion; but it was not a flattering testimony that could awaken the zeal of the sections, rally those which disapproved of the conduct of the commune, and give them the courage and unity necessary for resisting insurrection.

At this moment the section of the fauxbourg St. Antoine, excited by the emissaries who had come to inform it that the Butte-des-Moulins had hoisted the white cockade, descended towards the interior of Paris with its cannon, and halted a few paces from the Palais Royal, where the section of the Butte-des-Moulins was intrenched. The latter was drawn up in order of battle in

* "J. Couthon, surnamed Cato during the Reign of Terror, was born at Orsay in 1756, and was an advocate at Clermont. He was deputed to the legislature and the Convention. Before this period he enjoyed in his own country a reputation for gentleness and integrity; yet he embraced the revolutionary principles with astonishing eagerness, and, during the sitting of the Convention, showed himself the most ardent partisan of sanguinary measures. Prudhomme says, that it was in his chamber at Paris that the Duke of Orleans, Danton, Marat, Petion, Robespierre, and others, assembled to arrange the insurrection of the 10th of August, 1792. In the following year Couthon voted for the King's death, and eagerly opposed delay. He soon afterwards attacked the Girondins, and became the favourite tool of Robespierre. Being sent to Lyons, he presided at the execution of the rebel chiefs, and began to put in force the decree which ordered the demolition of that city. Being afterwards implicated with the party of Robespierre, the armed force came to seize him; when he perceived they were going to lay hold of him, he struck himself slightly with a dagger, and feigned himself dead. In the year 1794 he was executed, and suffered horribly before he died; his singular conformation, and the dreadful contraction of his limbs at that time, so incommoded the executioner while fastening him on the plank of the guillotine, that he was obliged to lay him on his side to give the fatal blow; his torture lasted longer than that of fourteen other sufferers."—*Biographie Moderne*. E.

"Couthon was a decrepit being, whose lower extremities were paralyzed—whose benevolence of feeling seemed to pour itself out in the most gentle expressions uttered in the most melodious tones—whose sensibility led him constantly to foster a favourite spaniel in his bosom that he might have something on which to bestow kindness and caresses—but who was at heart as fierce as Danton, and as pitiless as Robespierre."—*Scott's Life of Napoleon*.

the garden, had locked all the gates, and was ready with its artillery to sustain a siege if it were attacked. Outside, people still continued to circulate a report that it had hoisted the white cockade and flag, and excited the section of the fauxbourg St. Antoine to attack it. Some officers of the latter, however, represented that, before proceeding to extremities, it would be well to satisfy themselves of the truth of the alleged facts, and to endeavour to adjust matters. They went up to the gate, and asked to speak to the officers of the Butte-des-Moulins. They were admitted, and found nothing but the national colours. An explanation ensued, and they embraced one another. The officers returned to their battalions, and, presently afterwards, the two sections, intermingled, were passing together through the streets of Paris.

Thus the submission became more and more general, and the new commune was left to follow up its altercations with the Convention. At this moment, Barrère, ever ready to suggest middle courses, proposed, in the name of the committee of public welfare, to abolish the commission of twelve, but at the same time to place the armed force at the disposal of the Convention. While he was detailing his plan, a third deputation came to express its final intentions to the Assembly, in the name of the department, of the commune, and of the commissioners of the sections, who were then holding an extraordinary meeting at the Evêché.

L'Huillier, *procureur syndic* of the department, was the spokesman. "Legislators!" said he, "the city and the department of Paris have long been calumniated in the eyes of the world. The same men who wanted to ruin Paris in the public opinion are the instigators of the massacres in La Vendée; it is they who flatter and keep up the hopes of our enemies; it is they who revile the constituted authorities, who strive to mislead the people; that they may have a right to complain of them; it is they who denounce to you imaginary plots that they may create real ones; it is they who have demanded the committee of twelve in order to oppress the liberty of the people; finally, it is they who, by a criminal ferment, by contrived addresses, by their correspondence, keep up dissensions and animosities in your bosom, and deprive the country of the most important of benefits, of a good constitution, which it has bought by so many sacrifices."

After this vehement apostrophe, L'Huillier denounced plans of federalism, declared that the city of Paris would perish for the maintenance of the republican unity, and called for justice upon the well known words of Isnard, *Paris will be erased from the list of cities.*

"Legislators!" he exclaimed, "is it possible that an idea of destroying Paris can have been conceived? Would you sweep away this sacred seat of the arts and of human knowledge?" After these affected lamentations, he demanded vengeance against Isnard, against the twelve, and against *many other culprits*, such as Brissot, Guadet, Vergniaud, Gensonné, Buzot, Barbaroux, Roland, Lebrun, Clavières, &c.

The right side continued silent. The left side and the tribunes applauded. Gregoire, the president, in reply to L'Huillier, pronounced an emphatic panegyric on Paris, and invited the deputation to the honours of the sitting. The petitioners who composed it were mingled with a crowd of the populace. Too numerous to find room at the bar, they seated themselves beside the Mountain, which received them cordially, and opened its ranks to admit them. An unknown multitude then poured into the hall and mingled with the Assembly. The tribunes rang with applause at this spectacle of fraternal

nity between the representatives and the rabble. Osselin immediately moved that the petition should be printed, and that they should deliberate upon its contents drawn up *en projet* by Barrère. "President," exclaimed Vergniaud, "consult the Assmby as to whether it chooses to deliberate in its present state." "Vote on Barrère's *projet*!" was the cry on the left. "We protest against all deliberation," cried the right. "The Convention is not free," said Doulcet. "Well," said Levasseur, "let the members of the left side move to the right, and then the Convention will be distinct from the petitioners, and will be able to deliberate." At this suggestion, the Mountain readily moved to the right side. For a moment the two sides were intermingled, and the benches of the Mountain were entirely relinquished to the petitioners. The printing of the address was put to the vote and decreed. The cry of "Vote on Barrère's *projet*!" was then repeated. "We are not free," replied several members of the Assembly. "I move," said Vergniaud, "that the Convention go and join the armed force which surrounds it, seek protection from the violence that it is suffering." As he finished these words, he retired, followed by a great number of his colleagues. The Mountain and the tribunes ironically applauded the departure of the right side; the Plain was alarmed and undecided. "I move," said Chabot immediately, "that the names be called over to mark the absentees who desert their post." At this moment, Vergniaud and those who had followed him returned, with looks of the deepest mortification and dejection, for this proceeding, which might have been grand had it been seconded, became petty and ridiculous, because it was not. Vergniaud wished to speak, but Robespierre would not give up the tribune which he occupied. He kept possession of it, and claimed prompt and energetic measures, in order to satisfy the people; he insisted that the suppression of the commission of twelve should be accompanied with severe measures against its members; he then expatiated at considerable length on the wording of Barrère's *projet*, and opposed the clause which assigned the disposal of the armed force to the Convention. "Conclude, then," said Vergniaud, impatiently. "Yes," replied Robespierre, "I am going to conclude, and against you—against you, who, after the Revolution of the 10th of August, were for bringing to the scaffold those who effected it!—against you, who have never ceased to provoke the destruction of Paris!—against you, who wanted to save the tyrant!—against you, who conspired with Dumouriez! . . . My conclusion is the decree of accusation against all the accomplices of Dumouriez, and against those designated by the petitioners."

After long and loud applause, a decree was drawn up, put to the vote and adopted, amidst a tumult which rendered it almost impossible to ascertain whether it had obtained a sufficient number of votes. Its purport was as follows. The commission of twelve is suppressed; its papers shall be seized and a report made upon them in three days; the armed force is in permanent requisition; the constituted authorities shall give an account to the Convention of the means taken to insure the public tranquillity; proceedings shall be instituted against plots denounced; and a proclamation shall be issued to give France a just idea of this day, which the evil-disposed will undoubtedly strive to misrepresent.

It was ten at night, and the Jacobins and the commune complained that the day was gone without producing any result. The passing of this decree, though it yet decided nothing relative to the persons of the Girondins, was a first success which caused great rejoicing, and at which the oppressed

Convention was obliged to rejoice too.* The commune immediately caused the whole city to be illuminated; a civic procession with flambeaux was formed; the sections marched intermingled, that of the fauxbourg St. Antoine with those of the Butte-des-Moulins and the Mail. Deputies of the Mountain and the president were obliged to attend this procession, and the conquerors forced the vanquished themselves to celebrate their victory.

The character of the day was sufficiently evident. The insurgents had wished to do everything according to established forms. They meant not to dissolve the Convention, but to obtain from it what they required, by keeping up the appearance of respect for it. The feeble members of the Plain willingly gave way to this delusion, which tended to persuade them that they were still free, even while obeying. The commission of twelve had been actually abolished and the investigation of its conduct had been deferred for three days, in order to avoid the appearance of yielding. The disposal of the armed force had not been assigned to the Convention, but it had been decided that an account of the dispositions made should be rendered to it, in order that it might still seem to retain the air of sovereignty. Lastly, a proclamation was ordered for the purpose of repeating officially that the Convention was not afraid, and that it was perfectly free.

On the following day, Barrère was directed to draw up the proclamation, and he travestied the occurrences of the 31st of May with that rare skill which always caused his assistance to be sought, in order to furnish the weak with an honourable pretext for yielding to the strong. Too rigorous measures had, he said, excited discontent; the people had risen with energy, but with calmness; they had appeared all day under arms, had proclaimed respect for property, had respected the liberty of the Convention and the life of each of its members, and they had demanded justice which had been cheerfully rendered them. It was thus that Barrère expressed himself concerning the abolition of the commission of twelve, of which he was himself the author.

On the 1st of June, tranquillity was far from being restored; the meeting at the Evêché continued; the department and the commune, still extraordinarily convoked, were sitting; the tumult had not ceased in the sections, and in all quarters people said that they had obtained only half what they wanted, since the twenty-two deputies still retained their seats in the Convention. Paris was in commotion, and it was expected that new scenes would mark the morrow, Sunday, the 2d of June.

The whole force *de facto* was in the insurrectional assembly of the Evêché, and the legal force in the committee of public welfare, invested with all the extraordinary powers of the Convention. A room had been assigned, on the 31st, where the constituted authorities might meet for the purpose of corresponding with the committee of public welfare. In the course of the day of the 1st of June, the committee of public welfare repeatedly summoned the members of the insurrectional assembly to inquire what more the revolted commune wanted. What it wanted was but too evident, and that was either the expulsion or the arrest of the deputies who had so courageously resisted it. All the members of the committee of public welfare were deeply affected at this design. Delmas, Treillard, Breard, were sincerely grieved. Cambon, a staunch partisan, as he always declared, of the

* "The conspirators were not satisfied with this half triumph. The insurrection became, instead of a moral one, as they styled it, personal—that is to say, it was no longer directed against a power, but against deputies: it escaped Danton and the Mountain, and it fell to Robespierre, Marat, and the commune."—*Mignet*. E.

revolutionary power, but strongly attached to legality, was indignant at the audacity of the commune, and said to Bonchotte, the successor of Beurnonville, and who, like Pache, was very complacent to the Jacobins, "Minister at war, we are not blind; I see clearly that clerks in your office are among the leaders and instigators of all this." Barrère, notwithstanding his accustoming delicacy, began to be indignant, and to say so. "We must see," he observed, on that melancholy day, "whether it is the commune of Paris that represents the French republic, or whether it is the Convention." Lacroix, the Jacobin, Danton's friend and lieutenant, appeared embarrassed in the presence of his colleagues by the attack which was preparing upon the laws and the national representation. Danton, who had gone no further than to approve and earnestly desire the abolition of the commission of twelve, because he was adverse to everything that impeded the popular energy;—would have wished the national representation to be respected, but he foresaw, on the part of the Girondins, fresh explosions and fresh resistance to the march of the revolution; and he would have desired some medium of removing without proscribing them. Garat offered it to him, and he gladly caught at it. All the ministers were present at the committee. Garat was there with his colleagues. Deeply afflicted at the situation in which the leaders of the Revolution stood in regard to one another, he conceived a generous idea, which ought to have had the effect of restoring harmony. "Recollect," said he, to the members of the committee, and to Danton in particular, "the quarrels of Themistocles and Aristides, the obstinacy of the one in refusing what was proposed by the other, and the dangers in which they involved their country. Recollect the generosity of Aristides, who, deeply impressed with the calamities which both of them brought upon their country, had the magnanimity to exclaim, 'O Athenians! ye will never be quiet and happy until ye have thrown Themistocles and me into the Barathrum.' Well," continued Garat, "let the leaders of both sides of the Assembly repeat the words of Aristides, and spontaneously exile themselves in equal number from the Assembly. From that day dissensions will cease; there will be left in the Assembly sufficient talents to save the commonwealth; and the country will bless in their magnificent ostracism the men who shall have extinguished themselves to give it peace."

All the members of the committee were moved with this generous idea. Delmas, Barrère, and the ardent Cambon, were delighted with the project. Danton, who in this case would have been the first sacrifice, rose, and, with tears in his eyes, said to Garat, "You are right; I will go to the Convention, submit to it this idea, and offer myself to be the first to go as an hostage to Bordeaux." They parted full of this noble project, in order to communicate it to the leaders of the two parties. They addressed themselves in particular to Robespierre, to whom such self-denial could not be palatable, and who replied that this was but a snare laid for the Mountain, with a view to remove its most courageous defenders. Of course there was left but one part of this plan that could be carried into execution, namely, the voluntary exile of the Girondins, that of the Mountaineers being refused. It was Barrère who was deputed, in the name of the committee of public welfare, to propose to the one a sacrifice, to which the others had not the generosity to submit. Barrère, therefore, drew up a paper proposing to the twenty-two, and to the members of the commission of twelve, the voluntary abdication of their functions.

At this moment, the assembly at the Evêché was arranging the definitive plan of the second insurrection. Complaints were made there and at the Jacobins, that the energy of Danton had relaxed, since the abolition of the

commission of twelve. Marat proposed to go and require of the Convention a decree of accusation against the twenty-two, and he proposed to require it by force. A short and energetic petition was drawn up to this effect. The plan of the insurrection was settled, not in the Assembly, but in the committee of execution, charged with what were called the *means of public welfare*, and composed of the Varlets, the Dobsens, the Gusmans, and all those men who had been incessantly engaged in agitation ever since the 21st of January. This committee agreed to surround the Convention with the armed force, and to prevent its members from leaving the hall, till it had passed the decree required of it. To this end, the battalions destined for La Vendée, and which had been detained upon various pretexts in the barracks of Courbevoie, were to be recalled to Paris. The committee conceived that it could obtain from these battalions and some others which it had besides, what it might perhaps not have obtained from the guard of the sections. By taking care to surround the National Palace with these devoted men, and keeping, as on the 31st of May, the rest of the armed force in docility and ignorance, it expected easily to put an end to the resistance of the Convention. Henriot was again directed to take the command of the troops about the National Palace.

Such was what the committee had promised itself for Sunday the 2d of June; but, on the evening of Saturday, it resolved to try the effect of fresh requisitions, to see whether it might not obtain something by a last step. Accordingly, on that evening orders were given to beat the *générale* and to sound the tocsin, and the committee of public welfare lost no time in calling upon the Convention to meet amidst this new tempest.

At this moment the Girondins, assembled for the last time, were dining together to consult what course to pursue. It was evident to their eyes that the present insurrection could not have for its object either the *breaking of presses*, as Danton had said, or the suppression of a commission, and that it was a final blow aimed at their persons. Some advised that they should remain firm at their post and die in the curule chair, defending to the last the character with which they were clothed. Petion, Buzot, and Gensonné, inclined to this grave and magnanimous resolution. Barbaroux, without calculating the results, following only the inspirations of his heroic soul, was for going and braving his enemies by his presence and his courage. Lastly, others, and Louvet was the warmest in supporting this opinion, were for immediately abandoning the Convention, where they could render no further service, where the Plain had not courage enough to give their votes, and where the Mountain and the tribunes were determined to drown their voices by yells. They proposed to retire to their respective departments, to foment insurrection which had all but broken out there, and to return in force to Paris, to avenge the laws and the national representation. Each maintained his opinion and they knew not which to adopt. The sound of the tocsin and the *générale* obliged the unfortunate party to leave the table, and to seek an asylum before they had come to any resolution. They first repaired to the abode of one of them, Meilhan, who was least compromised and not included in the famous list of the twenty-two, who had before received them, and who had very spacious lodgings, where they could meet in arms. Thither they repaired in haste, excepting some who had other means of concealing themselves.

The Convention had assembled at the sound of the tocsin. Very few members were present, and all those of the right side were not there. Lanjuinais alone, resolved to brave every danger, had gone thither to denounce

the plot, the revelation of which gave no new information to any one. After a very stormy but very brief sitting, the Convention answered the petitioners that, in consequence of the decree which enjoined the committee of public welfare to make a report to it on the twenty-two, it could take no further measure on the new demand of the commune. It broke up in disorder, and the conspirators deferred till the next morning the definitive execution of their design.

The *générale* and the tocsin kept pealing the whole night between Saturday and Sunday the 2d of June, 1793. The alarm-gun was fired, and at daybreak all the population of Paris was in arms. Nearly eighty thousand men were drawn up around the Convention, but more than sixty-five thousand took no part in the event, and merely attended with muskets on their shoulders. Some trusty battalions of gunners were ranged, under the command of Henriot,* around the National Palace. They had one hundred and sixty-three pieces of cannon, caissons, furnaces for heating balls, lighted matches, and all the military apparatus capable of awing the imagination. It was contrived that the battalions, whose departure for La Vendée had been delayed, should enter Paris early in the morning; they had been irritated by being persuaded that there existed plots, that they had been discovered, that the leaders were in the Convention, and that they must be torn from its bosom. These battalions, thus tutored, had marched from the Champs Elysées to the Madeleine, from the Madeleine to the boulevard, and from the boulevard to the Carrousel, ready to execute whatever the conspirators should command.

Thus the Assembly, surrounded by no more than a few thousand enthusiasts, appeared to be besieged by eighty thousand men. Without being really besieged, however, it was not the less involved in all the dangers of a siege; for the few thousands immediately about it were ready to commit any act of violence against it.

The deputies of every side had repaired to the sitting. The Mountain, the Plain, the right side, occupied their benches. The proscribed deputies, most of whom were at Meilhan's, where they had passed the night, were desirous also of repairing to their post. Buzot struggled hard to get away from those who held him, that he might go and expire in the bosom of the Convention. Barbaroux alone, having succeeded in escaping, had gone to the Convention to display on that day great moral courage. The others were prevailed upon to remain together in their retreat, and there to await the issue of that terrible sitting.

The sitting commenced, and Lanjuinais, bent on making the utmost efforts to enforce respect for the national representation,—Lanjuinais, whom neither the tribunes, nor the Mountain, nor the imminence of the danger, could daunt—was the first to demand permission to speak. At this demand the most violent murmurs were raised. "I come," said he, "to submit to you the means of quelling the new commotions with which you are threatened!" There were shouts of "down! down! he wants to produce a civil war."—"So long," resumed Lanjuinais, "as it is allowed to raise one's voice here, I will not let the character of representative of the people be degraded in my person! Thus far you have done nothing, you have suffered everything, you have sanctioned all that was required of you. An insurrectional assembly meets, it appoints a committee charged to prepare revolt, a provisional

* "Henriot, commander-general of the armed force of Paris, was a fierce, ignorant man, entirely devoted to the Jacobin interest."—*Scott's Life of Napoleon*. E.

commandant charged to head the revolvers: and all this you suffer—this assembly, this committee, this commandant!” Tremendous cries every moment interrupted the speech of Lanjuinais: at length, so strong became the rage which he excited, that several deputies of the Mountain, Drouet,* Robespierre the younger, Julien,† and Legendre, ran to the tribune, and attempted to drag him from it. Lanjuinais resisted, and clung to it with tenacity. All parts of the Assembly were agitated, and the howls of the tribunes contributed to render this the most frightful scene that had yet been exhibited. The president put on his hat, and succeeded in gaining a hearing. “The scene which has just taken place,” said he, “is most afflicting. Liberty will perish, if you continue to behave thus. I call you to order, you who have made such an attack on the tribune!” Some degree of order was restored, and Lanjuinais, who was not afraid of chimerical propositions when they evinced courage, moved that the revolutionary authorities of Paris should be dissolved—or, in other words, that those who were disarmed should control those in arms. Scarcely had he concluded, when the petitioners of the commune again made their appearance. Their language was more laconic and more resolute than ever. “The citizens of Paris have been under arms for these four days. For four days past they have been claiming of their representatives their rights, unworthily violated; and for four days past their representatives have been laughing at their calmness and their inaction. . . . It is necessary to put the conspirators in a state of provisional arrest; it is necessary to save the people forthwith, or the people will save themselves!” No sooner had the petitioners ceased speaking, than Billaud-Varennes, and Tallien, demanded a report on the petition, before any other business was taken up. Others, in great number, called for the order of the day. At length, the Assembly, roused by the danger, rose amidst tumult, and voted the order of the day, on the ground that the committee of public safety had been ordered to present a report in three days. On this decision the petitioners withdrew, shouting, making threatening gestures and evidently carrying concealed arms. All the men who were in the tribunes retired, as if for the purpose of executing some plan, and the women alone were left. A great noise without was heard, together

* “Jean Baptiste Drouet, postmaster at St. Menehould, was born in 1763. It was he who recognized the King in his flight, and caused him to be arrested at Varennes. In 1792 he was chosen member of the Convention and voted for the death of Louis. In the autumn of the following year he was sent to the army of the North, was taken prisoner, and carried to Moravia; where, having attempted to escape by springing from a window, he broke his leg, and was retaken. In 1795 he obtained his liberty, and entered the council of Five Hundred. Dissatisfied with the moderate system which then prevailed in France, he became with Habœuf, one of the leaders of the Jacobin conspiracy, on which account he was arrested, but made his escape into Switzerland. He was finally acquitted, and returned to France. In 1799 he was sub-prefect at St. Menehould. During the “Hundred Days” he was a member of the chamber of deputies, but, in 1816, was banished from France as a regicide.”—*Encyclopædia Americana*. E.

† “Julien of La Drome, a rank Jacobin, was commissioner of the committee of public safety during the Reign of Terror. After the establishment of the Directory, he edited a journal entitled the ‘Plebeian Orator,’ the expenses of which were defrayed by government. He accompanied the expedition to Egypt as war commissioner; and, in the year 1806, was sub-inspector of the revenues.”—*Biographie Moderne*. E.

“Julien, when only eighteen years of age, was sent from Paris on a mission to Bordeaux, to prevent an insurrection against the Mountain, and to inquire into the conduct of Ysabeau and Tallien. Here he made himself notorious by his cruelties, and was even heard to exclaim one day in the popular society, that if milk was the food of old men, blood was that of the children of liberty, who rested on a bed of corpses.”—*Prudhomme*. E.

with repeated cries of "*To arms! to arms!*" At this moment several deputies represented to the Assembly that the determination which it had taken was imprudent, that an end ought to be put to a dangerous crisis by granting what was demanded, and ordering the provisional arrest of the twenty-two accused deputies. "We will all, all of us go to prison," exclaimed Lareveillière-Lepeaux.* Cambon then informed the Assembly that in half-an-hour the committee of public safety would make its report. The report had been ordered in three days, but the danger becoming more and more pressing, had induced the committee to use despatch. Barrère accordingly appeared at the tribune, and proposed Garat's idea, which had the evening before moved all the members of the committee, which Danton had warmly embraced, which Robespierre had rejected, and which consisted in the voluntary and reciprocal exile of the leaders of the two parties. Barrère, as he could not propose it to the Mountaineers, proposed it to the twenty-two. "The committee," said he, "has not had time to investigate any fact, to hear any witness; but, considering the political and moral state of the Convention, it conceives that the voluntary secession of the deputies in question would be productive of the happiest effect, and save the republic from a disastrous crisis, the issue of which it was frightful to anticipate."

No sooner had he finished speaking, than Isnard mounted the tribune. He said that, since an individual was to be put in the balance against the country, he should no longer hesitate, and that he was ready to give up, not only his functions, but his life, if necessary. Lanthenas followed the example of Isnard, and resigned his functions. Fauchet offered his resignation and his life to the republic. Lanjuinais, who was not convinced of the propriety of yielding, appeared at the tribune. "I conceive," said he, "that, up to this moment, I have shown resolution enough for you not to expect of me either suspension or resignation." At these words, cries burst from the Assembly. He cast a look of assurance at those who interrupted him. "The sacrificer of old," said he, "when he dragged a victim to the altar, covered it with flowers and chaplets, and did not insult it. The sacrifice of our powers is required; but the sacrifice ought to be free, and we are not free. We cannot leave this place either by the doors or the windows; the guns are pointed; we dare not utter our sentiments: I shall say no more." Barbaroux followed Lanjuinais, and with equal courage refused the resignation required of him. "If," said he, "the Convention enjoins my resignation, I will submit; but how can I resign my powers when a great number of the departments write to me, and assure me that I have used them well, and exhort me to continue to use them? I have sworn to die at my post, and I will

* "Lareveillière-Lepeaux, born in 1753, studied at Angers, and afterwards went to Paris, intending to become an advocate there. Instead of this, however, he returned to his native place, devoted himself to botany, and became professor of that science at Angers, where he established a botanic garden. Being deputed to the States-general, he excited attention by the hatred he showed to the higher orders. On being appointed a member of the Convention, he voted for the King's death. Though attached to the Gironde, he managed to escape the proscription of that party, and lay concealed during the whole Reign of Terror. He afterwards became one of the council of the Ancients, and then of the Directory. He was unwearied in labour, but his want of decision always excluded him from any influence in important affairs, and he made himself ridiculous by his whim of becoming the chief of the sect of the Theophilanthropists. In 1799 he was driven from the Directory, and returned again to his favourite books and plants."—*Biographie Moderne*. E.

"It was well known that the fear of being hanged was Lareveillière-Lepeaux's ruling sentiment."—*Lacarrière*. E.

keep my oath." Dussaulx* offered his resignation. "What!" exclaimed Marat, "ought we to allow culprits the honour of devoting themselves. A man must be pure to offer sacrifices to his country; it is for me, a real martyr, to devote myself: I offer, then, my suspension from the moment that you shall have ordered the arrest of the accused deputies. "But," added Marat, "the list is faulty; instead of that old gossip, Dussaulx, that weak-minded Lanthenas, and Ducos,—guilty only of some erroneous opinions, Fermont and Valazé, who deserve to be there, but are not, ought to be placed in it:"

At this moment a great noise was heard at the doors of the hall. Lacroix entered in violent agitation, loudly complaining that the assembly was not free; that he attempted to leave the hall, but had been prevented: Though a Mountaineer and a partisan of the arrest of the twenty-two, Lacroix was indignant at the conduct of the commune, which had caused the deputies to be shut up in the National Palace.

After the refusal to take any proceedings upon the petition of the commune, the sentries at all the doors had been ordered not to suffer a single deputy to depart. Several had in vain attempted to slip away. Gorsas alone had contrived to escape, and hastened to warn the Girondins who had remained at Meilhan's to conceal themselves wherever they could, and not to go to the Assembly. Boissy d'Anglas,† having gone to one of the doors, was grossly ill-treated, and returned showing his clothes rent in pieces. At this sight the whole assembly was filled with indignation, and even the Mountain was astonished. The authors of this order were sent for, and an illusory decree was passed summoning the commandant of the armed force to the bar.

Barrère then spoke, and expressed himself with a resolution that was not usual with him. He said that the assembly was not free; that it was deliberating under the control of concealed tyrants; that in the insurrectional committee there were men who could not be relied on, suspected foreigners, such as Guzman the Spaniard, and others; that at the door of the hall five-livre assignats were distributing among the battalions destined for La Vendée;

* "J. Dussaulx, born at Chartres in 1728, was the son of a lawyer. He served in the campaign of Hanover, under Marshal Richelieu, and gained the esteem of King Stanislaus. Returning to Paris, he brought out a translation of Juvenal, and in 1776 was made a member of the Academy of Inscriptions. Becoming a member of the Convention, he voted for the King's detention and his banishment on a peace. In 1796 he was appointed president of the council of Ancients. He died in 1799 after a long and afflicting illness. He was the author of several works of which the best is his translation of Juvenal's satires."—*Biographie Moderne*. E.

† "Boissy d'Anglas, barrister in the parliament, maitre d'hotel to Monsieur, was in 1789 deputed to the States-general. In 1792 he was elected to the Convention, and voted for the King's detention, till banishment should be thought proper. Having survived the Reign of Terror, he was chosen secretary to the tribune, and particularly intrusted with the care of watching that Paris was properly supplied with provisions. In 1795, at the moment when he was beginning a report on this subject, he was interrupted by a mob of both sexes, who, having broken through the guard, were crying out, 'Bread, bread, and the constitution of 1793.' This tumult having been quelled, a fresh one broke out a few days after, when Boissy d'Anglas, who was seated in the president's chair, was several times aimed at by twenty guns at once. One of the rioters placed himself right before him, carrying at the end of a pike the head of the deputy Ferraud, when Boissy showed a coolness which was not without effect upon the mob, and for which next day he received the universal applause of the tribune. In 1796 he was appointed president of the council of Five Hundred: and in 1805 became a member of the senate, and commandant of the Legion of Honour."—*Biographie Moderne*. E.

and that it was right to ascertain whether the Convention was yet respected or not. In consequence, he proposed that the whole Assembly should go in a body among the armed force, to satisfy itself that it had nothing to fear and that its authority was still recognised. This proposal already made by Garat on the 25th of May, and renewed by Vergniaud on the 31st, was immediately adopted. Hérault-Séchelles, to whom recourse was had on all difficult occasions, was put at the head of the assembly as president, and the whole right side and the Plain rose to follow him. The Mountain alone kept its place. The last deputies of the right turned back and reproached it for declining to share the common danger. The tribunes, on the contrary, made signs to the Mountaineers not to leave their seats, as if some great danger threatened them outside the hall. The Mountaineers, nevertheless, yielded from a feeling of shame; and the whole Convention, with Hérault-Séchelles at its head, proceeded into the courts of the National Palace, and to the side towards the Carrousel. It arrived opposite to the gunners, at the head of whom was Henriot. The president addressed him, and desired him to open a passage for the Assembly. "You shall not leave this place," said Henriot, "till you have delivered up the twenty-two."—"Seize this rebel!" said the president to the soldiers. Henriot backed his horse, and turned to his gunners. "Grunners, to your pieces!" said he. Some one, immediately grasping Hérault-Séchelles firmly by the arm, drew him another way. The Assembly proceeded to the garden to experience the same treatment. Some groups were shouting "*The nation for ever!*" others "*The Convention for ever!*" "*Marat for ever!*" "*Down with the right side!*" Outside the garden, battalions otherwise disposed than those which surrounded the Carrousel, made signs to the deputies to come and join them. The Convention was advancing for the purpose to the Pont Tournant, but there it found another battalion, which prevented its egress from the garden. At this moment, Marat, surrounded by a few boys crying "*Marat for ever!*" approached the president, and said to him, "I summon the deputies who have quitted their post to return to it."

The Assembly, whose repeated attempts only served to prolong its humiliation, accordingly returned to the hall of its sittings, and each resumed his place. Couthon then ascended the tribune. "You see clearly," said he, with an assurance which confounded the Assembly, "that you are respected. obeyed by the people, and that you can vote on the question which is submitted to you. Lose no time, then, in complying with their wishes." Legendre proposed to exempt from the list of the twenty-two those who had offered their resignation; and from the list of the twelve, Boyer-Fonfrède* and St. Martin, who had opposed the arbitrary arrests; and to put in their stead Lebrun and Clavières. Marat insisted that Lanthénas, Ducos, and Dussaulx should be erased from the list, and Fermont and Valazé added to it. These suggestions were adopted, and the assembly was ready to proceed to vote. The Plain, being intimidated, began to say that, after all, the deputies placed under arrest at their own homes were not so very much to be pitied, and that it was high time to put an end to this frightful scene. The right side demanded a call of the Assembly, to make the members of the belly ashamed of their weakness; but one of them pointed out to his col-

* "Boyer-Fonfrède was born at Bordeaux. Being appointed deputy from the Gironde to the Convention, he vigorously opposed Marat and the Mountain. He escaped the first proscription of the Girondins, but perished on the scaffold in 1793."—*Scott's Life of Napoleon*. E.

leagues an honest way of extricating themselves from this dilemma. He said that he should not vote because he was not free. The others following his example, refused to vote. The Mountain alone, and some other members, then voted that the deputies denounced by the commune should be put under arrest.

Such was the celebrated scene of the 2d of June, better known by the name of the 31st of May. It was a real 10th of August against the national representation; for, the deputies once under arrest at their own homes, there was nothing more to do than to make them mount the scaffold; and that was no difficult task.

Here finishes one principal era of the Revolution, which served as a preparation to the most terrible and the most important of all; and of the whole of which it is necessary to take a general survey in order to form a due estimate of it.

On the 10th of August, the Revolution, no longer able to repress its distrust, attacked the palace of the monarch to deliver itself from apprehensions which had become insupportable. The first movement was to suspend Louis XVI., and to defer his fate till the approaching meeting of the National Convention. The monarch being suspended, and the power remaining in the hands of the different popular authorities, the question then arose, how this power was to be employed. The dissensions which had already begun to manifest themselves between the partisans of moderation and those of inexorable energy, then broke forth without reserve. The commune, composed of all the energetic men, attacked the legislature, and insulted it by threatening to sound the tocsin. At this moment, the coalition instigated by the 10th of August, hastened to advance. The increasing danger provoked a still greater degree of violence, caused moderation to be decried, and impelled the passions to their greatest excesses. Longwy and Verdun fell into the hands of the enemy. On the approach of Brunswick, the advocates of energetic measures anticipated the cruelties which he had threatened in his manifestoes, and struck terror into his hidden partisans by the horrible days of December. Presently, France, saved by the admirable coolness of Dumouriez, had time to agitate once more the grand question of a moderate or a merciless use of power. September became a grievous subject of reproach. The moderates were indignant, the violent wished them to be silent concerning evils which they declared to be inevitable and irreparable. Cruel personalities added individual animosities to animosities of opinion. Discord was excited to the highest degree. Then came the moment for deciding upon the fate of Louis XVI. An experiment of the two systems was made upon his person: that of moderation was vanquished, that of violence proved victorious; and, in sacrificing the King, the Revolution broke definitively with royalty and with all thrones.

The coalition, instigated by the 21st of January, as it had been by the 10th of August, began to bestir itself again, and caused us to sustain reverses. Dumouriez stopped in his progress by contrary circumstances and by the derangement of all the administrations, was exasperated against the Jacobins, to whom he attributed all his reverses: throwing off his political indifference, he suddenly declared himself in favour of moderation, compromised it by employing his sword and foreigners in its behalf, and was at length wrecked upon the Revolution, after placing the republic in the greatest danger. At this moment, La Vendée rose. The departments, hitherto moderate, became threatening. Never had the Revolution been in greater danger. Reverses, treasons, furnished the Jacobins with a pretext for calumniating the

moderate republicans, and a motive for demanding a judicial and executive dictatorship. They proposed the experiment of a revolutionary tribunal and of a committee of public safety. Warm disputes on this subject ensued. On these questions, the two parties proceeded to the utmost extremities. They could no longer exist together. On the 10th of March the Jacobins aimed a blow at the leaders of the Girondins, but their attempt being premature failed. They then prepared themselves better. They provoked petitions, they excited the sections, and urged them into illegal insurrection. The Girondins resisted by instituting a commission authorized to investigate the plots of their adversaries; this commission acted against the Jacobins, roused their vengeance, and was swept away in a storm. Replaced on the following day, it was again swept away by the tremendous tempest of the 31st of May. Finally, on the 2d of June, its members and the deputies whom it was to defend, were torn from the bosom of the national representation, and, like Louis XVI., reserved for a period until the violence should be sufficient to send them to the scaffold.

Such then is the space that we have traversed between the 10th of August and the 31st of May. It is a long conflict between the two systems on the employment of means. The continually increasing danger imparted continually increasing virulence and rancour to the quarrel: and the generous deputation of the Gironde, exhausted by its efforts to avenge September, to prevent the 21st of January, the revolutionary tribunal, and the committee of public welfare, expired when the still greater danger had rendered violence more urgent, and moderation less admissible. Now, all legality being overcome, all remonstrance stifled with the suspension of the Girondins, and the danger having become more alarming than ever, by means of the very insurrection that attempts to avenge the Gironde, violence breaks forth without obstacle or measure, and the terrible dictatorship, composed of the revolutionary tribunal and the committee of public safety is completed.

Here commence scenes a hundred times more awful and more horrible than any of those which roused the indignation of the Girondins. As for them, their history is finished. All that remains to be added to it, is the account of their heroic death. Their opposition was dangerous, their indignation impolitic: they compromised the Revolution, liberty, and France; they compromised moderation itself, by defending it with acrimony; and in dying they involved in their ruin all that was most generous and most enlightened in France. Yet who would not have acted their part? who would not have committed their faults? Is it possible, in fact, to suffer blood to be spilt without resistance and without indignation?*

* "Thus fell without a blow struck or sword drawn in their defence, that party in the Convention which claimed the praise of acting upon pure republican principles; which had overturned the throne, and led the way to anarchy merely to perfect an ideal theory. They fell, as the wisest of them admitted, dupes to their own system, and to the impracticable idea of ruling a large and corrupt empire by the motives which may sway a small and virtuous community. They might, as they too late discovered, have as well attempted to found the Capitol on a bottomless and quaking marsh, as their pretended republic in a country like France. Their violent revolutionary expedients, the means by which they acted, were turned against them by men, whose ends were worse than their own."—*Scott's Life of Napoleon*. E.

"Thus fell the Gironde, the true representatives of liberty; men of enlightened minds, of patriotic sentiments, and mild and moderate principles; but who necessarily gave place to those men of violence and blood, who, rising out of the perilous and unnatural situation in which the republic was placed, were perhaps alone fitted, by their furious fanaticism and disregard of all ordinary feelings, to carry the Revolution triumphantly through its difficulties

THE NATIONAL CONVENTION.

STATE OF FRANCE AFTER THE THIRTY-FIRST OF MAY—INSURRECTION OF THE DEPARTMENTS—INVASION OF THE FRONTIERS.

THE decree passed on the 2d of June against the twenty-two deputies of the right side and the members of the commission of twelve enacted that they should be confined at their own homes, and closely guarded by gendarmes. Some voluntarily submitted to this decree, and constituted themselves in a state of arrest, to prove their obedience to the law and to provoke a judgment which should demonstrate their innocence. Gensonné and Valazé might easily have withdrawn themselves from the vigilance of their guards, but they firmly refused to seek safety in flight. They remained prisoners with their colleagues, Guadet, Petion, Vergniaud, Biroteau, Gardien, Boileau, Bertrand, Mollevaut, and Gomaire. Some others, conceiving that they owed no obedience to a law extorted by force, and having no hope of justice, quitted Paris or concealed themselves there till they should be able to get away. Their intention was to repair to the departments, and excite them to rise against the capital. Those who took this resolution were Brissot, Gorsas, Salles, Louvet, Cambon, Buzot, Lydon, Rabaut St. Etienne, La-source, Grangeneuve, Lesage, Vigé, Larivière, and Bergoing. An order of arrest was issued by the commune against the two ministers Lebrun and Clavières, dismissed after the 2d of June. Lebrun found means to evade it. The same measure was taken against Roland, who had been removed from office on the 21st of January, and begged in vain to be permitted to render his accounts. He escaped the search made for him by the commune, and concealed himself at Rouen. Madame Roland, against whom also proceedings were instituted, had no other anxiety than that of favouring the escape of her husband; then, committing her daughter to the care of a trusty friend, she surrendered with noble indifference to the committee of her section, and was thrown into prison with a multitude of other victims of the 31st of May.

Great was the joy at the Jacobins. Its members congratulated themselves on the energy of the people, on their late admirable conduct, and on the removal of all those obstacles which the right side had not ceased to oppose to the progress of the Revolution. According to the custom after all great events, they agreed upon the manner in which the last insurrection should be represented. "The people," said Robespierre, "have confounded all their calumniators by their conduct. Eighty thousand men have been under arms for nearly a week, yet no property has been violated, not a drop of blood has been spilled, and they have thus proved whether it was their aim, as it has been alleged, to profit by the disorder for the commission of murder

by opposing remorseless hatred to the persevering efforts of tyranny without, and cruelty and the thirst of vengeance, to treachery and malice within. Virtue was not strong enough for this fiery ordeal, and it was necessary to oppose the vices of anarchy, to the vices of despotism."—*Hazlitt's Life of Napoleon.*

and plunder. Their insurrection was spontaneous, because it was the effect of the general conviction; and the Mountain itself, weak and astonished at this movement, has proved that it did not concur to produce it. Thus this insurrection has been *wholly* moral and *wholly* popular."

This was at once giving a favourable colour to the insurrection, addressing an indirect censure to the Mountain, which had shown some hesitation on the 2d of June, repelling the charge of conspiracy preferred against the leaders of the left side, and agreeably flattering the popular party, which had behaved so well and done everything of itself. After this interpretation, received with acclamation by the Jacobins, and afterwards repeated by all the echoes of the victorious party, no time was lost in calling Marat to account for an expression which excited considerable sensation. Marat, who could never find more than one way of putting an end to the revolutionary hesitations, namely, the dictatorship, on seeing some tergiversation on the 2d of June, had repeated on that day, as he did on every other, *We must have a chief*. Being called upon to explain this expression, he justified it after his usual fashion, and the Jacobins were easily satisfied, conceiving that they had sufficiently proved their scruples and the severity of their republican principles. Some observations were also made on the lukewarmness of Danton, who seemed to be much softened since the suppression of the commission of twelve, and whose resolution, kept up till the 31st of May, had not lasted till the 2d of June. Danton was absent. His friend Camille-Desmoulins defended him warmly, and an end was speedily put to this explanation, out of delicacy for so important a personage, and to avoid too delicate discussions; for, though the insurrection was consummated, it was far from being universally approved of by the victorious party. It was in fact well known that the committee of public welfare, and many of the Mountaineers, had beheld this popular political manœuvre with alarm. The thing being done, it was necessary to profit by it without subjecting it to discussion. It became, therefore, immediately a matter of consideration how to turn the victory to a speedy and profitable account.

To this end there were different measures to be taken. To renew the committees, in which were included all the partisans of the right side, to secure by means of the committees the direction of affairs, to change the ministers, to keep a vigilant eye upon the correspondence, to stop dangerous publications at the post-office, to suffer only such as were ascertained to be useful to be despatched to the provinces, (for, said Robespierre, the liberty of the press ought to be complete, no doubt, but it should not be employed to ruin liberty,) to raise forthwith the revolutionary army, the institution of which was decreed, and the intervention of which was urgent for carrying the decrees of the Convention into execution in the interior, to effect the forced loan of one thousand millions from the rich—such were the means proposed and unanimously adopted by the Jacobins. But a last measure was deemed more necessary than all the others, that was the framing of a republican constitution within a week. It was of importance to prove that the opposition of the Girondins had alone prevented the accomplishment of this great task, to restore confidence to France by good laws, and to present it with a compact of union around which it might rally wholly and entirely. Such was the wish expressed at once by the Jacobins, the Cordeliers, the sections, and the commune.

The Convention, acceding to this irresistible wish repeated in so many forms, renewed all its committees of general safety, of finances, of war, of legislation, &c. The committee of public welfare, which was already over

loaded with business, and not yet sufficiently suspected to permit all its members to be abruptly dismissed, was alone retained. Lebrun was succeeded in the foreign affairs by Deforgues,* and Clavières in the finances by Destournelles. The sketch of a constitution presented by Condorcet, agreeably to the views of the Girondins, was considered as not received; and the committee of public welfare was to present another within a week. Five members were added to it for this duty. Lastly, it received orders to prepare a plan for carrying the forced loan into effect, and another for the organization of the revolutionary army.

The sittings of the Convention had an entirely new aspect after the 31st of May. They were silent, and almost all the decrees were passed without discussion. The right side and a part of the centre did not vote; they seemed to protest by their silence against all the decisions taken since the 2d of June, and to be waiting for news from the departments. Marat had, in his justice, thought fit to suspend himself till his adversaries, the Girondins, should be brought to trial. Meanwhile, he said, he renounced his functions, and was content to enlighten the Convention by his paper. The two deputies, Doucet† and Fonfrède of Bordeaux, alone broke the silence of the Assembly. Doucet denounced the committee of insurrection, which had not ceased to meet at the Evêché, and which, stopping packets at the post-office, broke the seals and sent them open to their address marked with its own stamp, bearing these words: *Revolution of the 31st of May*. The Convention passed to the order of the day. Fonfrède, a member of the commission of twelve, but excepted from the decree of arrest, because he had opposed the measures of that commission, ascended the tribune, and moved the execution of the decree which directed a report concerning the prisoners to be presented within three days. This motion caused some tumult. "It is necessary," said Fonfrède, "to prove as speedily as possible the innocence of our colleagues. I have remained here for no other purpose than to defend them, and I declare to you that an armed force is advancing from Bordeaux to avenge the violence offered to them." Loud cries followed these words. The motion of Fonfrède was set aside by the order of the day, and the Assembly immediately sunk back into profound silence. These, said the Jacobins, were the last croakings of the toads of the fen.

The threat thrown out by Fonfrède from the tribune was not an empty one, for not only the people of Bordeaux, but the inhabitants of almost all of the departments were ready to take up arms against the Convention.

* "Deforgues was at first a member of the municipality which established itself at Paris in 1792; he afterwards made a figure in the committee of public safety of that commune, to which have been attributed the September massacres. By the influence of Hérault-Séchelles, he was made minister for foreign affairs, but, having been suspected of moderatism, he was apprehended in 1794. He recovered his liberty however, in the same year; and in 1799 was sent ambassador to Holland, and recalled after the revolution of the 18th Brumaire. He then became commissioner-general of police at Nantes: and in 1804 was appointed French consul at New Orleans."—*Biographie Moderne*. E.

† "G. Doucet, Marquis de Pontecoulant, son of the major-general of the King's body-guards, in 1792 was appointed deputy to the Convention. In the following year he declared Louis guilty of high treason, voted for his banishment at a peace, and his confinement till that period. Soon afterwards a decree of accusation was passed against him as an accomplice of Brissot, and he was compelled to fly. He owed his safety to Madame Lejay, a bookseller, who kept him concealed in her house, and whom he married in gratitude for this signal service. In 1794 Doucet re-entered the Convention, and in the following year was chosen president. He was afterwards elected into the council of Five Hundred. In the year 1805 he was summoned to take a seat in the Conservative Senate, and was appointed commander of the Legion of Honour."—*Biographie Moderne*. E.

Their discontent had certainly preceded the 2d of June, and had begun with the quarrels between the Mountaineers and the Girondins. It ought to be recollected that, throughout all France, the municipalities and the sections were divided. The partisans of the Mountaineer system occupied the municipalities and the clubs; the moderate republicans, who, amidst the crises of the Revolution, were desirous of preserving the ordinary equity, had, on the contrary, all withdrawn into the sections. In several cities a rupture had already taken place. At Marseilles, the sections had stripped the municipality of its powers, and transferred them to a central committee; they had, moreover, instituted of their own motion a popular tribunal for trying the patriots accused of revolutionary excesses. Bayle and Boisset, the commissioners, had in vain annulled this committee and this tribunal; their authority was contemned, and the sections had continued in permanent insurrection against the Revolution. At Lyons, a bloody battle had been fought. The point in dispute was, whether a municipal resolution of the 14th of July, directing the institution of a revolutionary army and the levy of a war-tax upon the rich, should be executed or not. The sections which opposed it had declared themselves permanent: the municipality attempted to dissolve them; but aided by the directory of the department, they had resisted. On the 29th of May they had come to blows, notwithstanding the presence of the two commissioners of the Convention, who had made ineffectual efforts to prevent the conflict. The victorious sections had stormed the arsenal and the town-hall, turned out the municipality, shut up the Jacobin club, where Chalier excited the most violent storms, and assumed the sovereignty of Lyons. In this contest some hundreds had been killed. Nioche and Gauthier, the representatives, had been confined for a whole day; being afterwards delivered, they had retired to their colleagues, Albite and Dubois-Crancé, with whom they were engaged in a mission to the army of the Alps.

Such was the state of Lyons and of the South towards the end of May. Bordeaux did not present a more cheering aspect. That city, with all those of the West, of Bretagne, and of Normandy, waited until the threats so long repeated against the deputies of the provinces should be realized before they took any active measures. It was while thus hesitating that the departments learned the events of the end of May. Those of the 27th, when the commission of twelve had been for the first time suppressed, had already caused considerable irritation; and on all sides it was proposed to pass resolutions condemnatory of the proceedings in Paris. The 31st of May and the 2d of June raised the indignation to its highest pitch. Rumour, which magnifies everything, exaggerated the circumstances. It was reported that thirty-two deputies had been murdered by the commune; that the public coffers had been plundered; that the brigands of Paris had seized the supreme power, and were going to transfer it either to the foreign enemy, or to Marat, or Orleans. People met to draw up petitions, and to make preparations for arming themselves against the capital. At this moment the fugitive deputies arrived, to report themselves what had happened, and to give more consistency to the movements which were breaking out in all quarters.

Besides those who had at first fled, several made their escape from the gendarmes, and others even quitted the Convention for the purpose of fomenting the insurrection. Genzoné, Valazé, and Vergniaud, persisted in remaining, saying that if it was useful for one portion of them to go to rouse the zeal of the departments, it was also useful for the others to remain as hostages in the hands of their enemies, in order to prove by a trial, and at

the risk of their lives, the innocence of all their party. Buzot, who never would submit to the decree of the 2d of June, repaired to his department, that of the Eure, to excite a movement among the Normans. Gorsas followed him with a similar intention. Meilhan, who had not been arrested, but who had given an asylum to his colleagues on the nights between the 31st of May and the 2d of June, Duchatel, called by the Mountaineers the spectre of the 21st of January, because he had risen from a sick bed to vote in favour of Louis XVI., quitted the Convention for the purpose of rousing Bretagne. Biroteau escaped from the gendarmes, and went with Chasset to direct the movements of the Lyonnese. Rebecqui, as the precursor of Barbaroux, who was still detained, repaired to the Bouches-du-Rhone. Rabaut St. Etienne hastened to Nimes, to persuade Languedoc to concur in the general movement against the oppressors of the Convention.

So early as the 13th of June the department of the Eure assembled, and gave the first signal of insurrection. The Convention, it alleged, being no longer free, it became the duty of all good citizens to restore it to liberty. It therefore resolved that a force of four thousand men should be raised for the purpose of marching to Paris, and that commissioners should be sent to all the neighbouring departments to exhort them to follow this example, and to concert their operations. The department of Calvados, sitting at Caen, caused the two deputies, Rome and Prieur, of the Côte-d'Or, sent by the Convention to accelerate the organization of the army of the coast near Cherbourg, to be arrested. It was agreed that the departments of Normandy should hold an extraordinary meeting at Caen, in order to form themselves into a federation. All the departments of Bretagne, such as those of the Côtes-du-Nord, Finistère, Morbihan, Ile-et-Vilaine, Mayenne, and the Loire-Inférieure, passed similar resolutions, and despatched commissioners to Rennes, for the purpose of establishing there the central authority of Bretagne. The departments of the basin of Loire, excepting those occupied by the Vendéans, followed the general example, and even proposed to send commissioners to Bourges, in order to form there a Convention composed of two deputies of each department, with the intention of going to destroy the usurping or oppressed Convention sitting at Paris.

At Bordeaux the excitement was extreme. All the constituted authorities met in an assembly called the *Popular Commission of Public Welfare*, and declared that the Convention was no longer free, and that it ought to be set at liberty. They resolved, in consequence, that an armed force should be forthwith raised, and that, in the meantime, a petition should be addressed to the National Convention, praying it to furnish some explanation, and to acquaint them with the truth respecting the proceedings which took place in June. They then despatched commissioners to all the departments to invite them to a general coalition. Toulouse, an old parliamentary city, where many partisans of the late government were concealed behind the Girondins, had already instituted a departmental force of a thousand men. Its authorities declared, in the presence of the commissioners sent to the army of the Pyrenees, that they no longer recognised the Convention: they liberated many persons who had been imprisoned, confined many others accused of being Mountaineers, and openly declared that they were ready to form a federation with the departments of the South. The upper departments of the Tarn, Lot, and Garonne, Aveyron, Cantal, Puy-de-Dôme, and l'Herault, followed the example of Toulouse and Bordeaux. Nimes proclaimed itself in a state of resistance; Marseilles drew up an exciting petition, again set its popular tribunal to work, commenced proceedings against the *killers*, and

prepared a force of six thousand men. At Grenoble the sections were convoked, and their presidents, in conjunction with the constituted authorities, took all the powers into their own hands, sent deputies to Lyons, and ordered Dubois-Crancé and Gauthier, commissioners of the Convention to the army of the Alps, to be arrested. The department of the Aine adopted the same course. That of the Jura, which had already raised a corps of cavalry and a departmental force of eight hundred men, protested, on its part, against the authority of the Convention. Lastly, at Lyons, where the sections reigned supreme ever since the battle of the 29th of May,* deputies were received and despatched for the purpose of concerting with Marseilles, Bordeaux, and Caen; proceedings were immediately instituted against Chaliier president of the Jacobin club, and against several other Mountaineers. Thus the departments of the North, and those composing the basin of the Seine, were all that remained under the authority of the Convention. The insurgent departments amounted to sixty or seventy, and Paris had, with fifteen or twenty, to resist all the others and to continue the war with Europe.

In Paris, opinions differed respecting the measures that ought to be adopted. The members of the committee of Public Welfare, Cambon, Barrère, Bréard, Treilhard, and Mathieu, accredited patriots, though they had disapproved of the 2d of June, were for resorting to conciliatory measures. It was requisite, in their opinion, to prove the liberty of the Convention by energetic measures against the agitators, and, instead of exasperating the departments by severe decrees, to regain them by representing the danger of civil war in the presence of the foreign foe. Barrère proposed, in the name of the committee of public welfare, a *projet* of a decree conceived precisely in this spirit. According to this *projet*, the revolutionary committees which had rendered themselves so formidable by their numerous arrests, were to be dissolved throughout France, or to be confined to the purpose of their institution, which was the *surveillance* of suspected foreigners. The primary assemblies were to meet in Paris to appoint another commandant of the armed force instead of Henriot, who had been nominated by the insurgents; lastly, thirty deputies were to be sent to the departments as hostages.

These measures seemed likely to calm and to satisfy the departments. The suppression of the revolutionary committee would put an end to the inquisition exercised against suspected persons; the election of a good commandant would insure order in Paris: the thirty deputies would serve at once as hostages and instruments of reconciliation. The Mountain was not at all disposed to negotiate. Exercising with a high hand what is called the national authority, it rejected all conciliatory measures. Robespierre caused the consideration of the *projet* of the committee to be adjourned. Danton, again raising his voice in this perilous conjuncture, took a survey of the famous crisis of the Revolution, the dangers of September at the moment of the invasion of Champagne and the capture of Verdun; the dangers of January, before the condemnation of the late King was decided upon; lastly the much greater dangers of April, while Dumouriez was marching upon Paris, and La Vendée was rising. The Revolution had, he said, surmounted

* "The city of Lyons was warmly attached to freedom, but it was that regulated freedom which provides for the protection of all, not that which subjects the better classes to the despotism of the lower. Its armed population soon amounted to thirty thousand men. A military chest was formed; a paper currency, guaranteed by the principal merchants, issued; cannon in great numbers cast at a foundry within the walls; and fortifications, under the directions of an able engineer, erected upon all the beautiful heights which encircle the city."
—*Alison. E.*

all these perils. It had come forth victorious from all these crises, and it would again come forth victorious from the last. "It is," exclaimed he, "at the moment of a grand convulsion, that political bodies, like physical bodies, appear always to be threatened with speedy destruction. What then! The thunder rolls, and it is amidst the tempest that the grand work, which shall establish the prosperity of twenty-four millions of men, will be produced."

Danton proposed that one general decree should be launched against all the departments, and that they should be required to retract their proceedings within twenty-four hours after its reception, upon penalty of being outlawed. The powerful voice of Danton, which had never been raised in great dangers without infusing new courage, produced its wonted effect. The Convention, though it did not adopt exactly the measures which he proposed, passed, nevertheless, the most energetic decrees. In the first place, it declared that, as to the 31st of May and the 2d of June, the people of Paris had, by their insurrection, deserved well of the country; that the deputies, who were at first to be put under an arrest at their own homes, and some of whom had escaped, should be transferred to a prison, to be there detained like ordinary prisoners; that there should be a call of all the deputies, and that those absent without commission or authority, should forfeit their seats, and others be elected in their stead; that the departmental or municipal authorities could neither quit their places nor remove from one place to another; that they could not correspond together, and that all the commissioners sent from department to department, for the purpose of forming a coalition, were to be immediately seized by the good citizens and sent to Paris under escort. After these general measures, the Convention annulled the resolution of the department of the Eure; it put under accusation the members of the department of Calvados, who had arrested two of its commissioners; it did the same in regard to Buzot, the instigator of the revolt of the Normans; it despatched two deputies, Mathieu and Treilhard, to the departments of the Gironde, Dordogne, and Lot and Garonne, to require them to explain themselves before they rose in insurrection. It summoned before it the authorities of Toulouse, dissolved the tribunal of the central committee of Marseilles, passed a decree against Barbaroux, and placed the imprisoned patriots under the safeguard of the law. Lastly, it sent Robert Lindet to Lyons, with directions to make an inquiry into the occurrences there, and to report on the state of that city.

These decrees, successively issued in the course of June, much daunted the departments unused to combat with the central authority. Intimidated and wavering, they resolved to await the example set them by those departments which were stronger or more deeply implicated in the quarrel than themselves.

The administrations of Normandy, excited by the presence of the deputies who had joined Buzot, such as Barbaroux, Gaudet, Louvet, Salles, Petion, Bergoing, Lesage, Cussy, and Kervelegan, followed up their first proceedings, and fixed at Caen the seat of a central committee of the departments. The Eure, the Calvados, and the Orne, sent their commissioners to that city. The departments of Bretagne, which had at first confederated at Rennes, resolved to join the central Assembly at Caen, and to send commissioners to it. Accordingly, on the 30th of June, the deputies of Morbihan, Finistère, the Côtes-du-Nord, Mayenne, Ile-et-Vilaine, and the Loire-Inférieure, conjointly with those of Calvados, the Eure, and the Orne, constituted themselves the *central assembly of resistance to oppression*, promised to maintain

the equality, the unity, and the indivisibility of the republic, but vowed hatred to anarchists, and engaged to employ their powers solely to insure respect for person, property, and the sovereignty of the people. After thus constituting themselves, they determined that each department should furnish its contingent, for the purpose of composing an armed force that was to proceed to Paris to re-establish the national representation in its integrity. Felix Wimpfen,* general of the army that was to have been organized along the coast about Cherbourg, was appointed commander of the departmental army. Wimpfen accepted the appointment, and immediately assumed the title that had been conferred on him. Being summoned to Paris by the minister at war, he replied that there was but one way to make peace, and that was to revoke the decrees passed since the 31st of May; that on this condition the departments would fraternize with the capital, but that, in the contrary case, he could only go to Paris at the head of sixty thousand Normans and Bretons.

The minister, at the same time that he summoned Wimpfen to Paris, ordered the regiment of dragoons of La Manche, stationed in Normandy, to set out immediately for Versailles. On this intelligence, all the confederates already assembled at Evreux drew up in order of battle; the national guard joined them and they cut off the dragoons from the road to Versailles. The latter, wishing to avoid hostilities, promised not to set out, and fraternized apparently with the confederates. Their officers wrote secretly to Paris that they could not obey without commencing a civil war; and they were then permitted to remain.

The assembly of Caen decided that the Breton battalions which had already arrived should march from Caen for Evreux, the general rendezvous of all the forces. To this point were despatched provisions, arms, ammunition, and money taken from the public coffers. Thither, too, were sent officers won over to the cause of federalism, and many secret royalists, who made themselves conspicuous in all the commotions, and assumed the mask of republicanism to oppose the revolution. Among the counter-revolutionists of this stamp was one named Puisaye,† who affected extraordinary zeal for the cause of the Girondins, and whom Wimpfen, a disguised royalist, appointed general of brigade, giving him the command of the advanced guard already assembled at Evreux. This advanced guard amounted to five

* "Felix Wimpfen, born in 1745, of a family distinguished but poor, was the youngest of eighteen children, and quitted his father's house at the age of eleven. He served in the Seven Year's war, and distinguished himself on several occasions. He was a major-general in 1789, and embraced the revolutionary party. In 1793 he declared with warmth in favour of the Girondins, who were proscribed by the Mountain, and took the command of the departmental forces assembled by those proscribed deputies. A price was consequently set on his head, but he concealed himself during the Reign of Terror. In 1806 he was mayor of a little commune of which he was formerly lord."—*Biographie Moderne*. E.

† "Count J. de Puisaye was destined, as the youngest of four brothers, for the church; but at the age of eighteen preferred entering the army. In 1788 he married the only daughter of the Marquis de Menilles, a man of large property in Normandy. He was nominated deputy from the noblesse of Perche to the States-general; and in 1793 declared against the Convention and became head of the federal army under Wimpfen. Proscribed by the Convention he took refuge in Bretagne, made several excursions to England, attached himself to the interests of that power, and ruined his reputation by the expedition to Quiberon. It has been said that Puisaye only wanted military talents to be the first party chief the royalists ever had. In 1797 England granted him a great extent of land in Canada, whither he went, and formed an establishment equally brilliant and advantageous. After the peace of Amiens he returned to England and published papers in justification of his conduct."—*Biographie Moderne*. E.

or six thousand men, and was daily reinforced by new contingents. The brave Bretons hastened from all parts, and reported that other battalions were to follow them in still greater numbers. One circumstance prevented them from all coming in a mass, that was the necessity for guarding the coasts of the ocean against the English squadrons, and for sending battalions against La Vendée, which had already reached the Loire and seemed ready to cross that river. Though the Bretons residing in the country were devoted to the clergy, yet those of the towns were sincere republicans; and while preparing to oppose Paris they were not less determined to wage obstinate war with La Vendée.

Such was the state of affairs in Bretagne and Normandy early in July. In the departments bordering on the Loire the first zeal had cooled. Commissioners of the Convention, who were on the spot for the purpose of directing the levies against La Vendée, had negotiated with the local authorities, and prevailed upon them to await the issue of events before they compromised themselves any further. There, for the moment, the intention of sending deputies to Bourges was relinquished, and a cautious reserve was kept up.

At Bordeaux the insurrection was permanent and energetic. Treilhard and Mathieu, the deputies, were closely watched from the moment of their arrival, and it was at first proposed to seize them as hostages. There was a reluctance, however, to proceed to this extremity, and they were summoned to appear before the popular commission, where they experienced a most unfavourable reception from the citizens, who considered them as *Maratist* emissaries. They were questioned concerning the occurrences in Paris, and, after hearing them, the commission declared that, according to their own deposition, the Convention was not free on the 2d of June, neither had it been so since that time; that they were only the envoys of an assembly without legal character; and that consequently they must leave the department. They were accordingly conducted back to its boundary, and immediately afterwards similar measures taken at Caen were repeated at Bordeaux. Stores of provisions and arms were formed; the public funds were diverted, and an advanced guard was pushed forward to Langon, till the main body which was to start in a few days should be ready. Such were the occurrences at the end of June and the commencement of July.

Mathieu and Trielhard, the deputies, meeting with less resistance, and finding means to make themselves better understood in the departments of the Dordogne, Vienne, and Lot-et-Garonne, succeeded, by their conciliatory disposition, in soothing the public mind, in preventing hostile measures, and in gaining time, to the advantage of the Convention. But, in the more elevated departments, in the mountains of the Haute-Loire, on their backs, in the Herault and the Gard, and all along the banks of the Rhone, the insurrection became general. The Gard and the Herault marched off their battalions and sent them to Pont-St.-Esprit, to secure the passes of the Rhone, and to form a junction with the Marseillais who were to ascend that river. The Marseillais, in fact, refusing to obey the decrees of the Convention, maintained their tribunal, would not liberate the imprisoned patriots, and even caused some of them to be executed. They formed an army of six thousand men, which advanced from Aix upon Avignon, and which joined by the forces of Languedoc at Pont-St.-Esprit, was to raise the borders of the Rhone, the Isère, and the Drome, in its march, and finally form a junction with the Lyonese and with the mountaineers of the Ain and the Jura. At Grenoble, the federalized administrations were struggling with Dubois-

Crancé, and even threatened to arrest him. Not yet daring to raise troops, they had sent deputies to fraternize with Lyons. Dubois-Crancé, with the disorganized army of the Alps, was in the heart of an all but revolted city, which told him every day that the South could do without the North. He had to retain Savoy, where the illusions excited by liberty and French domination were dispelled, where people were dissatisfied with the levies of men and with the assignats, and where they had no notion of the so much boasted revolution, so different from what it had first been conceived to be. On his flank, Dubois-Crancé had Switzerland, where the emigrants were busy, and where Berne was preparing to send a new garrison to Geneva; and in his rear Lyons, which intercepted all correspondence with the committee of public welfare.

Robert Lindet had arrived at Lyons, but before his face the federalist oath had been taken: **UNITY, INDIVISIBILITY, OF THE REPUBLIC; HATRED TO THE ANARCHISTS; AND THE REPRESENTATION WHOLE AND ENTIRE.** Instead of sending the arrested patriots to Paris, the authorities had continued the proceedings instituted against them. A new authority composed of deputies of the communes and members of the constituted bodies had been formed, with the title of *Popular and republican commission of public welfare of the Rhone and Loire*. This assembly had just decreed the organization of a departmental force for the purpose of coalescing with their brethren of the Jura, the Isère, the Bouches-du-Rhone, the Gironde, and the Calvados. This force was already completely organized; the levy of a subsidy had moreover been decided upon; and people were only waiting, as in all the other departments, for the signal to put themselves in motion. In the Jura, the two deputies, Bassal and Garnier of Troyes, had been sent to re-establish obedience to the Convention. On the news that fifteen hundred troops of the line had been collected at Dol, more than fourteen thousand mountaineers had flown to arms, and were preparing to surround them.

If we consider the state of France early in July, 1793, we shall see that a column, marching from Bretagne and Normandy, had advanced to Evreux, and was only a few leagues distant from Paris; that another was approaching from Bourdeaux, and was likely to carry along with it all the yet wavering departments of the basin of the Loire; that six thousand Marseillais, posted at Avignon, waiting for the force of Languedoc at the Pont-St.-Esprit, was about to form a junction at Lyons with all the confederates of Grenoble, of the Ain, and of the Jura, with the intention of dashing on, through Burgundy, to Paris. Meanwhile, until this general junction should be effected, the federalists were taking all the money from the public coffers, intercepting the provisions and ammunition sent to the armies, and throwing again into circulation the assignats withdrawn by the sale of the national domains.* A remarkable circumstance, and one which furnishes a striking proof of the spirit of the parties is, that the two factions preferred the self-same charges against each other, and attributed to one another the self-same object. The party of Paris and the Mountain alleged that the federalists designed to ruin the republic by dividing it, and to arrange matters with the English for the purpose of setting up a king, who was to be the Duke of Orleans, or Louis XVII., or the Duke of York. On the other hand, the party of the departments and the federalists accused the Mountain of an intention to effect a counter-revolution by means of anarchy, and asserted that Marat, Robespierre,

* Cambon's Report of the proceedings of the committee of public welfare from the 10th of April to the 10th of July.

and Danton, were sold either to England or to Orleans. Thus it was the republic which both sides professed a solicitude to save, and the monarchy with which they considered themselves to be waging deadly warfare. Such is the deplorable and usual infatuation of parties!

But this was only one portion of the dangers which threatened our unhappy country. The enemy within was to be feared, only because the enemy without was more formidable than ever. While armies of Frenchmen were advancing from the provinces towards the centre, armies of foreigners were again surrounding France, and threatening an almost inevitable invasion. Ever since the battle of Neerwinden and the defection of Dumouriez, an alarming series of reverses had wrested from us our conquests and our northern frontier. It will be recollected that Dampierre, appointed commander-in-chief, had rallied the army under the walls of Bouchain, and had there imparted to it some degree of unity and courage. Fortunately for the revolution, the allies, adhering to the methodical plan laid down at the opening of the campaign, would not push forward on any one point, and determined not to penetrate into France, until the King of Prussia, after taking Mayence, should be enabled to advance, on his part, into the heart of our provinces. Had there been any genius or any union among the generals of the coalition, the cause of the revolution would have been undone. After Neerwinden and the defection of Dumouriez, they ought to have pushed on and given no rest to that beaten, divided, and betrayed army. In this case, whether they made it prisoner or drove it back into the fortresses, our open country would have been at the mercy of the victorious enemy. But the allies held a congress at Antwerp to agree upon the ulterior operations of the war. The Duke of York, the Prince of Coburg, the Prince of Orange, and several generals, settled among them what course was to be pursued. It was resolved to reduce Condé and Valenciennes, in order to put Austria in possession of the new fortresses in the Netherlands, and to take Dunkirk, in order to secure to England that so much-coveted port on the continent. These points being arranged, the operations were resumed. The English and Dutch had come into line. The Duke of York commanded twenty thousand Austrians and Hanoverians; the Prince of Orange fifteen thousand Dutch; the Prince of Coburg forty-five thousand Austrians and eight thousand Hessians. The Prince of Hohenlohe, with thirty thousand Austrians, occupied Namur and Luxemburg, and connected the allied army in the Netherlands with the Prussian army engaged in the siege of Mayence. Thus the North was threatened by eighty or ninety thousand men.

The Allies had already formed the blockade of Condé, and the great ambition of the French government was to raise that blockade. Dampierre, brave, but not having confidence in his soldiers, durst not attack those formidable masses. Urged, however, by the commissioners of the Convention, he led back our army to the camp of Famars, close to Valenciennes, and on the 1st of May attacked, in several columns, the Austrians, who were intrenched in the woods of Vicogne and St. Amant. Military operations were still timid. To form a mass, to attack the enemy's weak point, and to strike him boldly, were tactics to which both parties were strangers. Dampierre rushed, with intrepidity, but in small masses, upon an enemy who was himself divided, and whom it would have been easy to overwhelm on one point. Punished for his faults, he was repulsed, after an obstinate conflict. On the 9th of May, he renewed the attack; he was less divided than the first time, but the enemy, being forewarned, was less divided too; and while he was making heroic efforts to carry a redoubt, on the taking of which the junction

of two of his columns depended, he was struck by a cannon-ball, and mortally wounded. General Lamarche, invested with the temporary command, ordered a retreat, and led back the army to the camp of Famars. This camp, situated beneath the walls of Valenciennes, and connected with that fortress, prevented the laying siege to it. The Allies, therefore, determined upon an attack on the 23d of May. They scattered their troops, according to their usual practice, uselessly dispersed part of them over a multitude of points, all which Austrian prudence was desirous of keeping, and did not attack the camp with the whole force which they might have brought to bear. Checked for a whole day by the artillery, the glory of the French army, it was not till evening that they passed the Ronelle, which protected the front of the camp. Lamarche retreated in the night in good order, and posted himself at Cæsar's Camp, which is connected with the fortress of Bouchain, as that of Famars is with Valenciennes. Hither the enemy ought to have pursued and to have dispersed us; but egotism and adherence to method fixed the Allies around Valenciennes. Part of their army, formed into corps of observation, placed itself between Valenciennes and Bouchain, and faced Cæsar's Camp. Another division undertook the siege of Valenciennes, and the remainder continued the blockade of Condé, which ran short of provisions, and which the enemy hoped to reduce in a few days. The regular siege of Valenciennes was begun. One hundred and eighty pieces of cannon were coming from Vienna, and one hundred from Holland; and ninety-three mortars were already prepared. Thus, in June and July, Condé was starved, Valenciennes set on fire, and our generals occupied Cæsar's Camp with a beaten and disorganized army. If Condé and Valenciennes were reduced, the worst consequences might be apprehended.

The command of the army of the Moselle, after Beurnonville had been appointed minister at war, was transferred to Ligneville. This army was opposed to Prince Hohenlohe, and had nothing to fear from him, because, occupying at the same time Namur, Luxemburg, and Treves, with thirty thousand men at most, and having before him the fortress of Metz and Thionville, he could not attempt anything dangerous. He had just been weakened still more by detaching seven or eight thousand men from his corps to join the Prussian army. It now became easier and more desirable than ever to unite the active army of the Moselle with that of the Upper Rhine, in order to attempt important operations.

On the Rhine, the preceding campaign had terminated at Mayence. Custine, after his ridiculous demonstration about Frankfort, had been forced to fall back, and shut himself up in Mayence, where he had collected a considerable artillery, brought from our fortresses, and especially from Strasburg. There he formed a thousand schemes; sometimes he resolved to take the offensive, sometimes to keep Mayence, sometimes even to abandon that fortress. At last he determined to retain it, and even contributed to persuade the executive council to adopt this determination. The King of Prussia then found himself obliged to lay siege to it, and it was the resistance that he met with at this point which prevented the Allies from advancing in the North.

The King of Prussia passed the Rhine at Bacharach, a little below Mayence; Wurmser, with fifteen thousand Austrians, and some thousands under Condé, crossed it a little above: the Hessian corps of Schönfeld remained on the right bank before the suburb of Cassel. The Prussian army was not yet so strong as it ought to have been, according to the engagements contracted by Frederick-William. Having sent a considerable corps into Po

land, he had but fifty thousand men left, including the different Hessian, Saxon, and Bavarian contingents. Thus, including the seven or eight thousand Austrians detached by Hohenlohe, the fifteen thousand Austrians under Wurmser, the five or six thousand emigrants under Condé, and the fifty-five thousand under the King of Prussia, the army which threatened the eastern frontier might be computed at about eighty thousand fighting men. Our fortresses on the Rhine contained about thirty-eight thousand men in garrison; the active army amounted to forty or forty-five thousand men; that of the Moselle to thirty; and if the two latter had been united under a single commander, and with a point of support like that of Mayence, they might have gone to seek the King of Prussia himself, and found employment for him on the other side of the Rhine.

The two generals of the Moselle and the Rhine ought at least to have had an understanding with one another, and they might have had it in their power to dispute, nay, perhaps to prevent the passage of the river: but they did nothing of the sort. In the course of the month of March, the King of Prussia crossed the Rhine with impunity, and met with nothing in his course but advanced guards, which he repulsed without difficulty. Custine was meanwhile at Worms. He had been at no pains to defend either the banks of the Rhine or the banks of the Vosges, which form the environs of Mayence, and might have stopped the march of the Prussians. He hastened up, but, panic-struck at the repulses experienced by his advanced guards, he fancied that he had to cope with one hundred and fifty thousand men; he imagined, above all, that Wurmser, who was to debouch by the Palatinate, and above Mayence, was in his rear, and about to cut him off from Alsace; he applied for succour to Ligneville, who, trembling for himself, durst not detach a regiment; he then betook himself to flight, never stopping till he reached Landau, and then Weissenburg, and he even thought of seeking protection under the cannon of Strasburg. This inconceivable retreat opened all the passes to the Prussians, who assembled before Mayence, and invested it on both banks.

Twenty thousand men were shut up in that fortress, and if this was a great number for the defence it was far too great for the state of the provisions, which were not adequate to the supply of so large a garrison. The uncertainty of our military plans had prevented any precautionary measures for provisioning the place. Fortunately, it contained two representatives of the people, Reubel, and the heroic Merlin of Thionville, the general Kleber*

* "Jean Baptiste Kleber, a French general, distinguished not less for his humanity and integrity, than for his courage, activity and coolness, was one of the ablest soldiers whom the Revolution produced. His father was a common labourer, and he himself was occupied as an architect when the troubles in France broke out. He was born at Strasburg in 1754, and had received some military education in the academy of Munich. Having entered a French volunteer corps as a grenadier in 1792, his talents soon procured him notice, and after the capture of Mayence, he was made general of brigade. Although he openly expressed his horror of the atrocious policy of the revolutionary government, yet his services were too valuable to be lost, and he distinguished himself as a general of division in 1795 and 1796. In 1797, dissatisfied with the Directory, Kleber retired from the service, but Bonaparte prevailed on him to join the expedition to Egypt, and left him the supreme command, when he himself returned to France. Though his position was a difficult one, yet he maintained it successfully, and was making preparations for securing the possession of the country, when he was assassinated by a Turkish fanatic in the year 1800."—*Encyclopædia Americana*. E.

"Of all the generals I ever had under me, said Bonaparte, Desaix and Kleber possessed the greatest talents; but Kleber only loved glory inasmuch as it was the means of procuring him riches and pleasures. He was an irreparable loss to France."—*A Voice from St. Helena*. E.

and Aubert-Duboyet, Meunier, the engineer, and lastly, a garrison possessing all the military virtues, bravery, sobriety, perseverance. The investment commenced in April. General Kalkreuth formed the siege with a Prussian corps. The King of Prussia and Wurmser were in observation at the foot of the Vosges, and faced Custine. The garrison made frequent sallies, and extended its defence to a great distance. The French government, sensible of the blunder which it had committed by separating the two armies of the Moselle and the Rhine, united them under Custine. That general, at the head of sixty or seventy thousand men, having the Prussians and Austrians scattered before them, and beyond them Mayence, defended by twenty thousand Frenchmen, never conceived the idea of dashing upon the corps of observation, dispersing it, and then joining the brave garrison which was extending its hand to him. About the middle of May, aware that he had committed an error in remaining inactive, he made an attempt, ill combined, ill seconded, which degenerated into a complete rout. He complained, as usual, of the subordinate officers, and was removed to the army of the North to carry organization and courage to the troops intrenched in Cæsar's Camp. Thus the coalition which was besieging Valenciennes and Mayence, would, after the reduction of those two fortresses, have nothing to hinder it from advancing upon our centre, and effecting an invasion.

From the Rhine to the Alps and the Pyrenees, a chain of insurrections threatened the rear of our armies and interrupted their communications. The Vosges, the Jura, Auvergne, La Lozère, formed between the Rhine and the Pyrenees an almost continuous mass of mountains of different extent and various elevations. Mountainous countries are peculiarly favourable for the preservation of institutions, habits, and manners. In almost all those which we have mentioned, the population retained a relic of attachment to the old order of things, and, without being so fanatic as that of La Vendée, it was nevertheless strongly disposed to insurrection. The Vosges, half German, were excited by the nobles and by the priests, and as the army of the Rhine betrayed indecision, the more threatening was the aspect it assumed. The whole of the Jura had been roused to insurrection by the Gironde. If, in its rebellion, it displayed more of the spirit of liberty, it was not the less dangerous, for between fifteen and twenty thousand mountaineers were in motion around Lons-le-Saulnier, and in communication with the revolt of the Ain and the Rhone. We have already seen what was the state of Lyons. The mountains of the Lozère, which separate the Upper Loire from the Rhone, were full of insurgents of the same stamp as the Vendéans. They had for their leader an ex-constituent, named Charrier; they amounted already to about thirty thousand men, and had it in their power to join La Vendée by means of the Loire. Next came the federalist insurgents of the South. Thus one vast revolt, differing in object and in principle, but equally formidable, threatened the rear of the armies of the Rhine, the Alps, and the Pyrenees.

Along the Alps, the Piedmontese were in arms, for the purpose of recovering Savoy and the county of Nice. The snow prevented the commencement of hostilities along the St. Bernard, and each kept his posts in the three valleys of Sallenche, the Tarentaise, and the Maurienne. At the Maritime Alps, and with the army called the army of Italy, the case was different. There hostilities had been resumed early, and the possession of the very important post of Saorgio, on which depended the quiet occupation of Nice, had begun to be disputed in the month of May. In fact the French, could they but gain that post, would be masters of the Col de Tende, and

have in their hands the key of the great chain. The Piedmontese had therefore displayed great energy in defending, and the French in attacking it. The Piedmontese had, both in Savoy and towards Nice, forty thousand men, reinforced by eight thousand Austrians. Their troops, divided into several corps of equal force from the Col de Tende to the Great St. Bernard, and followed, like all those of the allies, the system of cordons, and guarded all the valleys. The French army of Italy was in the most deplorable state. Consisting of fifteen thousand men at the utmost, destitute of everything, badly officered, it was not possible to obtain great efforts from it. General Biron, who had been sent for a moment to command it, had reinforced it with five thousand men, but had not been able to supply it with all that it wanted. Had one of those grand ideas which would have ruined us in the North have been conceived in the South, our ruin in that quarter also would have been certain. The Piedmontese could, by favour of the fort, which rendered inaction on the side towards the high Alps compulsory, have transferred all their forces to the Southern Alps, and, debouching upon Nice with a mass of thirty thousand men, have overwhelmed our army of Italy, driven it back upon the insurgent departments, entirely dispersed it, promoted the rising on both banks of the Rhone, advanced perhaps as far as Grenoble and Lyons, taken our army penned in the valleys of Savoy in the rear, and thus overrun a considerable portion of France. But there was no more an Amadeus among them, than a Eugene among the Austrians, or a Marlborough among the English. They confined themselves therefore to the defence of Saorgio.

On our side, Brunet had succeeded Anselme, and had made the same attempts upon the post of Saorgio as Dampierre had done about Condé. After several fruitless and sanguinary engagements a last battle was fought on the 12th of June, and terminated in a complete rout. Even then, if the enemy had derived some boldness from success, he might have dispersed us, and compelled us to evacuate Nice, and to recross the Var. Kellermann had hastened from his head-quarters in the Alps, rallied the army at the camp of Donjon, established defensive positions, and enjoined absolute inaction until reinforcements should arrive. One circumstance rendered the situation of this army still more dangerous, that was the appearance in the Mediterranean of the English Admiral Hood,* who had come from Gibraltar with thirty-seven sail, and of Admiral Langara, who had brought an almost equal force from the ports of Spain. Troops might be landed, occupy the line of the Var, and take the French in the rear. The presence of these squadrons moreover prevented the arrival of supplies by sea, favoured the revolt in the South, and encouraged Corsica to throw herself into the arms of the English. Our fleet was repairing at Toulon the damage which it had sustained in the unfortunate expedition against Sardinia, and durst scarcely protect the coasters which brought corn from Italy. The Mediterranean was no longer ours, and the trade of the Levant passed from Marseilles to the Greeks and the English. Thus the army of Italy had in front the Piedmontese, victorious in several actions, and in its rear the revolt of the South and two hostile squadrons.

At the Pyrenees, the war with Spain, declared on the 7th of March, in

* "Samuel, Lord Viscount Hood, in the year 1793, commanded against the French, in the Mediterranean, when he signalized himself by the taking of Toulon, and afterwards Corsica, in reward of which achievements he was made a viscount and governor of Greenwich Hospital. He died at Bath in 1816, and was born in the year 1724."—*Encyclopædia americana*.

consequence of the death of Louis XVI., had scarcely begun. The preparations had been long on both sides, because Spain, slow, indolent, and wretchedly administered, was incapable of promptitude, and because France had upon her hands other enemies who engaged all her attention. Servan, who commanded at the Pyrenees, had spent several months in organizing his army, and in accusing Pache with as much acrimony as ever Dumouriez had done. The aspect of things was not changed under Bouchotte, and, when the campaign opened, the general was still complaining of the minister, who, he said, left him in want of everything. The two countries communicated with one another by two points, Perpignan and Bayonne. To push an invading corps vigorously forward upon Bayonne and Bordeaux and thus proceed to La Vendée was still too bold an attempt for those times; besides, our means of resistance were supposed to be greater in that quarter; it would have been necessary to cross the Landes, the Garonne, and the Dordogne, and such difficulties would have been sufficient to cause this plan to be relinquished, if it had ever been entertained. The Court of Madrid preferred an attack by Perpignan, because it had in that quarter a more solid base in fortresses, because it reckoned, according to the report of emigrants, upon the royalists of the South, and lastly, because it had not forgotten its ancient claims to Roussillon. Four or five thousand men were left to guard Arragon; fifteen or eighteen thousand half regular troops and half militia, were to act under General Caro in the Western Pyrenees; while General Ricardos, with twenty-four thousand, was to make a serious attack on Roussillon.

Two principal valleys, the Tech and the Tet, run off from the chain of the Pyrenees, and terminating towards Perpignan, form our first two defensive lines. Perpignan is situated on the second, that of the Tet. Ricardos, apprized of the feebleness of our means, conceived at his outset a bold idea. Masking the forts of Bellegarde and Les Bains, he daringly advanced with the intention of cutting off all our detachments scattered in the valleys, by turning them. This attempt proved successful. He debouched on the 15th of April, beat the detachments sent under General Willot to stop him, and struck a panic terror into the whole of the frontier. Had he pushed on with ten thousand men, he might have been master of Perpignan, but he was not daring enough; besides, all his preparations were not made, and he let the French have time to recover themselves.

The command, which appeared to be too extensive, was divided. Servan had the Western Pyrenees, and General de Flers, who had been employed in the expedition against Holland, was appointed to command in the Eastern Pyrenees. He rallied the army in advance of Perpignan in a position called the *Mas d'Eu*. On the 19th of May, Ricardos, having collected eighteen thousand men, attacked the French camp. The action was bloody. The brave General Dagobert, retaining in advanced age all the fire of youth, and combining great intelligence with intrepidity, maintained his position on the field of battle. De Flers arrived with a reserve of eighteen hundred men, and the ground was preserved. The day declined, and a favourable termination of the combat was anticipated; but about nightfall our soldiers, exhausted by long resistance, suddenly gave up the ground and fled in confusion beneath the walls of Perpignan. The affrighted garrison closed the gates, and fired upon our troops, mistaking them for Spaniards. Here was another opportunity for making a bold dash upon Perpignan and gaining possession of that place, which would not have resisted; but Ricardos, who had merely masked Bellegarde and Les Bains, did not deem it prudent to

venture farther, and returned to besiege those two little fortresses. He reduced them towards the end of June, and again came in presence of our troops, which had rallied nearly in the same positions as before. Thus in July the loss of a battle might have entailed the loss of Roussillon.

Calamities thicken as we approach another theatre of war, more sanguinary, and more terrible than any that we have yet visited. La Vendée, all fire and blood, was about to vomit forth a formidable column to the other side of the Loire. We left the Vendéans inflamed by unhopèd-for successes, masters of the town of Thouars, which they had taken from Quétinault, and beginning to meditate more important enterprises. Instead of marching upon Doué and Saumur, they had turned off to the south of the theatre of war, and endeavoured to clear the country towards Fontenai, and Niort. Messrs. de Lescure and de La Roche Jacquelein, who were appointed to this expedition, had made an attack upon Fontenai, on the 16th of May. Repulsed at first by General Sandos, they fell back to some distance; but presently, profiting by the blind confidence derived by the republican general from a first success, they again made their appearance, to the number of fifteen or twenty thousand, took Fontenai, in spite of the extraordinary efforts made on that day by young Marceau, and forced Chalbos and Sandos to retreat to Niort in the greatest disorder. There they found arms and ammunition in great quantity, and enriched themselves with new resources, which, added to those that had fallen into their hands at Thouars, enabled them to prosecute the war with still greater success. Lescure addressed a proclamation to the inhabitants, and threatened them with the severest punishments if they furnished assistance to the republicans. After this, the Vendéans separated, according to their custom, in order to return home to the labours of the harvest, and a rendezvous was fixed for the 1st of June in the environs of Doué.

In the Lower Vendée, where Charette commanded alone, without as yet combining his operations with those of the other chiefs, the success had been balanced. Canclaux, commanding at Nantes, had maintained his ground at Machecoul, though with difficulty; General Boulard, who commanded at Sables, had been enabled, by the excellent dispositions and the discipline of his troops, to occupy Lower Vendée for two months, and he had even kept up very advanced posts as far as the environs of Palluau. On the 17th of May, however, he was obliged to retreat to La Motte-Achart, very near Sables, and he found himself in the greatest embarrassment, because his two best battalions, all composed of citizens of Bordeaux, wanted to return home, either to attend to their own affairs, or from discontent with the 31st of May.

The labours of agriculture had occasioned a degree of quiet in Lower as in Upper Vendée, and, for a few days, the war was somewhat less active, its operations being deferred till the commencement of June.

General Berruyer, whose orders extended originally over the whole theatre of the war, had been superseded, and his command divided among several generals. Saumur, Niort, the Sables, composed what was called the army of the coast of La Rochelle, which was intrusted to Biron; Angers, Nantes, and the Loire-Inférieure, composed that called the army of the coast of Brest, to which Canclaux, commandant of Nantes, was appointed; lastly, the coast of Cherbourg had been given to Wimpfen, who, as we have seen, had become general of the insurgents of the Calvados.

Biron, removed from the frontier of the Rhine to that of Italy, and from the latter to La Vendée, proceeded with great repugnance to that theatre of

devastation. His dislike to participate in the horrors of civil war was destined to prove his ruin. He arrived, on the 27th of May, at Niort, and found the army in the utmost disorder. It was composed of levies *en masse*, raised by force or by persuasion in the neighbouring provinces, and confusedly thrown into La Vendée, without training, without discipline, without supplies. These levies, consisting of peasants and industrious tradesmen of the towns, who had quitted their occupations with regret, were ready to disperse on the first accident. It would have been much better to have sent most of them away; for they committed blunders both in the country and in the towns, encumbered the insurgent districts to no purpose, famished them by their number, spread disorder and panic-terrors among them, and frequently hurried along in their flight organized battalions, which would have made a much more effective resistance if they had been left to themselves. All these bands arrived with their leader, appointed in the place to which they belonged, who called himself general, talked of his army, refused to obey, and thwarted all the dispositions of the superior officers. Towards Orleans battalions were formed known in this war by the name of *battalions of Orleans*. They were composed of clerks, shopmen, and footmen, in short, of all the young men collected in the sections of Paris, and sent off in the train of Santerre. They were blended with the troops which had been taken from the army of the North, by drafting fifty men from each battalion. But it was necessary to associate these heterogeneous elements, and to find arms and clothing. They were destitute of everything; the very pay could not be furnished, and, as it was unequal between the troops of the line and the volunteers, it occasioned frequent mutinies.

The Convention had despatched commissioners after commissioners for the purpose of organizing this multitude. Some had been sent to Tours, others to Saumur, Niort, La Rochelle, and Nantes. They thwarted one another, and they thwarted the generals. The executive counsel had also its agents, and Bouchotte, the minister, had inundated the country with his creatures, all selected from among the Jacobins and the Cordeliers. These crossed the representatives, conceived that they proved their zeal by loading the country with requisitions, and accused the generals who would have checked the insubordination of the troops, or prevented useless oppressions, of despotism and treason. From this conflict of authorities a crude mass of accusations, and a confusion of command resulted, that were truly frightful. Biron could not enforce obedience, and he durst not make his army march, for fear that it should disband itself on the first movement, or plunder all before it. Such is a correct picture of the forces which the republic had at this period in La Vendée.

Biron repaired to Tours, and arranged an eventual plan with the representatives, which consisted, as soon as this confused multitude could be somewhat organized, in directing four columns, of ten thousand men each, from the circumference to the centre. The four starting points were the bridges of Cé, Saumur, Chinon, and Niort. Meanwhile, he went to inspect Lower Vendée, where he supposed the danger to be greater than in any other quarter. Biron justly feared that communications might be established between the Vendéans and the English. Arms and troops landed in the Marais might aggravate the evil, and render the war interminable. A squadron of ten sail had been perceived, and it was known that the Breton emigrants had been ordered to repair to the islands of Jersey and Guernsey. Thus everything justified the apprehensions of Biron and his visit to Lower Vendée.

Meanwhile, the Vendéans had re-assembled on the 1st of June. They

had introduced some regularity among themselves: a council had been appointed to govern the country occupied by their armies. An adventurer, who gave himself out to be bishop of Agra* and envoy from the Pope, was president of this council, and, by blessing the colours and performing solemn masses, excited the enthusiasm of the Vendéans, and thus rendering his imposture very serviceable to them. They had not yet chosen a generalissimo; but each chief commanded the peasants of his district, and it was agreed that they should act in concert in all their operations. They had issued a proclamation in the name of Louis XVII., and of the Count de Provence, regent of the kingdom during the minority of the young prince, and called themselves *commanders of the royal and catholic armies*. Their intention was to occupy the line of the Loire, and to advance upon Doué and Saumur. The enterprise, though bold, was easy in the existing state of things. They entered Doué on the 7th, and arrived on the 9th before Saumur. As soon as their march was known, General Salomon, who was at Thouars with three thousand men, was ordered to march upon their rear. Salomon obeyed, but found them in too great force. He could not attack them without certain destruction to himself; he therefore returned to Thouars, and thence to Niort. The troops of Saumur had taken a position in the environs of the town, on the road to Fontevault, in the intrenchments of Nantilly and on the heights of Bournan. The Vendéans approached, attacked Berthier's column, were repulsed by a well directed artillery, but returned in force, and obliged Berthier,† who was wounded, to fall back. The foot gendarmes, two battalions

* "While the army was at Thouars, the soldiers found in a house a man in the uniform of a volunteer. He told them he was a priest, who had been forced to enrol in a republican battalion at Poitiers, and requested to speak to M. de Villeneuve du Cazeau, who had been his college companion. That person recognised him as the Abbé Guyot de Folleville. Soon after he said that he was bishop of Agra, and that the nonjuring bishops had consecrated him in secret at St. Germain. M. de Villeneuve communicated all this to the Benedictine, M. Pierre Jagault, whose knowledge and judgment were much esteemed. Both proposed to the Bishop of Agra that he should join the army; but he hesitated much, alleging his bad health. At last they prevailed, and then introduced him to the general officers. No one conceived a doubt of what he told. He said that the Pope had appointed four apostolic vicars for France; and that the diocese of the West had been committed to his charge. He had a fine figure, with an air of gentleness and humility, and good manners. The generals saw with great pleasure an ecclesiastic of such high rank and appearance supporting their cause, and an influence likely to prove very powerful. It was agreed that he should go to Chatillon, and be received there as bishop. Thus first appeared in La Vendée the Bishop of Agra, who played so important a part, and became so celebrated in the history of the war. It appeared in the sequel that all this singular personage had said of himself was false! He deceived the whole army and country without any apparent motive. An absurd vanity seems to have been the only one. The bishop arrived as such among us the very day of the overthrow of Châtillon. On his arrival the bells were rung; crowds followed him, on whom he bestowed benedictions; he officiated pontifically, and the peasants were intoxicated with joy. The happiness of having a bishop among them made them forget their reverses, and restored all their ardour."—*Memoirs of the Marchioness de Larochejaquelein*. E.

† "Alexander Berthier, Prince of Neufchatel and Wagram, marshal, vice-constable of France, was born in Paris in 1753. He was the son of a distinguished officer, and was, while yet young, employed in the general staff, and fought with Lafayette for the liberty of the United States. In 1791 he was appointed chief of the general staff in Luckner's army, marched against La Vendée in 1793, and joined the army of Italy in 1796. In the year 1798 he received the chief command of the army of Italy, and afterwards, being much attached to Bonaparte, followed him to Egypt, who, on his return to Paris, appointed him minister of war. Having, in 1806, accompanied the Emperor in his campaign against Prussia, he signed the armistice of Tilsit in 1807. Being appointed vice-constable of France, he married in 1808, the daughter of Duke William of Bavaria-Birkenfeld; and, having distinguished himself at Wagram, in 1809, he received the title of Prince of Wagram. In

of Orleans, and the cuirassiers, still resisted, but the latter lost their colonel. The defeat then began, and all were taken back to the town, which the Vendéans entered at their heels. General Coustard, who commanded the battalions posted on the heights of Bournan, still remained outside. Finding himself separated from the republican troops, which had been drawn back into Saumur, he formed the bold resolution of returning thither, and taking the Vendéans in the rear. He had to pass a bridge where the victorious Vendéans had just placed a battery. The brave Coustard ordered a corps of cuirassiers under his command to charge the battery. "Whither are you sending us?" asked they. "To death!" replied Coustard; "the welfare of the republic requires it." The cuirassiers dashed away, but the Orleans battalions dispersed, and deserted the general and the cuirassiers, who charged the battery. The cowardice of the one frustrated the heroism of the others; and General Coustard, unable to get back into Saumur, retired to Angers.

Saumur was taken on the 9th of June, and the next day the citadel surrendered.* The Vendéans, being masters of the course of the Loire, had it

the following year, as proxy for Napoleon, he received the hand of Maria Louisa, daughter of the Emperor of Austria, and accompanied her to France. In 1812 he accompanied the French army to Russia. After Bonaparte's abdication he obtained the confidence of Louis XVIII., whom, on the Emperor's return, he accompanied to the Netherlands, whence he repaired to his family at Bamberg. On his arrival at this place he was observed to be sunk in profound melancholy, and when the music of the Russian troops, on their march to the French borders, was heard at the gates of the city, he put an end to his life by throwing himself from a window of the third story of his palace."—*Encyclopædia Americana*.

"Berthier was small and ill-shaped, without being actually deformed; his head was too large for his body; his hair, neither light nor dark, was rather frizzed than curled; his forehead, eyes, nose, and chin, each, in the proper place, were, however, by no means handsome in the aggregate. His hands, naturally ugly, became frightful by a habit of biting his nails: add to this, that he stammered much in speaking; and that if he did not make grimaces, the agitation of his features was so rapid as to occasion some amusement to those who did not take a direct interest in his dignity. I must add, that he was an excellent man, with a thousand good qualities, neutralized by weakness. Berthier was good in every acceptance of the word."—*Duchess d'Abrantes*. E.

"Berthier was a man full of honour, courage, and probity, and exceedingly regular in the performance of his duties. Napoleon's attachment to him arose more from habit than liking. Berthier did not concede with affability, and refused with harshness. His manner was abrupt, egotistic, and displeasing. He was an excellent head of the staff of an army, but that is all the praise that can be given him, and indeed he wished for no greater. He had such entire confidence in the Emperor, and looked up to him with so much admiration, that he never could have presumed to oppose his plans or offer him any advice. Berthier's talent was limited and of a peculiar nature. His character was one of extreme weakness."—*Bourrienne*. E.

* "Three assaults on Saumur by the Vendéans began nearly at the same time on the morning of the 9th of June. The redoubts were turned, and the bridge passed, when suddenly a ball having wounded M. de Lescure in the arm, the peasants who saw him covered with blood, began to slacken their pace. Lescure binding up the wound with a handkerchief, endeavoured to lead on his men again; but a charge of republican cuirassiers frightened them. M. de Dommaigné endeavoured to make a stand at the head of the Vendean cavalry, but he was struck down by a discharge of caseshot, and his troop overthrown. The rout became general; but a singular chance redeemed the fortune of the day. Two wagons over-turned on the bridge Fouchard, stopped the cuirassiers, and enabled Lescure to rally the soldiers. The brave Loizeau placing himself at the head of some foot-soldiers, fired through the wheels of the wagons at the faces of the cuirassiers and their horses; while M. de Marigny directed some flying artillery upon them, which turned the scale in favour of the Vendéans. M. de Larochejaquelein attacked the republican camp and turned it; the ditch was crossed, a wall beyond it thrown down, and the post carried. Larochejaquelein throwing his hat into the intrenchment, called out 'Who will go and fetch it!' and darting forward himself, was followed by a great number of peasants. Soon afterwards the Vendéans entered the town, and saw the whole army of the Blues flying in disorder across the great bridge of

now in their power to march either upon Nantes or upon La Flèche, Le Mans, and Paris. Terror preceded, and everything must have given way before them. Biron was, meanwhile, in Lower Vendée, where, by directing his attention to the coasts, he conceived that he was warding off more real and more serious dangers.

Perils of every kind threatened us at once. The allies, besieging Valenciennes, Condé, and Mayence, were on the point of taking those fortresses, the bulwarks of our frontiers. The Vosges in commotion, the Jura in revolt, the easiest access to invasion was opened on the side next to the Rhine. The army of Italy, repulsed by the Piedmontese, had in its rear the rebellion of the South and the English fleet. The Spaniards, in presence of the French camp under Perpignan, threatened to carry it by an attack, and to make themselves masters of Roussillon. The insurgents of La Lozère were ready to unite with the Vendéans along the Loire, and this was the design of the leader who had excited that revolt. The Vendéans, masters of Saumur and of course of the Loire, had only to act, for they possessed all the means of executing the boldest attempts upon the interior. Lastly, the federalists, marching from Caen, Bordeaux, and Marseilles, were preparing to excite France to insurrection in their progress.

Our situation in the month of July, 1793, was the more desperate, inasmuch as a mortal blow might have been struck at France on every point. In the North, the allies had but to neglect the fortresses and to march upon Paris, and they would have driven the Convention upon the Loire, where it would have been received by the Vendéans. The Austrians and the Piedmontese could have executed an invasion by the maritime Alps, annihilated our army, and overrun the whole of the South as conquerors. The Spaniards were in a position to advance by Bayonne and to join La Vendée, or if they preferred Roussillon, to march boldly towards La Lozère, not far distant from the frontiers, and to set the South in flames. Lastly, the English, instead of cruising in the Mediterranean, possessed the means of landing troops in La Vendée, and conducting them from Saumur to Paris.

But the external and internal enemies of the Convention had not that which insures victory in a war of revolution. The allies acted without union, and, under the disguise of a holy war, concealed the most selfish views. The Austrians wanted Valenciennes; the King of Prussia, Mayence; the English, Dunkirk;* the Piedmontese aspired to recover Chambery and Nice; the Spa-

the Loire. Night coming on, the republicans evacuated the place. The capture of Saumur gave to the Vendéans an important post, the passage of the Loire, eighty pieces of cannon, muskets innumerable, and a great quantity of powder and saltpetre. In the course of five days they had taken eleven thousand prisoners; these they shaved, and then sent most of them away. Our loss in this last affair was sixty men killed, and four hundred wounded." —*Memoirs of the Marchioness de Larochejaquelein*. E.

* "If the conduct of the allies had been purposely intended to develop the formidable military strength which had grown upon the French republic, they could not have adopted measures better calculated to effect their object than were actually pursued. Four months of success, which might have been rendered decisive, had been wasted in blameable inactivity. After having broken the frontier line of French fortresses, the allies thought fit to separate their forces, and, instead of pushing on to the centre of the republican power, to pursue independent plans of aggrandizement. The English, with their allies, moved towards Dunkirk, so long the object of their maritime jealousy, while the remainder of the army of the Imperialists was broken up into detachments to preserve the communications. From this ruinous division may be dated all the subsequent disasters of the campaign. Had they held together, and pushed on vigorously against the masses of the enemy's forces, there cannot be a doubt that the object of the war would have been gained. It was a resolution of the English cabinet which occasioned this fatal division. The impartial historian must confess with a sigh that

niards, the least interested of all, had nevertheless some thoughts of Rousillon; lastly, the English were more solicitous to cover the Mediterranean with their fleets and to gain some port there, than to afford useful succour to La Vendée. Besides this universal selfishness, which prevented the allies from extending their views beyond their immediate profit, they were all methodical and timid in war, and defended with the old military routine the old political routine for which they had armed themselves.

As for the Vendéans, rising untrained against the genius of the Revolution, they fought like brave but ignorant marksmen. The federalists, spread over the whole surface of France, having to communicate from great distances for the purpose of concerting operations, rising but timidly against the central authority, and being animated only by moderate passions, could not act without tardiness and uncertainty. They moreover secretly reproached themselves with compromising their country by a culpable diversion. They began to feel that it was criminal to discuss whether they ought to be revolutionists such as Petion and Vergniaud, or such as Danton and Robespierre, at a moment when all Europe was in arms against France; and they perceived that under such circumstances there was but one course to pursue, and that was the most energetic. Indeed all the factions, already rearing their heads around them, apprized them of their fault. It was not only the constituents, it was the agents of the old court, the retainers of the old clergy—in short, all the partisans of absolute power, who were rising at once; and it became evident to them that all opposition to the Revolution would turn to the advantage of the enemies to all liberty and to all nationality.

Such were the causes which rendered the allies so awkward and so timid, the Vendéans so shallow, the federalists so wavering, and which were destined to insure the triumph of the convention over internal revolt and over Europe. The Mountaineers, animated alone by a strong passion, by a single idea, the welfare of the Revolution, under the influence of that exaltation of mind in which men discover the newest and the boldest means, in which they never think them either too hazardous or too costly, if they are but salutary, could not fail to disconcert, by an unexpected and sublime defence,* slow-motioned enemies, wedded to the old routine, and held together by no general bond of union, and to stifle factions which wanted the ancient system of all degrees, the revolution of all degrees, and which had neither concord nor determinate object.

it was British interests which here interfered with the great objects of the war; and that, by compelling the English contingent to separate for the siege of Dunkirk, England contributed to postpone for twenty years its glorious termination."—*Alison*. E.

* "For all the advantages they gained, the Convention were indebted to the energy of their measures, the ability of their councils, and the enthusiasm of their subjects. If history has nothing to show comparable to the crimes which they committed, it has few similar instances of undaunted resolution to commemorate. Impartial justice requires that this praise should be bestowed on the committee of public safety; if the cruelty of their internal administration exceeded the worst despotism of the emperors, the dignity of their external conduct rivalled the noblest instances of Roman heroism."—*Alison*. E.

THE NATIONAL CONVENTION.

MEANS EMPLOYED BY THE CONVENTION AGAINST THE FEDERALISTS—CONSTITUTION OF THE YEAR III.—CHECK OF VERNON—DELIVERANCE OF NANTES—SUBMISSION OF THE DEPARTMENTS—DEATH OF MARAT.

THE Convention, amidst the extraordinary circumstances in which it found itself placed, was not for an instant shaken. While fortresses or intrenched camps detained the enemy for the moment on the different frontiers, the committee of public welfare laboured night and day to reorganize the armies, to complete them by means of the levy of three hundred thousand men decreed in March, to transmit instructions to the generals, and to despatch money and stores. It remonstrated with all the local administrations which purposed to withhold, for the benefit of the federalist cause, the supplies destined for the armies, and prevailed upon them to desist out of consideration for the public welfare.

While these means were employed in regard to the external enemy, the Convention resorted to others not less efficacious in regard to the enemy at home. The best resource against an adversary who doubts his rights and his strength, is not to doubt yours. Such was the course pursued by the Convention. We have already seen the energetic decrees which it passed on the first movement of revolt. Though many towns would not yield, yet it never had for a moment the idea of treating with those which assumed the decided character of rebellion. The Lyonnese having refused to obey and to send the imprisoned patriots to Paris, it ordered its commissioners with the army of the Alps to employ force, unconcerned about either the difficulties or the dangers incurred by those commissioners at Grenoble, where they had the Piedmontese in front and all the insurgents of the Isère and the Rhone in their rear. It enjoined them to compel Marseilles to return to its duty. It allowed all the local authorities only three days to retract their equivocal resolutions (*arrêtés*); and lastly, it sent to Vernon some gendarmes and several thousand citizens of Paris, in order to quell forthwith the insurgents of the Calvados, the nearest to the capital.

The most important affair of all, the framing of a constitution, had not been neglected, and a week had been sufficient for the completion of that work, which was rather a rallying point than a real plan of legislation. It was the composition of Héroult de Séchelles.* Every Frenchman, having attained

* "Héroult de Séchelles was the legislator of the Mountain, as Condorcet had been of the Gironde. With the ideas which prevailed at this period, the nature of the new constitution may be easily conceived. It established the pure government of the multitude; not only were the people acknowledged to be the source of all power, but the exercise of that power was delegated to them. As the constitution thus made over the government to the multitude, as it placed the power in a disorganized body, it would have been at all times impracticable; but, at a period of general warfare, it was peculiarly so. Accordingly, it was no sooner made than suspended."—*Mignet*. E.

the age of twenty-one, was to be a citizen and to exercise his political rights without any condition as to fortune or property. The assembled citizens were to elect one deputy for every fifty thousand souls. The deputies, composing a single assembly, were to sit for only one year. They were to issue decrees for everything concerning the urgent wants of the state, and these decrees were to be carried into immediate execution. They were to make laws for everything that concerned matters of a general and less urgent interest, and these laws were not to be sanctioned unless, after allowing a certain delay, the primary assemblies had not remonstrated against them. On the 1st of May the primary assemblies were to meet as a matter of right, and without convocation, to elect new deputies. The primary assemblies were to have the right to demand conventions for modifying the constitutional act. The executive power was to be vested in twenty-four members appointed by the electors, and this was to be the only mediate election. The primary assemblies were to nominate the electors, these electors were to nominate the candidates, and the legislative body was to reduce the candidates to twenty-four, by striking out the others. These twenty-four members of the council were to appoint the generals, the ministers, the agents of all sorts, but were not to take them from among their own body. They were to direct, to keep a watchful eye over them, and they were to be continually responsible. One-half of the executive council was to be renewed every year. Lastly, this constitution, so short, so democratic, which reduced the government to a mere temporary commission, spared nevertheless the only relic of the ancient system, the communes, and made no change either in their circumscription or their powers. The resolution of which they had given proofs, procured them the distinction of being retained on this *tabula rasa* upon which was left no other trace of the past. In a week, and almost without discussion, this constitution was adopted, and, at the moment when it was voted in its entire form, the guns proclaimed its adoption in Paris, and shouts of joy arose on all sides. Thousands of copies of it were printed for the purpose of being circulated throughout France. It met with only a single contradiction, and that was from the agitators who had prepared the 31st of May.

The reader will recollect young Varlet haranguing in the public places; young Leclerc, of Lyons, so violent in his speeches at the Jacobins, and suspected even by Marat on account of his vehemence; and Jacques Roux,* so brutal towards the unfortunate Louis XVI., who begged him to take charge of his will—all these had made themselves conspicuous in the late insurrection, and possessed considerable influence on the committee of the Evêché and at the Cordeliers. They found fault with the constitution, because it contained no provision against forestallers; they drew up a petition which they hawked about the streets for signatures, and went to rouse the Cordeliers, saying that the constitution was incomplete, since it contained no clause against the greatest enemies of the people. Legendre, who was present, strove in vain to oppose this movement. He was called a moderate, and the petition adopted by the society, was presented by it to the Conven-

* "Jacques Roux was a priest, a municipal officer at Paris, and a furious revolutionist. He called himself the preacher of the sans-culottes, and, being intrusted with the care of the Temple while the King and his family were confined there, treated them with the greatest brutality. He boasted of being the Marat of the municipality, and even preached up theft and libertinism. In 1794 he was brought before the revolutionary tribunal; and, at the moment when he heard his sentence pronounced, he gave himself five wounds with a knife, and died in prison."—*Biographie Moderne*. E.

tion. The whole Mountain was indignant at this proceeding. Robespierre and Collot-d'Herbois spoke warmly, caused the petition to be rejected, and went to the Jacobins, to expose the danger of these perfidious exaggerations, which merely tended, they said, to mislead the people, and could only be the work of men paid by the enemies of the republic. "The most popular constitution that ever was," said Robespierre, "has just emanated from an assembly, formerly counter-revolutionary but now purged from the men who obstructed its progress, and impeded its operations. This Assembly, now pure has produced the most perfect, the most popular work that was ever given to men; and an individual, covered with the garb of patriotism, who boasts that he loves the people more than we do, stirs up the citizens of all classes and pretends to prove that a constitution which ought to rally all France, is not adapted to them! Beware of such manœuvres! Beware of *ci-devant* priests leagued with the Austrians! Beware of the new mask under which the aristocrats are disguising themselves! I discover a new crime in preparation, and which may not be long before it breaks forth: but let us unveil it, let us crush the enemies of the people under whatever form they may present themselves." Collot-d'Herbois spoke as warmly as Robespierre. He declared that the enemies of the republic wished to have a pretext for saying to the departments, *You see, Paris approves the language of Jacques Roux!*

The two speakers were greeted with unanimous acclamations. The Jacobins, who piqued themselves upon combining policy with revolutionary passion, prudence with energy, sent a deputation to the Cordeliers. Collot-d'Herbois was its spokesman. He was received at the Cordeliers with all the consideration due to one of the most distinguished members of the Jacobins and of the Mountain. Profound respect was professed for the society which sent him. The petition was withdrawn; Jacques Roux and Leclerc were expelled, Varlet was pardoned only on account of his youth, and an apology was made to Legendre for the unwarranted expressions applied to him in the preceding sitting. The constitution thus avenged, was sent forth to France for the purpose of being sanctioned by all the primary assemblies.

Thus the convention held out to the departments with one hand the constitution, with the other the decree which allowed them only three days for their decision. The constitution cleared the Mountain from any plan of usurpation, and furnished a pretext for rallying round a justified authority, and the decree of the three days gave no time for hesitation, and enforced the choice of obedience in preference to any other course.

Many of the departments in fact yielded, while others persisted in their former measures. But these latter, exchanging addresses, sending deputations to one another, seemed to be waiting for each other to act. The distances did not permit them to correspond rapidly or to form one whole. The lack of revolutionary spirit, moreover, prevented them from finding the resources necessary for success. How well disposed soever masses may be, they are never ready to make all sacrifices, unless men of impassioned minds oblige them to do so. It would have required violent means to raise the moderate inhabitants of the towns, to oblige them to march, and to contribute. But the Girondins condemned all those means in the Mountaineers, and could not themselves have recourse to them. The traders of Bordeaux conceived that they had done a great deal when they had expressed themselves somewhat warmly in the sections: but they had not gone beyond their own walls. The Marseillais, rather more prompt, had sent six thou-

sand men to Avignon, but they had not themselves composed this little army, but hired soldiers as their substitutes. The Lyonnese were waiting for the junction of the men of Provence and Languedoc; the Normans had cooled a little; the Bretons alone had remained stanch, and filled up their battalions out of their own number.

Considerable agitation had prevailed at Caen, the principal centre of the insurrection. It was the columns that had set out from this point which would fall in with the first troops of the Convention, and this first engagement would of course be of great importance. The proscribed deputies who were collected about Wimpfen complained of his slowness, and conceived that they could discover in him the disguised royalist. Urged on all sides, Wimpfen at length ordered Puisaye to push on his advanced guard to Vernon on the 13th of July, and apprized him that he was himself about to march with all his force. Accordingly, on the 13th, Puisaye advanced toward Pacy, and fell in with the Paris levies, accompanied by a few hundred gendarmes. A few musket-shots were fired on both sides in the woods. Next day, the 14th, the federalists occupied Pacy, and seemed to have a slight advantage. But, on the following day, the troops of the Convention appeared with cannon. At the first discharge terror seized the ranks of the federalists. They dispersed, and fled in confusion to Evreux. The Bretons, possessing more firmness, retired in less disorder, but were hurried along in the retrograde movement of the others. At this intelligence consternation pervaded the Calvados, and all the authorities began to repent of their imprudent proceedings. As soon as this rout was known at Caen, Wimpfen assembled the deputies, and proposed that they should intrench themselves in that city, and make an obstinate resistance. Entering further into the exposition of his sentiments, he told them that he saw but one way of maintaining this conflict, which was to obtain a powerful ally, and that, if they wished it, he would procure them one; he even threw out hints that this was the English cabinet. He added, that he considered the republic impossible, and that in his opinion the restoration of the monarchy would not be a calamity.

The Girondins peremptorily rejected every offer of this kind, and expressed the sincerest indignation. Some of them then began to be sensible of the imprudence of their attempt, and of the danger of raising any standard whatever, since all the factions would rally round it for the purpose of overthrowing the republic. They did not, however, relinquish all hope, and thought of retiring to Bordeaux, where some of them conceived it possible to excite a movement sincerely republican in spirit, and which might be more successful than that of the Calvados and Bretagne. They set out therefore with the Breton battalions which were returning home, intending to embark at Brest. They assumed the dress of common soldiers, and were intermingled in the ranks of the battalion of Finistère. After the check at Vernon, it was necessary for them to conceal themselves, because all the local authorities, eager to submit and to give proofs of zeal to the Convention, would have had it in their power to cause them to be arrested. In this manner they traversed part of Normandy and Bretagne, amidst continual dangers and extreme hardships, and at length concealed themselves in the environs of Brest, whence they designed to proceed to Bordeaux. Barbaroux, Petion, Salles, Louvet, Meilhan, Guadet, Kervelegan, Gorsas, Girey-Dupré, an assistant of Brissot, Marchenna, a young Spaniard, who had come to seek liberty in France, Riouffe, a young man attached from enthusiasm to the Girondins, composed this band of illustrious fugitives, persecuted as

traitors to their country, yet all ready to lay down their lives for it, and even conceiving that they were serving while they were compromising it by the most dangerous diversion.

In Bretagne, and in the departments of the West, and of the upper basin of the Loire, the authorities were eager to retract in order to avoid being outlawed. The constitution, transmitted to every part, was the pretext for universal submission. The Convention, every one said, had no intention to perpetuate itself or to seize the supreme power, since it gave a constitution; this constitution would soon put an end to the reign of the factions, and appeared to contain the simplest government that had ever been seen. Meanwhile, the Mountaineer municipalities and the Jacobin clubs redoubled their energy, and the honest partisans of the Gironde gave way to a revolution, which they had not been strong enough to combat, and which they would not have been strong enough to defend. From that moment, Toulouse strove to justify itself. The people of Bordeaux, more decided, did not formally submit, but they called in their advanced guard, and ceased to talk of their march to Paris. Two other important events served to terminate the dangers of the Convention in the West and South; these were the defence of Nantes, and the dispersion of the rebels of La Lozère.

We have seen the Vendéans at Saumur, masters of the course of the Loire, and having it in their power, if they had duly appreciated their position, to make an attempt upon Paris which might perhaps have succeeded, for La Flèche and Le Mans were destitute of means of resistance. Young Bonchamps, who alone extended his views beyond La Vendée, proposed that they should make an incursion into Bretagne, for the purpose of securing a seaport, and then marching upon Paris. But his colleagues were not sufficiently intelligent to understand him. The real capital upon which they ought to march, was, in their opinion, Nantes. Neither their wishes nor their genius aspired to anything beyond that. There were, nevertheless, many reasons for adopting this course; for Nantes would open a communication with the sea, insure the possession of the whole country, and, after the capture of that city, there would be nothing to prevent the Vendéans from attempting the boldest enterprises. Besides, they could keep their soldiers at home,—an important consideration with the peasants, who never liked to lose sight of their church-steeple. Charette, master of Lower Vendée, after a false demonstration upon Les Sables, had taken Machecoul, and was at the gates of Nantes. He had never concerted with the chiefs of Upper Vendée, but on this occasion he offered to act in unison with them. He promised to attack Nantes on the left bank, while the grand army should attack it on the right, and with such a concurrence of means it seemed scarcely possible that they should not succeed.

The Vendéans therefore evacuated Saumur, descended to Angers, and prepared to march from Angers to Nantes along the right bank. Their army was much diminished, because the peasants were unwilling to undertake so long an expedition. Still it amounted to nearly thirty thousand men. They appointed a generalissimo, and made choice of Cathelineau, the carrier, in order to flatter the peasants and to attach them more strongly to themselves.* M. de Lescure, who had been wounded, was to remain in the

* "After the taking of Saumur, M. de Lescure became feverish from fatigue and suffering, having been seven hours on horseback after his wound, and having lost much blood. He was therefore prevailed on to retire to Boulaye till he should recover. Before setting out he assembled the officers, and said to them, 'Gentlemen, the insurrection has now become so important, and our successes so promising, that we ought to appoint a general-in-chief; and,

interior of the country in order to raise new levies, to keep the troops at Niort in check, and to prevent any obstruction being given to the siege of Nantes.

Meanwhile the commission of the representatives sitting at Tours applied for succours in all quarters, and urged Biron, who was inspecting the coast, to march with the utmost despatch, upon the rear of the Vendéans. Not content with recalling Biron, it went so far as to order movements in his absence, and sent off for Nantes all the troops that could be collected at Saumur. Biron immediately replied to the importunities of the commission. He assented, he said, to the movement executed without his orders, but he was obliged to guard Les Sables and La Rochelle, towns of much greater importance in his opinion than Nantes. The battalions of the Gironde, the best in the army, were on the point of leaving him, and he was obliged to replace them; it was impossible for him to move his army, lest it should disperse and give itself up to pillage, such was its want of discipline; the utmost he could do, therefore, was to detach from it about three thousand troops, and it would be nothing short of madness, he added, to march upon Saumur, and to penetrate into the country with so inconsiderable a force. Biron wrote at the same time to the committee of public welfare, tendering his resignation, since the representatives thought fit thus to arrogate the command to themselves. The committee replied that he was perfectly right; that the representatives were authorized to advise or propose certain operations, but not to order them, and that it was for him alone to take such measures as he deemed proper, for preserving Nantes, La Rochelle, and Niort. Hereupon Biron made all possible efforts to compose a small and more moveable army, with which he might be able to proceed to the succour of the besieged city.

The Vendéans, meanwhile, quitted Angers on the 27th, and were in sight of Nantes on the 28th. They sent a threatening summons, which was not even listened to, and prepared for the attack. It was intended to take place on both banks at two in the morning of the 29th. To guard an immense tract, intersected by several arms of the Loire, Canclaux had no more than about five thousand regular troops and nearly a similar number of national guards. He made the best dispositions, and communicated the greatest courage to the garrison. On the 29th, Charette attacked at the preconcerted hour on the side where the bridges are situated; but Cathelineau, who acted on the right bank and had the most difficult part of the enterprise, was stopped by the post of Niort, where a few hundred men made the most heroic resistance. The attack, delayed on that side, became so much the more difficult. The Vendéans, however, dispersed behind the hedges and in the gardens, and hemmed in the town very closely. Canclaux, the general-in-chief, and Beysser, commandant of the place, kept the republican troops everywhere firm. Cathelineau, on his part, redoubled his exertions. He had already penetrated far into a suburb, when he was mortally wounded by

although from several officers being absent, the present nomination can only be provisional, I give my vote for Cathelineau.' The choice was universally applauded, except by the good Cathelineau, who was astonished at the honour done him. His appointment was desirable in all respects. It was he that first raised the country, and gained the first victories. He had extraordinary courage, and great judgment. In addition to all these recommendations, it was good policy to have for general-in-chief a common peasant, at a moment when the spirit of equality, and a keen jealousy of the *noblesse*, had become so general. The necessity of attending to this general spirit was so much felt that the gentlemen took particular care to treat the peasant officers as perfectly their equals. Equality, indeed, prevailed much more in the Vendean than in the republican armies."—*Memoirs of the Marchioness de Larochefoucauld*. E.

a ball. His men retired in dismay, bearing him off upon their shoulders. From that moment the attack slackened. After a combat of eighteen hours, the Vendéans dispersed, and the place was saved.*

On this day every man had done his duty. The national guard had vied with the troops of the line, and the mayor himself was wounded. Next day, the Vendéans threw themselves into boats and returned into the interior of the country. The opportunity for important enterprises was from that moment lost for them; thenceforth they could not aspire to accomplish any thing of consequence, they could hope at most to occupy their own country. Just at this instant, Biron, anxious to succour Nantes, arrived at Angers with all the troops that he had been able to collect, and Westermann was repairing to La Vendée with the Germanic legion.

No sooner was Nantes delivered, than the authorities strongly disposed in favour of the Girondins, purposed to join the insurgents of the Calvados. It actually passed a hostile resolution against the Convention. Canclaux opposed this proceeding with all his might, and succeeded in his efforts to bring back the people of Nantes to order.

The most serious dangers were thus surmounted in this quarter. An event of not less importance had just taken place in La Lozère; this was the submission of thirty thousand insurgents, who could have communicated either with the Vendéans, or with the Spaniards by Roussillon.

It was a most fortunate circumstance, that Fabre, the deputy sent to the army of the Eastern Pyrenees, happened to be on the spot at the moment of the revolt. He there displayed that energy which subsequently caused him to seek and find death at the Pyrenees. He secured the authorities, put the whole population under arms, collected all the gendarmerie and regular troops in the environs; raised the Cantal, the Upper Loire, and the Puy-de-Dôme; and the insurgents, attacked at the very outset, pursued on all sides, were dispersed, driven into the woods, and their leader, the ex-constituent Charrier, fell into the hands of the conquerors. Proofs were obtained from his papers that his design was connected with the great conspiracy discovered six months before in Bretagne, the chief of which, La Rouarie, had died without being able to realize his projects. In the mountains of the centre and the south, tranquillity was therefore restored, the rear of the army of the Pyrenees was secured, and the valley of the Rhone no longer had one of its flanks covered by mountains bristling with insurgents.

An unexpected victory over the Spaniards in Roussillon completely insured the submission of the South. We have seen them, after their first march into the valleys of the Tech and the Tet, falling back to reduce Bellegarde and Les Bains, and then returning and taking a position in front of the French camp. Having observed it for a considerable time, they attacked it on the 17th of July. The French had scarcely twelve thousand raw soldiers; the Spaniards, on the contrary, numbered fifteen or sixteen thousand

* The Vendean army took the road from Angers to Nantes; but it was neither very numerous nor very animated. Lescure and Larochejaquelein were absent, as well as many of their officers. In short, Cathelineau was said not to have eight thousand men when he arrived before the town. The Vendéans showed in the attack more perseverance than could have been expected. The battle lasted eighteen hours; but at last, having seen General Cathelineau mortally wounded by a ball in his breast, the elder M. Fleuriot, who commanded the division of Bonchamp, and several other officers disabled likewise, discouragement and fatigue caused the soldiers to retire at the close of the day. The army was dissolved; officers and soldiers repassed the Loire; and the right bank was entirely abandoned. Few soldiers were lost, but the death of Cathelineau was a very great misfortune.—*Memoirs of the Marchioness de Larochejaquelein*. E.

men, perfectly inured to war. Ricardos, with the intention of surrounding us, had divided his attack too much. Our brave volunteers, supported by General Barbantane and the brave Dagobert, remained firm in their intrenchments, and after unparalleled efforts, the Spaniards had determined to retire. Dagobert, who was waiting for this moment, rushed upon them, but one of his battalions suddenly fell into confusion, and was brought back in disorder. Fortunately, at this sight, De Flers and Barbantane hastened to the succour of Dagobert, and all dashed forward with such impetuosity that the enemy was overthrown and driven to some distance. This action of the 17th of July raised the courage of our soldiers, and according to the testimony of an historian, it produced at the Pyrenees the effect which Valmi had produced in Champagne in the preceding year.

Towards the Alps, Dubois-Crancé, placed between discontented Savoy, wavering Switzerland, and revolted Grenoble and Lyons, behaved with equal energy and judgment. While the sectionary authorities were taking before his face the federalist oath, he caused the opposite oath to be taken at the club and in his army, and awaited the first favourable moment for acting. Having seized the correspondence of the authorities, he there found proofs that they were seeking to coalesce with Lyons. He then denounced them to the people of Grenoble as designing to effect the dissolution of the republic by a civil war; and, taking advantage of a moment of excitement, he caused them to be displaced, and restored all the powers to the old municipality. From this moment, being at ease respecting Grenoble, he occupied himself in reorganizing the army of the Alps, in order to preserve Savoy, and to carry into execution the decrees of the Convention against Lyons and Marseilles. He changed all the staffs, restored order in his battalions, incorporated the recruits furnished by the levy of the three hundred thousand men; and, though the departments of La Lozère and Haute Loire had employed their contingent in quelling the insurrection in their mountains, he endeavoured to supply its place by requisitions. After these first arrangements, he sent off General Carteaux with some thousand infantry and with the legion raised in Savoy, by the name of legion of the Allobroges, with instructions to proceed to Valence, to occupy the course of the Rhone, and to prevent the junction of the Marseillais with the Lyonnese. Carteaux, setting out early in July, marched rapidly upon Valence, and from Valence upon St. Esprit, where he took up the corps of the people of Nîmes, dispersed some, incorporated others with his own troops, and secured both banks of the Rhone. He proceeded immediately afterwards to Avignon, where the Marseillais had some time before established themselves.

During these occurrences at Genoble, Lyons, still affecting the greatest fidelity to the republic, promising to maintain its *unity*, its *indivisibility*, nevertheless paid no obedience to the decree of the Convention which referred the proceedings commenced against several patriots to the revolutionary tribunal in Paris. Its commission and its staff were full of concealed royalists. Rambaud, president of the commission, Precy, commandant of the departmental force, were secretly devoted to the cause of the emigration. Misled by dangerous suggestions, the unfortunate Lyonnese were on the point of compromising themselves with the convention, which, henceforward obeyed and victorious, was about to inflict on the last city that continued in rebellion the full chastisement reserved for vanquished federalism. Meanwhile they armed themselves at St. Etienne, collected deserters of all sorts; but, still seeking to avoid the appearance of revolt, they allowed convoys destined for the frontiers to pass, and ordered Noël-Pointe, Santeyra, and

Lesterpt-Beauvais, the deputies, who had been arrested by the neighbouring communes, to be set at liberty.

The Jura was somewhat quieted; Bassal and Garnier, the representatives, whom we have there seen with fifteen hundred men surrounded by fifteen thousand, had withdrawn their too inadequate force, and endeavoured to negotiate. They had been successful, and the revolted authorities had promised to put an end to this insurrection by the acceptance of the constitution.

Nearly two months had elapsed since the 2d of June, (it was now near the end of July); Valenciennes and Mayence were still threatened; but Normandy, Bretagne, and almost all the departments of the West, had returned to obedience. Nantes had been delivered from the Vendéans; the people of Bordeaux durst not venture beyond their own walls; La Lozère had submitted; the Pyrenees were secured for the moment; Grenoble was pacified. Marseilles was cut off from Lyons by the success of Carteaux; and Lyons, though refusing to obey the decrees, durst not declare war. The authority of the Convention was, therefore, nearly re-established in the interior. On the one hand, the dilatoriness of the federalists, their want of unity, and their half measures; on the other, the energy of the Convention, the unity of its power, its central position, its habit of command, its policy, by turns subtle and vigorous, had decided the triumph of the Mountain over this last effort of the Girondins. Let us congratulate ourselves on this result; for, at a moment when France was attacked, the more worthy to command was the stronger. The vanquished federalists condemned themselves by their own words: "Honest men," said they, "never knew how to have energy."

But while the federalists were succumbing on all sides, a last accident served to excite the most violent rage against them.

At this period there lived in the Calvados a young female, about twenty-five years of age, combining with great personal beauty a resolute and independent character. Her name was Charlotte Corday, of Armans.* Her

* Charlotte Corday was born at St. Saturnin des Lignerets, in the year 1768. Nature had bestowed on her a handsome person, wit, feeling, and a masculine understanding. She received her education in a convent, where she laboured with constant assiduity to cultivate her own powers. The Abbé Raynal was her favourite modern author; and the Revolution found in her an ardent proselyte. Her love of study rendered her careless of the homage that her beauty attracted, though she was said to have formed an attachment to M. Belzunce, major of the regiment of Bourbon, quartered at Caen. This young officer was massacred in 1789, after Marat in several successive numbers of his journal had denounced Belzunce as a counter-revolutionist. From this moment Charlotte Corday conceived a great hatred of Marat, which was increased after the overthrow of the Girondins, whose principles she revered; and, being resolved to gratify her vengeance, she left Caen in 1793, and arrived about noon on the third day at Paris. Early on the second morning of her arrival she went into the Palais Royal, bought a knife, hired a coach, and drove to the house of Marat. Being denied admittance, she returned to her hotel, and wrote the following letter: 'Citizen, I have just arrived from Caen; your love for your country inclines me to suppose you will listen with pleasure to the secret events of that part of the republic. I will present myself at your house; have the goodness to give orders for my admission, and grant me a moment's private conversation. I can point out the means by which you may render an important service to France.' In the fear that this letter might not produce the effect she desired, she wrote another, still more pressing, which she took herself. On knocking at the door, Marat, who was in his bath, ordered her to be instantly admitted; when, being left alone with him, she answered with perfect self-possession all his inquiries respecting the proscribed deputies at Caen. While he made memorandums of their conversation, Charlotte Corday coolly measured with her eye the spot whereon to strike; and then, snatching the weapon from her bosom, she buried the entire knife right in his heart! A single exclamation escaped Marat. 'Help!'

morals were irreproachable, but her mind was active and restless. She had left her paternal home to live with more liberty at the house of a female friend at Caen. Her father had formerly insisted in certain publications on the privileges of his province, at a time when France could still do no more than insist upon the privileges of towns and provinces. Young Corday was an enthusiast for the cause of the Revolution, like many other women of her time; and, like Madame Roland, she was intoxicated with the idea of a republic submissive to the laws, and fertile in virtues. The Girondins appeared to her desirous to realize her schemes; the Mountaineers alone seemed to throw obstacles in its way; and on the tidings of the 31st of May, she determined to avenge her favourite orators. The war of the Calvados commenced. She conceived that the death of the leader of the anarchists, concurring with the insurrection of the departments, would insure victory to the latter; she therefore resolved to perform a great act of self-devotion, and to consecrate to her country a life of which a husband, children, family, constituted neither the employment nor the delight. She wrote to her father, intimating that, as the troubles in France were daily becoming more alarming, she was going to seek quiet and safety in England; and, immediately after thus writing, she set out for Paris. Before her departure she was solicitous to see at Caen the deputies who were the object of her enthusiasm and devotion. She devised a pretext for introducing herself to them, and applied to Barbaroux for a letter of recommendation to the minister of the interior, having, she said, some papers to claim for a friend, formerly a canoness. Barbaroux gave her one to Duperret,* the deputy, a friend of Garat. His colleagues, who saw her as well as he, and who, like him, heard her express her hatred of the Mountaineers, and her enthusiasm for a pure and regular republic, were struck by her beauty and touched by her sentiments. All were utterly ignorant of her intentions.

On reaching Paris, Charlotte Corday began to think of selecting her victim. Danton and Robespierre were sufficiently celebrated members of the Mountain to merit the blow; but Marat was the man who had appeared most formidable to the provinces, and who was considered as the leader of the anarchists. She meant at first to strike Marat on the very top of the Mountain, and when surrounded by his friends; but this she could not now do, for Marat was in a state that prevented his attendance at the Convention. The reader will no doubt recollect that he had withdrawn of his own accord for a fortnight; but seeing that the Girondins could not yet be brought to

he said, and expired. Having been tried and found guilty, Charlotte Corday still maintained a noble and dignified deportment, welcoming death, not as the expiation of a crime, but as the inevitable consequence of a mighty effort to avenge the injuries of a nation. The hour of her punishment drew immense crowds to the place of execution. When she appeared alone with the executioner in the cart, in despite of the constrained attitude in which she sat, and of the disorder of her dress, she excited the silent admiration of those even who were hired to curse her. One man alone had courage to raise his voice in her praise. His name was Adam Lux, and he was a deputy from the city of Mentz. "She is greater than Brutus," he exclaimed. This sealed his death-warrant. He was soon afterwards guillotined."

Du Broca. E.

* "C. R. L. Duperret, a farmer, deputy to the Legislative Assembly, and afterwards to the Convention, voted for the confinement of the King, and his banishment at a peace. Attached to the Gironde party, he nevertheless escaped the proscription directed against them. Having received a visit from Charlotte Corday, he conducted her to the house of the minister of the interior, and was denounced by Chabot as being implicated with her in the assassination of Marat—a charge which he satisfactorily refuted. He was, however, condemned to death in the autumn of 1793, in the forty-sixth year of his age."—*Biographie Moderne. E.*

trial, he put an end to this ridiculous farce, and appeared again in his place. One of those inflammatory complaints which in revolutions terminate those stormy lives that do not end on the scaffold, soon obliged him to retire, and to stay at home. There, nothing could diminish his restless activity. He spent part of the day in his bath, with pens and paper beside him, writing, constantly engaged upon his journal, addressing letters to the Convention, and complaining that proper attention was not paid to them. He wrote one more, saying that, if it were not read, he would cause himself to be carried, ill as he was, to the tribune, and read it himself. In this letter he denounced two generals, Custine and Biron. "Custine," he said, "removed from the Rhine to the North, was playing the same game there that Dumouriez had done; he was slandering the *anarchists*, composing his staffs according to his fancy, arming some battalions, disarming others, and distributing them according to his plans, which no doubt were those of a conspirator." It will be recollected that Custine was profiting by the siege of Valenciennes, to reorganize the army of the North in Cæsar's Camp. "As for Biron," Marat continued, "he was a former valet of the court; he affected a great fear of the English as a pretext for remaining in Lower Vendée, and leaving the enemy in possession of Upper Vendée. He was evidently waiting only for the landing of the English, that he might join them, and deliver our army into their hands. The war in La Vendée ought by this time to be finished. A man of any judgment, after seeing the Vendéans fight once, would be able to find means for destroying them. As for himself, who also possessed some military knowledge, he had devised an infallible manœuvre, and, if his state of health had not been so bad, he would have travelled to the banks of the Loire, for the purpose of putting this plan in execution himself. Custine and Biron were the two Dumouriezes of the moment; and, after they were arrested, it would be necessary to take a final measure, which would furnish a reply to all calumnies, and bind all the deputies irrevocably to the Revolution—that was, to put to death the Bourbon prisoners, and to set a price on the heads of the fugitive Bourbons. Then there would be no pretext for accusing some of an intention to seat Orleans on the throne, while the others would be prevented from making their peace with the Capet family."

Here were shown, as we see, the same vanity, the same ferocity, and the same promptness in anticipating popular apprehensions, as ever. Custine and Biron were actually destined to become the two objects of the general fury, and it was Marat who, ill and dying, had in this instance also the honour of the initiative.

In order to come at him, Charlotte Corday was therefore obliged to seek him at his own home. She first delivered the letter which she had for Duperret, executed her commission in regard to the minister of the interior, and prepared to consummate her design. She inquired for Marat's residence of a hackney-coachman, called at his house, but was not allowed to see him. She then wrote, informing him that, having just arrived from the Calvados, she had important matters to communicate. This was quite sufficient to procure an introduction to him. Accordingly, she called on the 13th of July, at eight in the evening. Marat's housekeeper, a young woman of twenty-seven, with whom he cohabited, made some difficulties. Marat, who was in his bath, hearing Charlotte Corday, desired that she might be admitted. Being left alone with him, she related what she had seen at Caen; then listened to, and looked earnestly at him. Marat eagerly inquired the names of the deputies then at Caen. She mentioned them, and he, snatching up a

pencil, began to write them down, adding, "Very good; they shall all go to the guillotine."—"To the guillotine!" exclaimed young Corday, with indignation. At the same moment she took a knife from her bosom, struck Marat below the left breast, and plunged the blade into his heart. "Help!" he cried; "help, my dear!" His housekeeper ran to him at his call. A messenger, who was folding newspapers, also hastened to his assistance. They found Marat covered with blood, and young Corday calm, serene, motionless. The messenger knocked her down with a chair; the housekeeper trampled upon her. The tumult attracted a crowd, and presently the whole quarter was in an uproar. Young Corday rose, and bore with dignity the rage and ill-usage of those around her. Members of the section, hearing of the circumstance, hastened to the spot; and, struck by her beauty, her courage, and the composure with which she avowed the deed, prevented her from being torn in pieces; and conducted her to prison, where she continued to confess everything with the same composure.

This murder, like that of Lepelletier, caused an extraordinary sensation. A report was immediately circulated that it was the Girondins who had armed Charlotte Corday. The same thing had been said relative to Lepelletier, and it will be repeated on all similar occasions.

Their enemies were puzzled to discover crimes in the detained deputies: the insurrection of the departments afforded a first pretext for sacrificing them, by declaring them accomplices of the fugitive deputies; the death of Marat furnished the complement to their supposed crimes, and to the reasons that were wanted for sending them to the scaffold.

The Mountain, the Jacobins, and the Cordeliers, in particular, who gloried in having been the first to possess Marat, in having always continued to be more intimately connected with him, and in having never disavowed him, manifested profound grief. It was agreed that he should be buried in their garden, and under those very trees, at the foot of which he was accustomed in the evening to read his paper to the people. The Convention resolved to attend his funeral in a body. At the Jacobins, it was proposed to decree to him extraordinary honours. It was proposed to bury him in the Pantheon, though the law did not permit the remains of any individual to be deposited there till twenty years after his death. It was further proposed that the whole society should follow him in a body to the grave; that the presses of the "People's Friend" should be bought by the society, that they might not pass into unworthy hands; that his journal should be continued by successors capable, if not of equalling, at least of reminding the public of his energy, and of making some amends for the loss of his vigilance.

Robespierre who was always anxious to give greater importance to the Jacobins, though he opposed all their extravagances, and who was desirous of diverting to himself that attention which was too strongly fixed on the martyr, made a speech on this occasion. "If I speak this day," said he, "it is because I have a right to do so. You talk of daggers—they are waiting for me. I have merited them; and it is but the effect of chance that Marat has been struck before me. I have therefore a right to interfere in the discussion, and I do so to express my astonishment that your energy should here waste itself in empty declamations, and that you should think of nothing but vain pomp. The best way of avenging Marat is to prosecute his enemies without mercy. The vengeance which seeks to satisfy itself by empty honour is soon appeased, and never thinks of employing itself in a more real and more useful manner. Desist then from useless discussions, and avenge Marat in a manner more worthy of him." This address put a

stop to all discussion, and the propositions which had been made were no more thought of. Nevertheless the Jacobins, the Convention, the Cordeliers, all the societies and the sections, prepared to decree him magnificent honours. His body was exhibited for several days. It was uncovered, and the wound which he had received was exposed to view. The popular societies and the sections came in procession, and strewed flowers upon his coffin. Each president delivered a speech. The section of the republic came first. "He is dead!" exclaimed the president, "the Friend of the People is dead. He died by the hand of the assassin! Let us not pronounce his panegyric over his inanimate remains! His panegyric is his conduct, his writings, his bleeding wound, and his death! . . . Fair citizens (*citoyennes*) strew flowers on the pale corpse of Marat! Marat was our friend, he was the friend of the people; for the people he lived, for the people he has died!" At these words young females walked round the coffin, and threw flowers upon the body of Marat. The speaker resumed: "But enough of lamentation! Listen to the great spirit of Marat, which awakes and says to you, 'Republicans, put an end to your tears . . . Republicans ought to shed but one tear, and then think of their country. It was not I whom they meant to assassinate, but the republic. It is not I whom you must avenge—it is the republic, the people, yourselves!'"

All the societies, all the sections, came in this manner, one after another, to the coffin of Marat; and if history records such scenes, it is to teach men to consider the effect of the preoccupations of the moment, and to induce them to enter into a strict examination of themselves, when they mourn over the powerful or curse the vanquished of the day.

Meanwhile, the trial of young Corday was proceeding with all the rapidity of all the revolutionary forms. Two deputies had been implicated in the affair; one was Duperret, to whom she had brought a letter, and who had taken her to the minister of the interior; the other was Fauchet, formerly a bishop, who had become suspected on account of his connexion with the right side; and whom a woman, either from madness or malice, falsely declared she had seen in the tribunes with the accused.

Charlotte Corday, when brought before the tribunal, retained the same composure as ever. The act of accusation was read to her, and the witnesses were then examined. Corday interrupted the first witness, and before he had time to commence his deposition, said, "It was I who killed Marat."—"What induced you to commit this murder?"—"His crimes."—"What do you mean by his crimes?"—"The calamities which he has occasioned ever since the Revolution."—"Who instigated you to this action?"—"Myself alone," proudly replied the young woman. "I had long resolved upon it, and I should not have taken counsel of others for such an action. I was anxious to give peace to my country."—"But do you think that you have killed all the Marats?"—"No," answered the accused, sorrowfully, "no." She then suffered the witnesses to finish, and after each she repeated, "It is true; the deponent is right." She defended herself on one point only, and that was, her alleged connexion with the Girondins. She contradicted only a single witness, namely, the woman who implicated Duperret and Fauchet. She then sat down again and listened to the rest of the proceedings with perfect serenity. "You see," said her advocate, Chauveau Lagarde, as the only defence he could make for her, "the accused confesses everything with unshaken assurance. This composure, this self-denial, sublime in one respect, can only be accounted for by the most exalted political fanaticism. It

is for you to judge what weight this moral consideration ought to have in the balance of justice."

Charlotte Corday was condemned to the penalty of death. Her beautiful face betrayed no emotion at this sentence; she returned to her prison with a smile upon her lips; she wrote to her father imploring him to forgive her for having disposed of her life;* she wrote to Barbaroux and gave him an account of her journey and of the deed she had perpetrated in a letter, full of grace, mind, and lofty sentiment; she told him that her friends ought not to regret her loss, for a warm imagination and a tender heart promise but a very stormy life to those who are endowed with them. She added that she had well revenged herself on Petion, who at Caen for a moment suspected her political sentiments. Lastly, she begged him to tell Wimpfen that she had assisted him to gain more than one battle. She concluded with these words: "What paltry people to found a republic! Peace ought at least to be founded; let the government come as it can."

On the 15th Charlotte Corday underwent her sentence with that calmness which had never forsaken her. She replied to the abuse of the rabble by the most modest and the most dignified demeanour. All, however, did not abuse her; many deplored that victim, so young, so beautiful, so disinterested in her deed, and accompanied her to the scaffold with looks of pity and admiration.†

Marat's body was conveyed with great pomp to the garden of the Cordeliers. "That pomp," said the report of the commune, "had in it nothing but what was simple and patriotic. The people, assembled under the banners of the sections, followed quietly. A disorder that might be called imposing, a respectful silence, a general consternation, presented a most touching spectacle. The procession lasted from six in the evening till midnight. it consisted of citizens of all the sections, the members of the Convention, those of the commune and of the department, the electors, and the popular societies. On its arrival at the garden of the Cordeliers, the body of Marat was set down under the trees, whose slightly agitated foliage reflected and multiplied a mild faint light. The people surrounded the coffin in silence. The president of the Convention first delivered an eloquent speech, in which he declared that the time would soon come when Marat would be avenged: but that it behoved them not to incur, by hasty and inconsiderate measures, the reproaches of the enemies of the country. He added that liberty could not perish, and that the death of Marat would only serve to consolidate it. After several other speeches, which were warmly applauded, the body of

* "Pardon me, my dear father," wrote Charlotte Corday, "for having disposed of my life without your permission. I have avenged many victims—prevented others. The people will one day acknowledge the service I have rendered my country. For your sake I wished to remain incognito; but it was impossible. I only trust you will not be injured by what I have done. Farewell, my beloved father! Forget me, or rather rejoice at my fate, for it has sprung from a noble cause. Embrace my sister for me, whom I love with all my heart. Never forget the words of Corneille—the crime makes the shame, and not the scaffold."—*Alison*. E.

† "On her way to the scaffold, Charlotte Corday heard nothing but applause and acclamation, yet by a smile alone she discovered what she felt. When she had ascended the place of execution, her face still glowed with the hue of pleasure; and even in her last moments, the handkerchief which covered her bosom having been removed, her cheeks were suffused with the blush of modesty. At the time of her death, she wanted three months of her twenty-fifth year. She was descended from Peter Corneille."—*Paris Journal*, 1797. E.

"When the axe had terminated Charlotte Corday's life, the executioner held up her head, which was lovely even in death, and gave it several buffets: the spectators shuddered at his atrocity!"—*Lacretelle*. E.

Marat was deposited in the grave. Tears flowed, and all retired with hearts wrung with grief."

The heart of Marat, disputed by several societies, was left with the Cordeliers. His bust, circulated everywhere along with that of Lepelletier and of Brutus, figured in all the assemblies and public places. The seals put upon his papers, were removed. Nothing was found in his possession but a five franc assignat, and his poverty afforded a fresh theme for admiration. His housekeeper, whom, according to the words of Chaumette, he had taken to wife "one fine day, before the face of the sun," was called his widow, and maintained at the expense of the state.

Such was the end of that man, the most singular of a period so fertile in characters. Thrown into the career of science, he had endeavoured to overthrow all systems; launched into the political troubles, he conceived at the very outset a horrible idea, an idea which revolutions daily realize as their dangers increase, but which they never avow—the destruction of all their adversaries.* Marat, observing that the revolution, though it condemned his counsels, nevertheless followed them; that the men whom he had denounced were stripped of their popularity, and immolated on the day that he had predicted; considered himself as the greatest politician of modern times, was filled with extraordinary pride and daring, and was always horrible to his adversaries, and even to his friends themselves at least strange. He came to his end by an accident as singular as his life, and fell at a moment when the chiefs of the republic, concentrating themselves for the purpose of forming a cruel and gloomy government, could no longer put up with a mad, systematic, and daring colleague, who would have deranged all their plans by his vagaries. Incapable, in fact, of being an active and persuasive leader he became the apostle of the Revolution; and when there was no longer need of any apostleship, but only of energy and perseverance, the dagger of an indignant female came most opportunely to make a *martyr* of him, and to give a *saint* to the people, who, tired of their old images, felt the necessity of creating new ones for themselves.

* "When Marat mounted the tribune with the list of proscribed patriots in his hand, and dictated to the astonished Convention what name to insert, and what names to strike out, it was not that poor, distorted scarecrow figure, and maniac countenance, which inspired awe, and silenced opposition; but he was hemmed in, driven on, sustained in the height of all his malevolence, folly, and presumption by eighty thousand foreign bayonets, that sharpened his worthless sentences, and pointed his frantic gestures. Paris threatened with destruction, thrilled at his accents. Paris, dressed in her robe of flames, seconded his incendiary zeal. A thousand hearts were beating in his bosom, which writhed like the sibyl's—a thousand daggers were whetted on his stony words. Had he not been backed by a strong necessity and strong opinion, he would have been treated as a madman; but when his madness arose out of the sacred cause and impending fate of a whole people, he who denounced the danger was a 'seer blest'—he who pointed out a victim was the high-priest of freedom."—*Hazlitt's Life of Napoleon*. E.

THE NATIONAL CONVENTION.

DISTRIBUTION OF THE POWERS, AND MARCH OF PUBLIC OPINION SINCE THE THIRTY-FIRST OF MAY—DISCREDIT OF DANTON—POLITICS OF ROBESPIERRE—DEFEATS OF WESTERMANN AND LABAROLIERE IN LA VENDEE—SIEGE AND REDUCTION OF MAYENCE AND VALENCIENNES—EXTREME DANGER—STATE OF THE PUBLIC SUPPLIES—DISCREDIT OF ASSIGNATS—MAXIMUM; STOCKJOBING.

OF the so famed triumvirs, only Robespierre and Danton were now left. In order to form an idea of their influence, we must see how the powers were distributed, and what course public opinion had taken since the suppression of the right side.

From the very day of its institution, the Convention was, in reality, possessed of all the powers. It disliked, however, to keep them ostensibly in its own hands, as it wished to avoid the appearance of despotism. It therefore suffered a phantom of executive power to exist out of its bosom, and retained ministers. Dissatisfied with their administration, the energy of which was not proportionate to circumstances, it established, immediately after the defection of Dumouriez, a committee of public welfare, which entered upon its functions on the 10th of April, and which exercised a superior influence over the government. It was empowered to suspend the execution of the measures taken by the ministers, to supply deficiencies when it deemed them inadequate, or to revoke them when it found them bad. It drew up the instructions for representatives sent on missions, and was alone authorized to correspond with them. Placed in this manner above the ministers and the representatives, who were themselves placed above the functionaries of all kinds, it had in its hands the entire government. Though, according to its title, this authority was but a mere inspection, it became in reality action itself; for the chief of a state never does anything himself: it is his province to see that things are done according to his order, to select agents, and to direct operations. Now, by the mere right of inspection, the committee was empowered to do all this, and it did this. It directed the military operations, ordered supplies, commanded measures of safety, appointed the generals and the agents of all kinds, and each trembling minister was too happy to get rid of all responsibility, by confining himself to the part of a mere clerk. The members who composed the Committee of public welfare were Barrère, Delmas,* Bréard, Cambon, Robert Lindet, Danton, Guyton-Morveau, Mathieu,

* "J. F. B. Delmas, originally a militia officer, and deputy to the legislature, was sent in 1792 to the army of the North, to announce the King's dethronement, but no sooner had he become a member of the Convention, than he presided in the Jacobin society and voted for the death of Louis. In 1783 he was chosen a member of the committee of public safety; and in the following year was joined with Barras in the direction of the armed force against Robespierre's partisans. He was afterwards appointed a member of the Council of Ancients, who chose him for their secretary and president. In the year 1798 a fit of decided madness terminated his political career."—*Biographie Moderne*.

and Ramel. They were known to be able and laborious men, and though they were suspected of some degree of moderation, they were not yet suspected so much as to be considered, like the Girondins, accomplices of the foreign powers.

In a short time, they accumulated in their hands all the affairs of the state, and though they had been appointed for a month only, yet, from an unwillingness to interrupt their labours, the duration of the committee was extended from month to month, from the 10th of April to the 10th of May from the 10th of May to the 10th of June, and from the 10th of June to the 10th of July. Under the committee of public welfare, the committee of general safety exercised the high police—a point of great importance in times of distrust; but in its very functions it was dependent on the committee of public welfare, which, charged generally with every thing that concerned the welfare of the state, became competent to investigate plots that were likely to compromise the republic.

Thus, by its decrees, the Convention had the supreme will, by its representatives and its committee, it had the execution, and though intending not to unite all the powers in its own hands, it had been irresistibly urged to do so by circumstances, and by the necessity for causing that to be executed under its own eyes, and by its own members, which it would have deemed ill done by other agents.

Nevertheless, though all the authority was exercised in its bosom, it was only by the approbation of the government that it participated in the operations of the latter, and it never discussed them. The great questions of social organization were resolved by the constitution, which established pure democracy. The question whether its partisans should resort to the most revolutionary means in order to save themselves, and if they should obey all that passion could dictate, was resolved by the 31st of May. Thus the constitution of the state and the moral policy were fixed. Nothing, therefore, but the administrative, financial, and military measures remained to be examined. Now, subjects of this nature can rarely be comprehended by a numerous assembly, and are consigned to the decision of men who make them their special study. The Convention cheerfully referred on this point to the committees appointed for the management of affairs. It had no reason to suspect either their integrity, their intelligence, or their zeal. It was, therefore, obliged to be silent; and the last revolution, while taking from it the courage, had also deprived it of the occasion, for discussion. It was now no more than a council of state, whose committees, charged with certain labours, came every day to submit reports, which were always applauded, and to propose decrees which were uniformly adopted. The sittings become dull, tranquil, and very short, did not now last, as formerly, whole days and nights.

Below the Convention, which attended to general matters of government, the commune superintended the municipal system, in which it made a real revolution. No longer thinking, since the 31st of May, of conspiring and of employing the local force of Paris against the Convention, it directed its attention to the police, the supply of provisions, the markets, the church, the theatres, and even to the public prostitutes, and framed regulations on all these objects of internal and private government, which soon became models for all France. Chaumette, its *procureur général*, always listened to and applauded by the people, was the reporter of this municipal legislature. Seeking constantly new subjects for regulating, continually encroaching upon private liberty, this legislator of the *halles* and of the markets, became

every day more annoying and more formidable. Pache, cold as ever, suffered everything to be done before his face, gave his approbation to the measures proposed, and left to Chaumette the honours of the municipal tribune.

The Convention, leaving its committees to act, and the commune being exclusively engaged with its duties, the discussion of matters of government rested with the Jacobins. They alone investigated, with their wonted boldness, the operations of the government and the conduct of each of its agents. They had long since acquired, as we have seen, very great importance by their number, by the celebrity and the high rank of most of their members, by the vast train of their branch societies, and lastly, by their old standing and long influence upon the Revolution. But, the 31st of May having silenced the right side of the Assembly, and given predominance to the system of unbounded energy, they had recently gained an immense power of opinion, and inherited the right of speaking, abdicated in some measure by the Convention. They persecuted the committees with a continual superintendence, discussed their conduct and that of the representatives, ministers, and generals, with that rage for personality which was peculiar to them; and they exercised over all the agents an inexorable censorship, frequently unjust, but always beneficial on account of the terror which it excited, and the assiduity which it created in them all. The other popular societies had likewise their liberty and their influence, but yet submitted to the authority of the Jacobins. The Cordeliers, for instance, more turbulent, more prompt in acting, deferred, nevertheless, to the superiority of reason of their elder brethren, and suffered themselves to be guided by their counsels, whenever they happened, from excess of revolutionary impatience, to anticipate the proper moment for a proposition. The petition of Jacques Roux, withdrawn by the Cordeliers, on the recommendation of the Jacobins, was a proof of this deference.

Such was, since the 31st of May, the distribution of powers and influence. There were seen at once a governing committee, a commune attending to municipal regulations, and the Jacobins, keeping a strict and continual watch upon the government.

Two months had not elapsed before the public opinion began to animadvert severely upon the existing administration. Men's minds could not dwell upon the 31st of May; they were impelled to go beyond it, and it was natural that they should constantly demand more energy, more celerity, and more results. In the general reform of the committees required on the 2d of June, the committee of public welfare, composed of industrious men, strangers to all the parties, and engaged in labours which it would be dangerous to interrupt, had been spared; but it was remembered that it had hesitated from the 31st of May to the 2d of June, that it had proposed to negotiate with the departments and to send them hostages, and it had thence been concluded that it was inadequate to the circumstances. Having been instituted in the most difficult moment, defeats were imputed to it which were occasioned by our unfortunate situation, and not by any fault on its part. As the centre of all operations, it was overwhelmed with business, and it was accused of burying itself in papers, of suffering itself to be engrossed by details—of being, in short, worn out and incapable. Established, nevertheless, at the moment of the defection of Dumouriez, when all the armies were disorganized, when La Vendée began the insurrection, when Spain was beginning the war, it had reorganized the army of the North and that of the Rhine; it had created the armies of the Pyrenees

and La Vendée, which did not exist, and provisioned one hundred and twenty-six fortresses or forts; and though much yet remained to be done in order to place our forces upon the requisite footing, still it was a great thing to have accomplished so much in so short a time, and amidst the obstacles of the insurrection in the departments. But public impatience required still more than had been done, nay, even than could be done, and it was precisely in this manner that it produced an energy so extraordinary and proportionate to the danger. To increase the strength of the committee and to infuse into it fresh revolutionary energy, St.-Just, Jean-Bon-St.-André, and Couthon, were added to it. Still people were not satisfied. They admitted that the new members were certainly excellent men, but declared that their influence was neutralized by the others.

Opinion was not less severe upon the ministers. Garat, minister of the interior, who was first viewed with some favour on account of his neutrality between the Girondins and the Jacobins, was nothing but a moderate after the 2d of June. Having been directed to draw up a paper to enlighten the departments on the recent events, he had composed a long dissertation, in which he explained and balanced all the faults of all the parties, with an impartiality no doubt highly philosophic, but not at all adapted to the feelings of the moment. Robespierre, to whom he communicated this far too discreet paper, condemned it. The Jacobins were soon apprized of the circumstance, and charged Garat with having done nothing to counteract the poison diffused by Roland. D'Albarade, minister of the marine, was in nearly the same predicament. He was accused of leaving all the old aristocrats in the higher ranks of the navy. It was true enough that he had retained many of them, as the events at Toulon soon afterwards proved: but it was much more difficult to clear the naval than the military force, because the peculiar acquirements and experience demanded by the navy do not permit old officers to be superseded by new ones, or a peasant to be transformed in six months into a sailor, a petty officer, or an admiral. Bouchotte, the minister at war, had alone remained in favour, because, after the example of Pache, his predecessor, he had thrown open his office to the Jacobins and the Cordeliers, and had lulled their distrust by appointing them to places in his department. Almost all the generals were accused, and especially the nobles; but there were two in particular who had become the bugbears of the day: these were Custine in the North, and Biron in the West. Marat, as we have seen, had accused them a few days before his death; and ever since that accusation, everybody was asking why Custine tarried in Cæsar's Camp without raising the blockade of Valenciennes—why Biron, inactive in Lower Vendée, had allowed Saumur to be taken and Nantes to be besieged.

The same distrust pervaded the interior. Calumny alighted upon all heads, and misled the best patriots. As there was now no right side to which everything could be attributed, as there was now no Roland, no Brissot, no Guadet, to whom treason could be imputed on every alarm, accusation threatened the most decided republicans. An incredible mania of suspicion and accusation prevailed. The longest and the most steady revolutionary life was now no security, and a person was liable to be assimilated in a day, in an hour, to the greatest enemies of the republic. The imagination could not so soon break the spell in which it was held by Danton, whose daring and whose eloquence had infused new courage in all decisive circumstances; but Danton carried into the revolution a most vehement passion for the object without any hatred against persons, and this was not enough. The spirit of revolution is composed of passion for the object and hatred

against those who throw obstacles in its way. Danton had but one of these sentiments. In regard to revolutionary measures tending to strike the rich, to rouse the indifferent to activity, and to develop the resources of the nation, he had gone all lengths, and had devised the boldest and the most violent means; but, easy and forbearing towards individuals, he did not discover enemies in all: he saw among them men differing in character and intellect, whom it behoved him to gain or to take, with the degree of their energy, such as it was. He had not considered Dumouriez as a traitor, but as a discontented man driven to extremity. He had not regarded the Girondins as accomplices of Pitt, but as upright though incapable men; and he would have wished them to be removed, not sacrificed. It was even said that he was offended at the order given by Henriot on the 2d of June. He shook hands with noble generals, dined with contractors, conversed familiarly with men of all parties, sought pleasure, and had drunk deeply of it during the revolution.

All this was well known, and the most equivocal rumours were circulated relative to his energy and his integrity. On one day it was said that Danton had ceased to attend at the Jacobins; his indolence, his fondness for pleasure were talked of; and it was asserted that the Revolution had not been to him a career devoid of gratification. On another day a Jacobin said in the tribune, "Danton left me to go and shake hands with a general." Sometimes complaints were made of the persons whom he had recommended to the ministers. Not daring to attack him personally, people attacked his friends. Legendre, the butcher, his colleague in the deputation of Paris, his lieutenant in the streets and the fauxbourgs, and the copyist of his coarse and wild eloquence, was treated as a moderate by Hebert and the other turbulent spirits at the Cordeliers. "I, a moderate!" exclaimed Legendre, at the Jacobins, "when I am always reproaching myself with exaggeration; when they write from Bordeaux, that I knocked down Guadet; when it is stated in all the papers, that I collared Lanjuinais, and dragged him along the floor!"

Another friend of Danton, an equally well-known and tried patriot, Camille-Desmoulins,* at once the most natural, the most comic, and the most eloquent writer produced by the Revolution, was also accused of being a moderate. Camille was well acquainted with General Dillon, who, placed by Dumouriez at the post of the Islettes in the Argonne, had there displayed equal firmness and intrepidity. Camille had convinced himself that Dillon was nothing but a brave man, without any political opinion, but endowed with great military genius, and sincerely desirous to serve the republic. All at once, owing to that unaccountable distrust which prevailed, it was reported that Dillon was going to put himself at the head of a conspiracy for the purpose of seating Louis XVII. on the throne. The committee of public welfare immediately issued orders for his arrest. Camille,

* "This brilliant, but headstrong young man had followed every early movement of the Revolution, approving of all its measures and all its excesses. His heart, however, was kind, and gentle, although his opinions had been violent, and his pleasantries often cruel. He had approved of the revolutionary government, because he had conceived it indispensable to lay the foundation of the republic; he had co-operated in the ruin of the Gironde, because he feared the dissensions of the republic. The republic! It was to this he had sacrificed even his scruples and his sympathies, his justice and his humanity. He had given everything to his party, thinking he had given it to his country. In his Old Cordelier he spoke of liberty with the profound sense of Machiavel; and of men, with the wit of Voltaire." —*Mignet*. F.

certain, from his own knowledge, that such a report was a mere fable, began to defend Dillon before the Convention. From all quarters he was assailed with cries of, "You dine with the aristocrats."—"Don't let Camille disgrace himself," exclaimed Billaud-Varennes, interrupting him. "You won't let me speak, then?" rejoined Camille; "well, I have my inkstand left;" and he immediately wrote a pamphlet entitled, *Letter to Dillon*, full of energy and reason, in which he deals his blows on all sides and at all persons. To the committee of public welfare, he says, "You have usurped all the powers, taken all affairs into your hands, and bring none of them to a conclusion. Three of you were charged with the war department; one is absent; the other ill, and the third knows nothing about it. You leave at the head of our armies, the Custines, the Biron, the Menous, the Berthiers, all aristocrats, or Fayetteists, or incapables." To Cambon, he says, "I comprehend nothing of thy system of finance, but thy paper is very like Law's, and passes as quickly from hand to hand." He says to Billaud-Varennes, "Thou hast a grudge against Arthur Dillon, because he led thee, when commissioner to his army, into the fire;" and to St. Just, "Thou hast a high opinion of thyself, and holdest up thy head like a St.-Sacrament;"* to Bréard, to Delmas, to Barrère, and others, "You wanted to reign on the 2d of June, because you could not look coolly at that Revolution, so frightful did it appear to you." He adds, that Dillon is neither republican, federalist, nor aristocrat; that he is a soldier, and solicitous only to serve; that, in point of patriotism, he is worth the committee of public welfare and all the staff retained at the head of the armies put together; that at any rate he is an excellent officer, that the country is but too fortunate to be able to keep a few such, and that it must not be imagined that every sergeant can make a general. "Since," he added, "an unknown officer, Dumouriez, conquered, in spite of himself, at Jemappes, and took possession of all Belgium and Breda, like a quartermaster *with his chalk*, the success of the republic has thrown us into the same kind of intoxication as the success of his reign imparted to Louis XIV. He picked up his generals in his antechamber, and we fancy we can pick up ours in the streets. We have even gone so far as to assert that we have three millions of generals."

It is obvious, from this language and from these cross-fires, that confusion prevailed in the Mountain. This situation is usually that of every party which has just been victorious, that is, splitting, but whose fractions are not yet completely detached. There was not yet any new party formed among the conquerors. The epithet of *modéré exagéré*, hovered over every head, but did not yet alight upon any. Amidst all this tumult of opinion, the reputation of one man continued inaccessible to attack—that was Robespierre's. He was not reproached with indulgence for any person whatever. He had never shown affection for any proscribed individual; he had never associated with any general, financier, or deputy. He could not be charged with having indulged in pleasure during the Revolution, for he lived obscurely at a cabinet-maker's, and kept up an entirely unknown connexion with one of his daughters. Austere, reserved, upright, he was, and was reputed to be, incorruptible.† Nothing could be laid to his charge but pride, a kind of vice

* "In speaking of St. Just on one occasion, Camille-Desmoulins had said, 'He considers himself so long as he carries his head respectfully on his shoulders as a St. Sacrament.'—'And I,' replied Just, 'will soon make him carry his like a St. Dennis!'"—*Mignet*. E.

† "Robespierre, observed Napoleon, was by no means the worst character who figured in the Revolution. He was a fanatic, a monster; but he was incorruptible, and incapable of robbing, or of causing the deaths of others, either from personal enmity, or a desire of enriching

which does not stain like corruption, but which does great mischief in civil dissensions, and becomes terrible in austere men, in religious or political devotees, because, being their only passion, it is indulged by them without distraction and without pity.

Robespierre was the only man who could repress certain movements of revolutionary impatience without causing his moderation to be imputed to ties of pleasure or interest. His resistance, whenever he opposed, was never attributed to anything but reason. He felt this position, and he began, for the first time, to form a system for himself. Wholly intent up to this time on the gratification of his hatred, he had studied only how to drive the Revolution over the Girondins. Now, perceiving danger to the patriots in a new excitement of opinion, he thought that it was right to keep up respect for the Convention and the committee of public welfare, because the whole authority resided in them, and could not be transferred to other hands without tremendous confusion. Besides, he was a member of that Convention; he could not fail to be soon in the committee of public welfare, and he defended at one and the same time an indispensable authority, of which he was about to form a part. As every opinion was first formed at the Jacobins, he strove to secure them more and more, to bind them to the Convention and the committees, calculating that he could sever them again whenever he should think fit. Constant in his attendance, but constant to them alone, he flattered them by his presence; and, speaking but seldom in the Convention, where, as we have said, there was now scarcely any speaking, he frequently delivered his sentiments from their tribune, and never suffered any important motion to pass, without discussing, modifying, or opposing it.

On this point his conduct was much more ably calculated than that of Danton. Nothing offends men, and favours equivocal reports, more than absence. Danton, careless, like men of ardent and impassioned genius, was too little at the Jacobins. When he did appear there, he was obliged to justify himself, to declare that he was still a good patriot, to say, that, "if he sometimes showed a certain degree of indulgence for the purpose of bringing back weak but excellent minds, they might be assured that his energy was not on that account diminished, that he still watched with the same zeal over the interests of the republic, and that it would be victorious." Vain and dangerous excuses! As soon as a man is obliged to explain and justify himself, he is controlled by those whom he addresses. Robespierre, on the contrary, always present, always ready to repel insinuations, was never reduced to the necessity of justifying himself. He assumed, on his part, an accusing tone; he scolded his trusty Jacobins; and he had skilfully seized that point when the passion that one excites is so decided as to be only increased by severity.

We have seen how he treated Jacques Roux, who had proposed a petition against the constitutional act. He pursued the same course on all occasions

himself. He was an enthusiast, but one who really believed that he was acting rightly, and died not worth a sou. In some respects, Robespierre may be said to have been an honest man. All the crimes committed by Hebert, Chaumette, Collot-d'Herbois and others, were imputed to him. It was truly astonishing to see those fanatics, who, bathed up to the elbows in blood, would not for the world have taken a piece of money or a watch, from the victims they were butchering! Such was the power of fanaticism, that they actually believed they were acting well at a time when a man's life was no more regarded by them than that of a fly! At the very time when Marat and Robespierre were committing those massacres, if Pitt had offered them two hundred millions of money, they would have refused it with indignation."—*Voice from St. Helena.* E.

when matters relating to the Convention were discussed. It was purified, he said; it now deserved nothing but respect; whoever accused it was a bad citizen. The committee of public welfare had, to be sure, not done all that it ought to have done (for, while defending them, Robespierre never failed to censure those whom he defended); but this committee was in a better train; to attack it was to destroy the necessary centre of all the authorities, to weaken the energy of the government, and to compromise the republic. When a disposition was shown to pester the Convention or the committee with too many petitions, he opposed it, saying, that it was wasting the influence of the Jacobins, and the time of the depositories of power. One day, it was proposed that the sittings of the committee should be public: he inveighed against this motion, saying, that they were concealed enemies, who, under the mask of patriotism, brought forward the most inflammatory propositions; and he began to maintain that foreigners kept in their pay two classes of conspirators in France, the *exaggerates*, who urged everything on to disorder, and the *moderates*, who wanted to paralyze everything by their effeminacy.

The committee of public welfare had been thrice prorogued. On the 10th of July it was to be prorogued a fourth time, or renewed. On the 8th there was a full meeting at the Jacobins. On all sides it was said that the members of the committee ought to be changed, and that it ought not to be again prorogued, as it had been for three successive months. "The committee," said Bourdon, "has, no doubt, good intentions. I mean not to lay anything to its charge; but it is a misfortune incident to human nature to profess energy for a few days only. The present members of the committee have already passed that period. They are worn out. Let us change them. We want, now-a-days, revolutionary men, men to whom we can commit the fate of the republic, and who will answer for it with their lives."

The fiery Chabot succeeded Bourdon. "The committee," said he, "ought to be renewed. We must not suffer a new prorogation. To add to it a few more members, known to be good patriots, will not be sufficient; for this has been proved by what has just happened." Couthon, St.-Just, and Jean-Bon-St.-André, recently appointed, had been ousted by their colleagues. Neither ought the committee to be renewed by secret ballot, for the new one would be no better than the old one, which was good for nothing. "I have heard Mathieu," continued Chabot, "make the most incivie speeches at the society of the female revolutionists. Ramel* has written to Toulouse that the landed proprietors alone could save the commonwealth, and that care must be taken not to put arms into the hands of the *sans-culottes*. Cambon is a dolt, who sees all objects magnified, and is frightened at them when a hundred paces off. Guyton-Morveau is an honest man, but a quaker who is always trembling. Delmas, to whom some of the appointments were left, has made a bad choice, and filled the army with counter-revolutionists: lastly, this committee was friendly towards Lebrun, and is hostile to Bouchotte."

Robespierre was eager to answer Chabot. "I feel," said he, "that every sentence, every word of Chabot's speech, breathes the purest patriotism;

* "Ramel served in the army from the age of fifteen, passed through all the ranks, and at the end of 1792 obtained the post of adjutant-general. He had seen but little service, and had never distinguished himself until he obtained the command of the grenadiers of the guard of the legislative body, when he brought himself into public notice for a short time. It was his favourite boast that he was equally odious to the royalists and the anarchists."—*Biographie M. derne*. E.

but I perceive in it also that overheated patriotism which is angry because everything does not turn out according to its wishes, which is irritated because the committee of public welfare has not attained in its operations an impossible perfection, and which Chabot will nowhere find.

"Like him, I am of opinion that this committee is not composed of men all equally enlightened, equally virtuous: but what body will he find that is so composed? Can he prevent men from being liable to error? Has he not seen the Convention, since it vomited forth from its bosom the traitors who dishonoured it, assuming new energy, a grandeur which had been foreign to it until this day, and a more august character in its representation? Is not this example sufficient to prove that it is not always necessary to destroy, and that it is sometimes more prudent to do no more than to reform?"

"Yes, indeed, there are in the committee of public welfare men capable of readjusting the machine, and giving new power to its means. In this they ought to be encouraged. Who will forget the services which this committee has rendered to the public cause, the numerous plots which it has discovered, the able reports for which we are indebted to it, the judicious and profound views which it has unfolded to us?"

"The Assembly has not created a committee of public welfare with the intention of influencing it, or itself directing its decrees; but this committee has been serviceable to it in separating that which was good in the measures proposed from that which, presented in an attractive form, might have led to the most dangerous consequences. It has given the first impulse to several essential determinations which have perhaps saved the country; but it has spared it the inconveniences of an arduous and frequently unproductive toil, by submitting to it the results already happily discovered, of a labour with which it was not sufficiently familiar.

"All this is enough to prove that the committee of public welfare has not been of so little benefit as people affect to believe. It has its faults, no doubt; it is not for me to deny them. Is it likely that I should incline to indulgence—I, who think that nothing has been done for the country while anything remains undone? Yes, it has its faults, and I am willing to join you in charging it with them; but it would be impolitic at this moment to draw the disfavoured of the people upon a committee which needs to be invested with all their confidence, which is charged with important interests, and from which the country expects great services; and, though it has not the approbation of the revolutionary republican female citizens, I deem it to be not less adapted to its important operations."

After this speech of Robespierre, the discussion was dropped. Two days afterwards the committee was renewed, and reduced to nine members, as at first. These new members were Barrère, Jean-Bon-St.-André, Gasparin, Couthon, Hérault-Séchelles, St.-Just, Thuriot, Robert Lindet, and Prieur of La Marne. All the members accused of weakness were dismissed, excepting Barrère, whose extraordinary talent for drawing up reports, and whose facility in bending to circumstances, had obtained for him forgiveness for the past. Robespierre was not yet there; but a few days later, when there was somewhat more danger on the frontiers and terror in the Convention, he was destined to become a member of this committee.

Robespierre had several other occasions to employ his new policy. The navy began to excite some uneasiness. Constant complaints were made against d'Albarade, the minister, and Monge his predecessor, on account of the deplorable state of our squadrons, which after their return from Sardina to the dockyard of Toulon, were not repaired, and which were commanded

by old officers, almost all of them aristocrats. Complaints were likewise made of some new appointments in the navy-office. A man, named Peyron, who had been sent to reorganize the army at Toulon, was accused among others. He had not done, it was alleged, what he ought to have done; the minister was held responsible, and the minister had shifted the responsibility to an eminent patriot by whom Peyron had been recommended to him. The designation of eminent patriot was significantly employed by the speaker, who did not venture to name him. "Name! name!" cried several voices. "Well, then," rejoined the denouncer, "that eminent patriot is Danton." Murmurs burst forth at these words. Robespierre hastened to the tribune. "I propose," said he, "that the farce should cease, and the sitting begin. . . . D'Albarade is accused; I know nothing of him but by public report, which proclaims him a patriot minister. But what is he charged with here?—an error. And what man is exempt from error? A choice that he has made has not answered the general expectation! Bouchotte and Pache have also made faulty selections, and yet they are two genuine republicans, two sincere friends of the country. A man is in place. That is enough—he is calumniated. Ah! when shall we cease to believe all the absurd or perfidious tales that pour in upon us from all quarters!

"I have perceived that to this rather general denunciation of the minister has been appended a particular denunciation against Danton. And is it of him that people want to make you suspicious? But if, instead of discouraging patriots from seeking with such care after crimes where scarcely a slight error exists, you were to take a little pains to facilitate their operations, to render their track clearer and less thorny; that would be more honourable and the country would benefit by it. Bouchotte has been denounced, Pache has been denounced, for it is decreed that the best patriots should be denounced. It is time to put an end to these ridiculous and afflicting scenes. I should rejoice if the society of Jacobins would confine themselves to a series of matters which they could discuss with advantage; and if they would check the great number of those which excite agitation in their bosom, and which are for the most part equally futile and dangerous."

Thus Robespierre, perceiving the danger of a new excitement of opinion, which might have overturned the government, strove to bind the Jacobins to the Convention, to the committees, and to the old patriots. All was profit for him in this praiseworthy and useful policy. In paving the way to the power of the committees, he paved the way to his own; in defending the patriots of the same date and the same energy as himself, he secured his own safety, and prevented opinion from striking victims by his side; he placed very far beneath him those to whom he lent his protection; lastly, he caused himself to be adored by the Jacobins for his very severity, and gained a high reputation for wisdom. In this Robespierre was actuated by no other ambition than that of all the revolutionary chiefs who had endeavoured to hold fast the Revolution for themselves; and this policy, which had deprived them all of their popularity, was not destined to render him unpopular, because the Revolution was approaching the term of its dangers and of its excesses.

The detained deputies had been placed under accusation immediately after the death of Marat, and preparations were made for their trial. It was already said that the heads of the remaining Bourbons ought to fall, though, those heads were the heads of two women, one the wife, the other the sister, of the late King, and that of the Duke of Orleans, so faithful to the Revolution, and now imprisoned at Marseilles as a reward for his services.

A festival had been ordered for the acceptance of the constitution. All the primary assemblies were to send deputies to express their wishes, and to meet for the purpose of holding a solemn festival in the field of the federation. The day fixed upon was not the 14th of July, as formerly, but the 10th of August, for the taking of the Tuileries had founded the republic, whereas the taking of the Bastille had only abolished feudalism, and left the monarchy standing. Thus the republicans and the constitutional royalists differed on this point, that the one celebrated the 10th of August, the others the 14th of July.

Federalism was expiring, and the acceptance of the constitution was general. Bordeaux still maintained the greatest reserve, doing no act either of submission or hostility; but it accepted the constitution. Lyons continued the proceedings, which it had been ordered to transfer to the revolutionary tribunal; but, rebellious on this point, it submitted in respect to the others, and adhered also to the constitution. Marseilles alone refused its adhesion. But its little army, already separated from that of Languedoc, had, towards the end of July, been driven from Avignon, and had recrossed the Durance. Thus federalism was vanquished, and the constitution triumphant. But the danger had increased on the frontiers; it became urgent in La Vendée, on the Rhine, and in the North; new victories made the Vendéans amends for their check before Nantes; and Mayence and Valenciennes were more closely pressed than ever.

We left the Vendéans returning to their own country after the expedition against Nantes. Biron arrived at Angers after Nantes was delivered, and concerted a plan with General Canclaux. Westermann had meanwhile proceeded to Niort with the Germanic legion, and had obtained permission from Biron to advance into the interior of the country. Westermann was the same Alsatian who had distinguished himself on the 10th of August, and had decided the success of that day; who had served with glory under Dumouriez, connected himself with that general and with Danton, been accused by Marat, and even caned him, it was said, for his abusive language. He was one of those patriots, whose eminent services were acknowledged, but whom people began to reproach for the pleasures in which they had indulged during the Revolution, and with whom they began already to be disgusted, because they required discipline in the armies, and knowledge in the officers and were not for turning out every noble general, or calling every beaten general a traitor.

Westermann had formed a legion called the Germanic, of four or five thousand men, comprehending infantry, cavalry, and artillery. At the head of this little army, of which he had made himself master, and in which he maintained strict discipline, he had displayed the greatest daring, and performed brilliant exploits. Transferred to La Vendée with his legion, he had organized it anew, and driven from it the cowards who had denounced him. He manifested a sovereign contempt for those untrained battalions which pillaged and laid waste the country; he professed the same sentiments as Biron, and was classed with him among the military aristocrats. Bouchotte, the minister at war, had, as we have seen, sent his agents, Jacobins and Cordeliers, into La Vendée. There they placed themselves on an equality with the representatives and the generals, authorized plunder and extortion under the name of military requisitions, and insubordination under the pretext of defending the soldier against the despotism of the officers.

The chief clerk in the war department under Bouchotte was Vincent, a young frantic Cordelier, the most dangerous and the most turbulent spirit of

that period. He governed Bouchette, selected persons for all appointments, and persecuted the generals with extreme severity. Ronsin, the commissary sent to Dumouriez, when his contracts were annulled, was a friend of Vincent and of Bouchotte, and the principal of their agents in La Vendée, with the title of assistant minister. Under him were Momoro, a printer, Grammont, a comedian, and several others, who acted in the same spirit and with the same violence. Westermann, already not on good terms with them, made them his decided enemies by an act of energy. One Rossignol,* formerly a working goldsmith, who had distinguished himself on the 20th of June and the 10th of August, and who was chief of one of the Orleans battalions, was among the new officers favoured by the Cordelier ministry. Drinking, one day, in company with some of Westermann's soldiers, he said that the men ought not to be the slaves of the officers, that Biron was a *ci-devant*, a traitor, and that the citizens ought to be driven out of their houses to make room for the troops. Westermann ordered him to be arrested, and gave him up to the military tribunals. Ronsin immediately claimed him, and lost no time in transmitting to Paris a denunciation against Westermann.

Westermann, giving himself no concern about the matter, marched with his legion for the purpose of penetrating into the very heart of La Vendée. Starting from the side opposite to the Loire, that is to say, from the south of the theatre of the war, he first took possession of Parthenai, then entered Amaillou, and set fire to the latter village, by way of reprisal towards M. de Lescure. The latter, on entering Parthenai, had exercised severities against the inhabitants, who were accused of revolutionary sentiments. Westermann ordered all the inhabitants of Amaillou to be collected, and sent them to those of Parthenai, as an indemnification; he then burned the chateau of Clisson, belonging to Lescure,† and everywhere struck terror by his rapid march, and the

* "Rossignol, a journeyman goldsmith at Paris, a man of naturally violent passions which were increased by want of education, was one of the heroes of the Bastille, and one of the actors in the September massacres. In 1793 he was made lieutenant-colonel of a regiment of gendarmerie, and employed against the Vendéans, but Biron ordered him to be imprisoned at Niort for extortion and atrocity. He was soon afterwards released, but forwarded the war of La Vendée but little, being seldom victorious, and revenging himself for his want of success by carrying fire and sword wherever he went. Having obtained the chief command of the army of the coasts of Brest, he became more cruel than ever, and issued a proclamation that he would pay ten livres for every pair of ears of Vendéans that were brought him. Rossignol gloried in his barbarity, and one day at a supper at Saumur, said, 'Look at this arm; it has despatched sixty-three Carmelite priests at Paris.' Having escaped the scaffold, with which he was several times threatened, he was transported in 1800, and being carried to one of the islands of the Indian Archipelago, died there in the year 1803."—*Biographie Moderne*. E.

† "General Westermann entered Parthenay with about ten thousand men. From thence he went to Amaillou, and set fire to the village. This was the beginning of the republican burnings. Westermann then marched on Clisson; he knew that it was the chateau of M. de Lescure, and, imagining that he must there find a numerous garrison, and experience an obstinate resistance, he advanced with all his men, and not without great precautions, to attack this chief of the brigands. He arrived at nine o'clock at night. Some concealed peasants fired a few shots from the wood and garden, which frightened the republicans very much; but they seized some women, and learned that there was nobody at Clisson. Westermann then entered, and wrote from thence a triumphant letter to the Convention, which was published in the newspapers, sending the will and the picture of M. de Lescure, and relating that, after having crossed many ravines, ditches, and covered ways, he had at last reached the den of that monster 'vomited from hell,' and was going to set fire to it. In fact, he had straw and faggots brought into the rooms, the garrets, the stables, and the farm, and took all his measures that nothing should escape the fire. The furniture was consumed, immense quantities of corn and hay were not spared;—it was the same everywhere. After-

exaggerated reports of his military executions. Westermann was not cruel,* but he began those disastrous reprisals which ruined the neutral districts, accused by each party of having favoured its adversaries. All had fled to Châtillon, and there the families of the Vendean chiefs, and the wrecks of their armies, had assembled. On the third of July, Westermann, fearlessly venturing into the very heart of the insurgent country, entered Châtillon, and expelled from it the superior council and the staff, which sat there as in their capital. The report of this bold exploit spread far and wide; but Westermann's position was precarious. The Vendean chiefs had fallen back, rung the tocsin, collected a considerable army, and were preparing to surprise Westermann from a side where he least expected it. In a mill, out of Châtillon, he had placed a post which commanded all the environs. The Vendéans, advancing by stealth, according to their usual tactics, surrounded this post, and attacked it on all sides. Westermann, apprized rather late of the circumstance, instantly sent detachments to its support, but they were repulsed, and returned to Châtillon. Alarm then seized the republican army; it abandoned Châtillon in disorder; and Westermann himself, after performing prodigies of valour, was obliged to make a precipitate retreat, leaving behind him a great number of dead or prisoners. This check caused a degree of discouragement equal to that of the presumption and hope which the temerity and success of the expedition had excited.

During these occurrences at Châtillon, Biron had agreed upon a plan with Canclaux.† They were both to descend to Nantes, to sweep the left bank of the Loire, then turn towards Machecoul, unite with Boulard, who was to set out from Sables, and, after having thus separated the Vendéans from the sea, to march towards Upper Vendée, for the purpose of reducing the whole country. The representatives disapproved of this plan; they pretended that he ought to start from the very point where he was to penetrate into the country, and march, in consequence, upon the bridges of Cé, with the troops collected at Angers; and that a column should be ordered to advance from Niort to support him on the opposite side. Biron, finding his plans thwarted, resigned the command. At this very moment news arrived of the defeat at Châtillon, and the whole was imputed to Biron. He was reproached with having suffered Nantes to be besieged, and with not having seconded Westermann. On the denunciation of Ronsin and his agents, he was summoned to the bar;‡ Westermann was put upon his trial, and Rossignol immediately

wards, the republican armies burnt even provisions, though the rest of France was suffering from famine."—*Memoirs of the Marchioness de Larochejaquelein*. E.

* "Westermann delighted in carnage. M. Beauchamp says that he would throw off his coat, tuck up his sleeves, and then, with his sabre, rush into the crowd, and hew about him to the right and left! He boasted that he had himself destroyed the last of the Vendéans—that chiefs, officers, soldiers, priests, and nobles, had all perished by the sword, the fire, or water. But when his own fate was decided, then his eyes were purged; from the moment that he apprehended death, his dreams were of the horrors which he had perpetrated; he fancied himself beset by the spirits of the murdered, and his hell began on earth!"—*Quarterly Review*. E.

† "From principle and feeling Canclaux was a royalist. Rigid in his own conduct and indulgent towards others, unaffectedly pious, and singularly amiable in all the relations of life, he was beloved by all who knew him, and by all who were under his command. He entered the army, having, as Puisaye believes, the example of Monk in his mind. He was employed to fight against the truest friends of the monarchy; he was surrounded by spies and executioners: and this man, made by his education, his principles, and the habits of a long life, to set an example to his fellows of the practice of every virtue—ended in becoming the deplorable instrument of every crime!"—*Quarterly Review*. E.

‡ "Biron was accused at the bar of the Convention, and the arrest of Rossignol was one

liberated. Such was the fate of the generals of La Vendée amidst the Jacobin agents.

General Labarolière took the command of the troops which Biron had left at Angers, and prepared, agreeably to the wishes of the representatives, to advance into the country by the bridges of Cé. After having left fourteen hundred men at Saumur, and fifteen hundred at the bridges of Cé, he proceeded to Brissac, where he placed a post to secure his communications. This undisciplined army committed the most frightful devastations* in a country devoted to the republic. On the 15th of July it was attacked in the camp of Fline by twenty thousand Vendéans. The advanced guard, composed of regular troops, made a resolute resistance. The main body, however, was on the point of yielding, when the Vendéans, more prompt at running away, retired in disorder. The new battalions then showed somewhat more ardour, and, in order to encourage them, those praises were bestowed on them which had been deserved by the advanced guard alone. On the 17th, the army advanced nearly to Vihiers, and a new attack, received and supported with the same vigour by the advanced guard, and with the same hesitation by the main body, was anew repulsed. In the course of the day the army arrived at Vihiers. Several generals, thinking that the Orleans battalions were too ill-organized to keep the field, and that it would be impossible to remain in the country with such an army, were of opinion that they ought to retire. Labarolière decided on waiting at Vihiers, and defending himself in case he should be attacked. On the 18th, at one in the afternoon, the Vendéans made their appearance. The republican advanced guard behaved with the same valour as before; but the rest of the army wavered at sight of the enemy, and fell back in spite of the efforts of the generals. The battalions of Paris,† much more ready to raise the outcry of treason than to fight, retired in disorder. The confusion became general. Santerre, who had thrown himself most courageously into the thick of the fray, narrowly escaped being taken. Bourbotte,‡ the representative, was in the like danger; and the army fled in such haste, that, in a few hours, it was at Saumur. The division of Niort, which was about to march, remained where it was: and, on the 20th, it was decided that it should wait for the reorganization of the column at Saumur. As it was necessary that some one should be made responsible for the defeat, Ronsin and his agents denounced Ber-

of his crimes. An ex-noble could expect no mercy, and he was delivered over to the revolutionary tribunal. His words upon the scaffold were, 'I have been false to my God, my order, and my king—I die full of faith and repentance.'—*Quarterly Review*. E.

* "The land was utterly laid waste, and nothing left in some parts of this perfidious country but heaps of dead bodies, of ruins, and of ashes—the frightful monuments of national vengeance!"—*Turreau*. E.

"One might almost say that the Vendéans were no longer human beings in the eyes of the republicans; the pregnant women—the paralytic of fourscore—the infant in the cradle—nay, even the beasts, the houses, the stores, the very soil, appeared to them so many enemies worthy of total extermination. I do not doubt that if the republicans had possessed the power, they would have launched the thunder against this unhappy country, and reduced it to a chaos!"—*Berthre de Bourniseaux*. E.

† "The battalions raised in Paris displayed great courage in this war, but, unfortunately, these intrepid revolutionists had a most unbridled appetite for pillage. It might have been said that they came less for the sake of fighting than of plundering; the rich man was always in their eyes an aristocrat, whom they might strip without ceremony; so that the Paris carriers returned laden with booty, the fruit of their robberies."—*Beauchamp*. E.

‡ "The representative Bourbotte was one of those stern Jacobins who, when condemned to death under the Directory, stabbed themselves at the bar, and handed the bloody knife one to another."—*Quarterly Review*. E.

thier, the chief of the staff, and General Menou, both of whom were reputed to be aristocrats, because they recommended discipline. Berthier and Menou* were immediately summoned to Paris, as Biron and Westermann had been.

Such, up to this period, was the state of the war in La Vendée. The Vendéans, rising on a sudden in April and May, had taken Thouars, Loudun, Doué, and Saumur, in consequence of the bad quality of the troops composed of the new recruits. Descending to Nantes in June, they had been repulsed from that city by Canclaux, and from Les Sables by Boulard, two generals who had found means to introduce order and discipline among their troops. Westermann, acting with boldness and with a body of good troops, had penetrated to Châtillon in the beginning of June; but, betrayed by the inhabitants, and surprised by the insurgents, he had sustained a defeat; and, lastly, the column of Tours, in attempting to advance into the country with the Orleans battalions, had met with the fate that usually befalls disorganized armies. At the end of July, therefore, the Vendéans were masters of the whole extent of their territory. As for the brave and unfortunate Biron, accused of not being at Nantes while he was inspecting Lower Vendée, and of not being with Westermann, while he was arranging a plan with Canclaux, thwarted, interrupted, in all his operations, he had been removed from his army before he had time to act, and had only joined it to be continually accused. Canclaux remained at Nantes; but the brave Boulard no longer commanded at Les Sables, and the two battalions of the Gironde had just retired. Such is the picture of La Vendée in July: all the columns in the upper country were routed; the ministerial agents denounced the generals reputed to be aristocrats; and the generals complained of the disorganizers sent by the ministry and the Jacobins.

In the East and the North, the sieges of Mayence and Valenciennes made alarming progress.

Mayence, seated on the left bank of the Rhine, on the French side, and opposite to the mouth of the Mayn, forms a large arc of a circle, of which the Rhine may be considered as the cord. A considerable suburb, that of Cassel, on the other bank, communicates with the fortress by a bridge of boats. The island of Petersau, situated below Mayence, stretches upward, and its point advances high enough to batter the bridge of boats, and to take the defences of the place in the rear. On the side next to the river, Mayence is protected only by a brick wall, but, on the land side it is very strongly

* "Baron J. de Menou, deputy from the nobility of the bailiwick of Touraine to the States-general, was one of the first members of that order who joined the chamber of the *tiers-état*. In 1790 he was president of the Assembly, and proved himself the open enemy of the clergy, and was one of the commissioners appointed to dispose of their property. In 1798 he was employed in the Vendean war, and appointed commander-in-chief; but, being once or twice defeated, his command was taken from him. In 1795 he defended the National Convention against the Jacobins, for which he was rewarded by the gift of a complete suit of armour, and the post of commander-in-chief of the army of the interior. In 1798 Menou, as general of a division, accompanied Bonaparte to Egypt, where he displayed great valour and ability. He there embraced Mahometanism, took the turban, assumed the name of Abdallah, attended the mosques, and married a rich young Egyptian woman, daughter to the keeper of the baths at Alexandria. When Napoleon left, Menou remained with Kleber, after whose assassination he took the command of the army of the East. When General Abercromby landed before Alexandria, Menou marched to attack him, but was repulsed with great loss. Shortly after his return to France, he was sent to Piedmont to direct the administration there. In 1803 he had the title of grand officer of the Legion of Honour conferred on him, and in 1805 was again confirmed in the general government of Piedmont."—*Biographie Moderne*. E.

fortified. On the left bank, beginning opposite to the point of Petersau, it is defended by an enclosure and a ditch, into which runs the rivulet of Zahlbach, in its way to the Rhine. At the extremity of this ditch, a fort, that of Hauptstein, commands the whole length of the ditch, and adds the protection of its fire to that afforded by the water. From this point, the enclosure continues till it rejoins the upper channel of the Rhine; but the ditch ceases, and in its stead there is a second enclosure parallel with the first. Thus, in this part, two lines of wall require a double siege. The citadel, connected with this double enclosure, serves to increase its strength.

Such was Mayence in 1793, even before its fortifications had been improved. The garrison amounted to twenty thousand men, because General Schaal, who was to have retired with a division, had been driven back into the place, and was thus prevented from joining the army of Custine. The provisions were not adequate to this garrison. In the uncertainty whether Mayence should be kept or not, but little pains had been taken to lay in supplies. Custine had at length ordered the place to be provisioned. The Jews had come forward, but they wanted to drive a winning bargain. They insisted on being paid for all convoys intercepted on the way by the enemy. Rewlen and Merlin refused these terms, apprehensive lest the Jews might themselves cause the convoys to be captured. There was no want of corn, however; but if the mills, situated on the river, should chance to be destroyed, it would be impossible to get it ground. Of butcher's meat there was but a small quantity, and the forage in particular was absolutely insufficient for the three thousand horses of the garrison. The artillery consisted of one hundred and thirty pieces of brass, and sixty of iron, which had been found there and were very bad; the French had brought eighty in good condition. Thus the ramparts were lined by a considerable number of guns, but there was not a sufficient supply of powder. The skilful and heroic Meunier, who had executed the works at Cherbourg, was directed to defend Cassel and the posts on the right bank; Doyré superintended the works in the body of the place; Aubert-Dubayet and Kleber* commanded the troops; and Merlin and Rewbel, the representatives, animated the garrison by their presence. This garrison was encamped in the interval between the two enclosures, and occupied in the distance very advanced posts. It was animated by the best spirit, had great confidence in the place, in its commanders, and in its own strength; and, besides this, it was determined to defend a point of the utmost importance to the welfare of France.

General Schönhofeld, encamped on the right bank, hemmed in Cassel with ten thousand Hessians. The united Austrians and Prussians made the principal attack on Mayence. The Austrians occupied the right of the besieging force. Facing the double enclosure, the Prussians formed the centre of Marienberg. There were the head-quarters of the King of Prussia. The left, likewise composed of Prussians, was encamped facing Hauptstein and the ditch filled by the water of the Zahlbach rivulet. The besieging army was composed of nearly fifty thousand men, under the direction of old Kalkeuth. Brunswick commanded the corps of observation towards the Vosges, where he concerted with Wurmser for the protection of this important operation. The allies were yet unprovided with heavy artillery for a

* "Kleber, who was a sincere republican, and a cool, reflecting man, was, what might be called, a grumbler by nature, yet he never evinced discontent in the discharge of his duties as a soldier. He swore and stormed, but marched bravely to the cannon's mouth. He was indeed courage personified."—*Bourrienne*. E.

siege; they were in treaty with the states of Holland, which again emptied part of their arsenals to assist the progress of their most formidable neighbours.

The investment commenced in April. Till the convoys of artillery could arrive, the offensive belonged to the garrison, which was continually making the most vigorous sorties. On the 11th of April, a few days after the investment, our generals resolved to attempt a surprise against the ten thousand Hessians, who had extended themselves too much on the right bank. In the night of the 11th, they sallied from Cassel in three columns. Meunier marched straight forward upon Hochheim; the two other columns descended the right bank towards Biberich: but a musket-shot fired unawares in General Schaal's column produced confusion. The troops, still quite raw, had not that steadiness which they soon acquire under their generals. It was necessary to retire, and Kleber, with his column, protected the retreat in the most effective manner. By this sortie, the besieged gained forty oxen and cows, which were killed and salted.

On the 16th, the enemy's generals attempted to take the post of Weissenau, which, situated close to the Rhine, and on the right of their attack, considerably annoyed them. Though the village was burned, the French intrenched themselves in a cemetery. Merlin, the representative, placed himself there with them, and by prodigies of valour they preserved the post.

On the 26th, the Prussians despatched a flag of truce, the bearer of which was directed to say falsely, that he was sent by the general of the army of the Rhine to persuade the garrison to surrender. The generals, the representatives, the soldiers, already attached to the place, and convinced that they were rendering an important service by detaining the army of the Rhine on the frontier, would not listen to the proposition. On the 3d of May, the King of Prussia attempted to take a post on the right bank opposite to Cassel—that of Kostheim. It was defended by Meunier. The attack, made on the 3d with great obstinacy, and repeated on the 8th, was repulsed with considerable loss to the besiegers. Meunier, on his part, attempted an attack on the islands situated at the mouth of the Mayn, took them, lost them again, and displayed on every occasion the greatest daring.

On the 30th of May, the French resolved on a general sortie on Marienburg, the head-quarters of King Frederick William. Under favour of the night, six thousand men penetrated through the enemy's lines, took their intrenchments, and pushed on to the head-quarters. Meanwhile the alarm that was raised brought the whole army upon them; and they returned after losing many of their brave fellows. The King of Prussia, nettled at this surprise, caused the next day a brisk fire to be kept up on the place. The same day Meunier made a new attempt on one of the islands in the Mayn. Wounded in the knee, he expired, in consequence not so much of the wound, as of the irritation which he felt at being obliged to abandon the operations of the siege. The whole garrison attended his funeral; the King of Prussia ordered the firing to be suspended while the last honours were paid to this hero, and a salute of artillery to be discharged for him. The body was deposited at the point of the bastion of Cassel, which had been constructed under his direction.

The great convoys had arrived from Holland. It was high time to commence the operations of the siege. A Prussian officer proposed to take the island of Petersau, the point of which runs up between Cassel and Mayence, to erect batteries there, to destroy the bridge of boats and the mills, and to make an assault on Cassel, which would then be cut off from the fortress,

and could not receive succour from it. He then proposed that the assailants should advance towards the ditch into which the Zahlbach ran, throw themselves into it under the protection of the batteries of Petersau, which would enfilade this ditch, and attempt an assault on that front which was formed of only a single enclosure. The plan was bold and perilous, for it would be necessary to land on Petersau, and afterwards to plunge into the water of the ditch under the fire of the Hauptstein; but then the results must be very speedy. It was thought better to open the trenches facing the double enclosure and opposite to the citadel, though that course would entail the necessity for a double siege.

On the 16th of June, a first parallel was traced at the distance of eight hundred paces from the first enclosure. The besieged threw the works into disorder, and the enemy was forced to fall back. On the 18th, another parallel was traced at a much greater distance, namely, fifteen hundred paces; and this distance excited the sneers of those who had proposed the bold attack by the isle of Petersau. From the 24th to the 25th, closer approaches were made; the besiegers established themselves at the distance of eight hundred paces, and erected batteries. The besieged again interrupted the works and spiked the guns; but they were at length repulsed and overwhelmed with an incessant fire. On the 18th and 19th, two hundred pieces played upon the fortress, and covered it with projectiles of every kind. Floating batteries, placed upon the Rhine, set fire to the interior of the town on the most exposed side, and did considerable damage.

Still the first parallel was not yet opened, the first enclosure was not yet won, and the garrison, full of ardour, had no thoughts of surrendering. In order to rid themselves of the floating batteries, some of the brave French swam off, and cut the cables of the enemy's boats. One was seen swimming and towing a boat containing twenty-four soldiers who were made prisoners.

But the distress was at its height. The mills had been burned, and the besieged had been obliged to resort to mills wrought by men for the purpose of grinding their corn. But nobody would work at them, because the enemy, apprized of the circumstance, kept up a continual fire of howitzers on the spot where they were situated. Moreover, there was scarcely any corn left. Horse-flesh had long been the only meat that the garrison had; the soldiers ate rats, and went to the banks of the Rhine to pick up the dead horses which the current brought down with it. This kind of food proved fatal to several of them: it was found necessary to forbid it, and even to prevent their seeking it, by placing guards on the banks of the river. A cat sold for six francs, and horse-flesh at the rate of forty-five sous per pound. The officers fared no better than the soldiers, and Albert Dubayet, having invited his staff to dinner, set before it, by way of a treat, a cat flanked by a dozen mice.

But the most annoying circumstance to this unfortunate garrison was the absolute privation of all news. The communications were so completely intercepted that for three months it was wholly ignorant of what was passing in France. It had endeavoured to convey intelligence of its distress, at one time by a lady who was going to travel in Switzerland, at another by a priest proceeding to the Netherlands, and at another by a spy who was to pass through the enemy's camp. But none of these despatches had reached their destination. Hoping that the idea might perhaps occur of sending intelligence from the Upper Rhine by means of bottles thrown into the river, the besiegers placed nets across it. These were taken up every day, but no-

thing arrived. The Prussians, who had practised all sorts of stratagems, had got false *Moniteurs* printed at Frankfort, stating that Dumouriez had overthrown the Convention, and that Louis XVII. was reigning with a regency. The Prussians placed at the advanced posts transmitted these false *Moniteurs* to the soldiers of the garrison. The reading of these statements always excited the greatest uneasiness, and to the sufferings which they were already enduring added the mortification of defending perhaps a ruined cause. Nevertheless, they waited, saying to one another: "The army of the Rhine will soon arrive." Sometimes the cry was, "It is come!" One night, a very brisk cannonade was heard at a great distance from the town. The men started up with joy, ran to arms, and prepared to march towards the French cannon, and to place the enemy between two fires. Vain hope! The noise ceased, and the army that was to deliver them never appeared. At length the distress became so intolerable, that two thousand of the inhabitants solicited permission to depart. Albert Dubayet granted it; but not being received by the besiegers, they remained between two fires, and partly perished under the walls of the place. In the morning the soldiers were seen bringing in wounded infants wrapped in their cloaks.

Meanwhile the army of the Rhine and of the Moselle was not advancing. Custine had commanded it till the month of June. Still quite dispirited on account of his retreat, he had never ceased wavering during the months of April and May. He said that he was not strong enough; that he must have more cavalry to enable him to cope with the enemy's cavalry in the plains of the Palatinate; that he had no forage for his horses; that it was necessary for him to wait till the rye was onward enough to be cut for fodder; and that then he would march to the relief of Mayence.* Beauharnais,† his successor, hesitating like him, lost the opportunity of saving that fortress. The line of the Vosges runs, as every one knows, along the Rhine, and terminates not far from Mayence. By occupying the two slopes of the chain and its principal passes, you gain an immense advantage, because you have it in your power to direct your force either all on one side or all on the other, and to overwhelm the enemy by your united masses. Such was the position of the French. The army of the Rhine occupied the eastern slope, and that of the Moselle the western; Brunswick and Wurmser were spread out at the termination of the chain into a very extensive cordon. Masters of the passes, the two French armies had it in their power to unite on one slope or the other, to crush Brunswick or Wurmser, to take the besiegers in the rear, and to save Mayence. Beauharnais, a brave but not an enterprising man, made only indecisive movements, without succouring the garrison.

The representatives and the generals shut up in Mayence, thinking that matters ought not to be pushed to extremity, that, if they waited another week, they might be destitute of everything and be obliged to give up the garrison as prisoners; that, on the contrary, by capitulating they should

* See Custine's Trial.

† "Viscount Alexander Beauharnais, born in 1760, at Martinique, served with distinction as Major in the French forces under Rochambeau, which aided the United States in the revolutionary war. He married Josephine Tascher de la Pagerie, who was afterwards the wife of Bonaparte. At the breaking out of the French revolution, he was chosen a member of the National Assembly, of which he was for some time president. In 1793 he was general of the army of the Rhine, and was afterwards minister of war. In consequence of the decree removing men of noble birth from the army, he retired to his country-seat. Having been falsely accused of promoting the surrender of Mentz, he was sentenced to death in 1794, in the thirty-fourth year of his age."—*Encyclopædia Americana*. E.

obtain free egress with the honours of war, and that they should thus preserve twenty thousand men, who had become the bravest soldiers in the world under Kleber and Dubayet, determined to surrender the place. In a few days more, it is true, Beauharnais might have been able to save them, but, after waiting so long, it was natural to conclude that they should not be relieved, and the reasons for surrendering were decisive. The King of Prussia was not difficult about the conditions. He allowed the garrison to march out with arms and baggage, and imposed but one condition, that it should not serve for a year against the allies. But there were still enemies enough in the interior for the useful employment of these admirable soldiers, since called *Mayençais*. So attached were they to their posts, that they would not obey their generals when they were obliged to evacuate the fortress—a singular instance of the *esprit de corps* which settles upon one point, and of that attachment which men form for a place which they have defended for several months! The garrison, however, yielded, and as it filed off, the King of Prussia, filled with admiration of its valour, called by their names the officers who had distinguished themselves during the siege, and complimented them with chivalrous courtesy. The evacuation took place on the 25th of July.

We have seen the Austrians blockading Condé, and laying regular siege to Valenciennes. These operations carried on simultaneously with those of the Rhine, were drawing near to a close. The Prince of Coburg, at the head of the corps of observation, faced Cæsar's Camp; the Duke of York commanded the besieging corps. The attack, at first projected upon the citadel, was afterwards directed between the suburb of Marly and the Mons gate. This front presented much more development, but it was not so strongly defended, and was preferred as being more accessible. It was agreed to batter the works during the day, and to set fire to the town in the night, in order to increase the distress of the inhabitants, and to shake their resolution the sooner. The place was summoned on the 14th of June. General Ferrand, and Cochon* and Briest,† the representatives, replied with great dignity. They had collected a garrison of seven thousand men; they had infused the best spirit into the inhabitants, and organized part of them into companies of gunners, who rendered the greatest services.

Two parallels were successively opened in the nights of the 14th and 19th of June, and armed with formidable batteries. They made frightful havoc in the place. The inhabitants and the garrison defended themselves with a vigour equal to that of the attack, and several times destroyed all the works of the besiegers. The enemy fired upon the place till noon, without its making any reply; but at that hour a tremendous fire from the ramparts was poured into the trenches, where it produced the confusion, terror, and death

* "Cochon de Lapparent, a counsellor at Fontenay, was, in 1789, a member of the States-general. In 1792 he was deputed to the National Convention, where he voted for the King's death. In the same year he was chosen commissary to the army of the North. He was at Valenciennes when that town was besieged, contributed to its defence, and long opposed any capitulation. In 1794 he entered into the committee of public safety, and in the following year was again sent on a mission. In 1796 the Directory appointed him to the administration of the police. In 1800 he was appointed prefect of Vienna, and decorated in 1804 with the cross of the Legion of Honour."—*Biographie Moderne*. E.

† "Briest, deputy to the Convention, voted there for the death of Louis. Being at Valenciennes during the siege, he behaved with great courage. After the fall of Robespierre, Briest was despatched for the second time to the army of the North, but soon fell a victim to its excesses."—*Biographie Moderne*. E

which had prevailed in the town. On the 28th of June, a third parallel was traced, and the courage of the inhabitants began to be shaken. Part of that wealthy city was already burned down. The children, the old men, and the women had been put into cellars. The surrender of Condé, which had been taken by famine, tended still more to dishearten the besieged. Emissaries had been sent to work upon them. Assemblages began to form and demand a capitulation. The municipality participated in the dispositions of the inhabitants, and was in secret understanding with them. The representatives and General Ferrand replied with the greatest vigour to the demands which were addressed to them; and, with the aid of the garrison, whose courage was excited to the highest enthusiasm, they dispersed the discontented assemblages.

On the 25th of July the besiegers prepared their mines, and made ready for the assault of the covered way. Luckily for them, three globes of compression burst at the moment when the mines of the garrison were about to play and to destroy their works. They then pushed on in three columns, cleared the palisade, and penetrated into the covered way. The garrison retired in affright, and was already abandoning its batteries, but General Ferrand led it back to the ramparts. The artillery, which had performed prodigies during the whole siege, again made great havoc among the assailants, and stopped them almost at the very gates of the place. Next day, the 26th, the Duke of York summoned General Ferrand to surrender. He gave him notice that after that day he would listen to no proposal, and that the garrison and the inhabitants should be put to the sword. At this threat the people assembled in great numbers; a mob, among which were many men armed with pistols and daggers, surrounded the municipality. Twelve persons spoke for the whole, and made a formal requisition to surrender the place. A council of war was held amidst the tumult; none of its members was allowed to quit it, and guards were placed upon them till they should decide upon surrender. Two breaches, the unfavourable disposition of the inhabitants, and a vigorous besieger, admitted of no longer resistance. The place was surrendered on the 28th of July.* The garrison marched out with the honours of war, was obliged to lay down its arms, but was at liberty to return to France, upon the only condition of not serving for a year against the allies. It still consisted of seven thousand brave soldiers, capable of rendering important services against the enemies in the interior. Valenciennes had sustained a bombardment of forty-one days, during which eighty thousand cannon-balls, twenty thousand howitzer-shot, and forty-eight thousand bombs, had been thrown into it. The general and the garrison had done their duty, and the artillery had covered itself with glory.

At this same moment, the war of federalism was reduced to its two real calamities: the revolt of Lyons on the one hand, and that of Marseilles and Toulon on the other.

Lyons soon consented to acknowledge the Convention, but refused to obey two decrees, that which transferred to Paris the proceedings commenced against the patriots, and that which dissolved the authorities, and enjoined the formation of a new provisional municipality. The aristocrats concealed in Lyons excited alarm in that city lest the old Mountaineer municipality

* "Had the Duke of York been detached by Coburg against the camp of Cæsar with half his forces, the siege of Valenciennes might have been continued with the other half, and the fate of France sealed in that position."—*Dumouriez's Memoirs*.

"In the darkest days of Louis XIV. France was never placed in such peril, as after the capture of Valenciennes."—*Alison*. E.

should be re-established; and, by the apprehension of uncertain dangers, led it into real dangers, those of open rebellion. On the 15th of July, the Lyonnese caused the two patriots, Chalier and Picard, to be put to death, and from that day they were declared to be in a state of rebellion. The two Girondins, Chasset and Biroteau, seeing royalism triumphant, withdrew. Meanwhile the president of the popular commission, who was devoted to the emigrants, having been superseded, the determinations had become somewhat less hostile. The people of Lyons acknowledged the constitution, and offered to submit to it, but still on condition that the two principal decrees should not be executed. During this interval, the chiefs were founding cannon and purchasing stores; and there seemed to be no other way of terminating the difficulties than that of arms.

Marseilles was much more formidable. Its battalions, driven beyond the Durance by Cartaux, could not oppose a long resistance, but it had communicated its rebellious spirit to Toulon, hitherto a thorough republican city. That port, one of the best in the world, and the very best in the Mediterranean, was coveted by the English, who were cruising off it. Emissaries of England were secretly intriguing there, and preparing an infamous treason. The sections had assembled on the 13th of July, and, proceeding like all those of the South, had displaced the municipality and shut up the Jacobin club. The authority, transferred to the hands of the federalists, was liable to pass successively from faction to faction, to the emigrants and to the English. The army of Nice, in its weak state, was unable to prevent such a misfortune. Everything, therefore, was to be feared; and that vast storm, spread over the southern horizon, had concentrated itself on two points, Lyons and Toulon.

During the last two months, therefore, the aspect of things had somewhat cleared up, but if the danger was less universal, less astounding, it was more settled, more serious. In the West was the cankering sore of La Vendée; at Marseilles, an obstinate sedition; at Toulon, a secret treason; at Lyons, an open resistance and a siege. On the Rhine and in the North, there was the loss of two bulwarks, which had so long checked the progress of the allies and prevented them from marching upon the capital. In September, 1792, when the Prussians were marching towards Paris, and had taken Longwy and Verdun; in April, 1793, after the retreat from Belgium, the defeat at Neerwinden, the defection of Dumouriez, and the first rising in La Vendée; at the 31st of May, 1793, after the general insurrection of the departments, the invasion of Roussillon by the Spaniards, and the loss of the camp of Famars—at these three epochs, the dangers had been alarming, it is true, but never perhaps so real as at this fourth epoch, in August, 1793. It was the fourth and last crisis of the Revolution. France was less ignorant and less new to war than in September, 1792, less affrighted by treasons than in April, 1793, less embarrassed by insurrections than after the 31st of May and the 2d of June; but if she was more inured to war and better obeyed, she was invaded on all sides at once, in the North, on the Rhine, at the Alps, and at the Pyrenees.

But we shall not be aware of all the calamities which then afflicted the republic, if we limit our view to the five or six fields of battle which were drenched with human blood. The interior presented a spectacle quite as deplorable. Corn was still dear and scarce. People had to knock at the doors of the bakers to obtain a small quantity of bread. They disputed in vain with the shopkeepers to make them take assignats in payment for articles of primary necessity. The distress was at its height. The populace

complained of the forestallers who kept back their goods; of stockjobbers who occasioned the rise in the prices of them, and threw discredit on the assignats by their traffic. Government, quite as unfortunate as the people, had no means of existence but the assignats, which it was obliged to give in thrice and four times the quantity in payment for the same services, and of which it durst not make any further issues for fear of depreciating them still more. It became, therefore, a puzzling question how to enable either the people or the government to subsist.

The general production, however, had not diminished. Though the night of the 4th of August had not yet produced its immense effects, France was in no want either of grain or of raw or wrought materials; but the equal and peaceable distribution of them had become impossible, owing to the effect of the paper money. The Revolution which, in abolishing monarchy, nevertheless proposed to pay its debts; which, in destroying the venality of offices, nevertheless engaged to make compensation for their value; which, lastly, in defending the new order of things against coalesced Europe, was obliged to bear the expense of a general war, had, to defray it, the national property taken from the clergy and the emigrants. To put into circulation the value of that property, it had devised assignats which were the representation of it, and which by means of purchasers were to return to the exchequer and be burned. But as people felt doubtful of the Revolution and the stability of the sales, they did not purchase those possessions. The assignats remained in circulation like an unaccepted bill of exchange, and became depreciated from doubt and the quantity issued.

Specie continued to be regarded as the real standard of value; and nothing is more hurtful to a doubtful money than the rivalry of a money of which the value is undisputed. The one is hoarded and kept back from circulation, while the other offers itself in abundance, and is thus discredited. Such was the predicament in which assignats stood in regard to specie. The Revolution, doomed to violent measures, was no longer able to stop. It had put into *forced* circulation the anticipated value of the national domains; it could not help trying to keep it up by *forced* means. On the 11th of April, in spite of the Girondins, who struggled generously but imprudently against the fatality of that revolutionary situation, the Convention decreed the penalty of six years' imprisonment against any person who should sell specie, that is to say, who should exchange a certain quantity of gold or silver for a more considerable quantity of assignats. It enacted the same punishment for every one who should stipulate a different price for commodities according as the payment was to be made in specie or in assignats.

These measures did not prevent the difference from being rapidly manifested. In June a metal franc was worth three francs in assignats; and in August, two months afterwards, a silver franc was worth six francs in assignats. The ratio of diminution, which was as one to three, had therefore increased in the proportion of one to six.

In this situation, the shopkeepers refused to sell their goods at the former price, because the money offered to them was not worth more than a fifth or a sixth of its nominal value. They held them back, therefore, and refused them to purchasers. This depreciation of value, it is true, would have been in regard to the assignats no inconvenience whatever, had everybody, taking them only at their real value, received and paid them away at the same rate. In this case, they might still have continued to perform the office of a sign in the exchanges, and to serve for a circulating medium like any other

money; but the capitalists who lived upon their income, the creditors of the state who received an annuity or a compensation for an office, were obliged to take the paper at its nominal value. All debtors were eager to pay off their incumbrances, and creditors, forced to take a fictitious value, got back but a fourth, a fifth, or a sixth of their capital.* Lastly, the working people, always obliged to offer their services and to give them to any one who will accept them, not knowing how to act in concert, in order to obtain a twofold or a threefold increase of wages in proportion to the depreciated value of the assignats, were paid only part of what was necessary to obtain in exchange such things as they needed. The capitalist, half ruined, was silent and discontented; but the enraged populace called those tradesmen who would not sell at the old prices, forestallers, and loudly demanded that forestallers should be sent to the guillotine.

All this resulted from the assignats, as the assignats had resulted from the necessity of paying old debts, making compensation for offices, and defraying the expenses of a ruinous war: in like manner the *maximum* was destined to result from the assignats. It was, in fact, to little purpose that a forced circulation had been given to this money, if the tradesman, by raising his prices, could evade the necessity of taking it. Let a forced rate then be fixed for commodities as well as for money. The moment the law said, Such a piece of paper shall be worth six francs—it ought also to say, Such a commodity shall be sold for no more than six francs—otherwise the dealer, by raising the price to twelve, would escape the exchange.

It had therefore been absolutely necessary, in spite of the Girondins, who had given excellent reasons deduced from the ordinary economy of things, to fix a *maximum* for grain. The greatest hardship for the lower classes, is the want of bread. The crops were not deficient, but the farmers, who would not confront the tumult of the markets, or sell their corn at the rate of the assignats, kept away with their goods. The little corn that did appear was quickly bought up by the communes and by individuals, induced by fear to lay in stocks of provisions. The dearth was more severely felt in Paris than in any town in France, because the supply of that immense city was more difficult, because its markets were more tumultuous, and the farmers were more afraid to attend them. On the 3d and 4th of May, the Convention could not help passing a decree, by which all farmers and corn-dealers were obliged to declare the quantity of corn in their possession, to thresh out what was still in the ear, to carry it to the markets and to the markets only, to sell it at the mean price fixed by each commune, according to the price which had prevailed between the 1st of January and the 1st of May. No person was allowed to lay in a supply for more than a month; those who sold or bought at a price above the *maximum*, or who made false declarations, were to be punished with confiscation and a fine of three hundred to one thousand francs. Domiciliary visits were ordered to ascertain the truth. Lastly, a statement of all the declarations was to be sent by the municipalities to the minister of the interior, in order to furnish a general statistical survey of the supplies of France. The commune of Paris, adding its police resolutions to the decrees of the Convention, had moreover regulated the distribution of bread at the bakers' shops. No one was allowed to go to them without safety-tickets. On these tickets, delivered

* "Debtors of every description hastened to discharge their obligations: and the creditors, compelled to accept paper at par, which was not worth a fifth, or a tenth, and at last, not a hundredth of its nominal value, were defrauded of the greater part of their property."—*Alison*. E.

by the revolutionary committees, was specified the quantity of bread which the bearers had a right to ask for, and this quantity was proportionate to the number of persons of which each family was composed. Even the mode of getting served at the bakers' shops was regulated. A cord was to be fastened to their door; each customer was to lay hold of it, so as not to lose his turn, and to avoid confusion. Malicious women frequently cut this cord; a frightful tumult ensued, and the armed force was required to restore order. We here see to what drudgery, most laborious to itself and vexatious to those for whom it legislates, a government is doomed, as soon as it is obliged to see everything in order to regulate everything. But in this situation each circumstance was the result of another. The forced currency of assignats led to the forcing of sales, the forcing of prices, forcing even of the quantity, the hour, the mode of purchases; the last fact resulted from the first, and the first had been inevitable, like the Revolution itself.

Meanwhile, the rise in the price of articles of consumption, which had led to the *maximum*, was general for all commodities of the first necessity. Butchers' meat, vegetables, fruit, groceries, candles, fuel, liquors, articles of clothing, and shoe-leather, had all risen in price in proportion as assignats had fallen; and the populace were daily more and more bent on finding forestallers, where there were only dealers who refused a money that had lost its value. It will be recollected that in February it had plundered the grocers' shops, at the instigation of Marat. In July it had plundered boats laden with soap coming up the Seine to Paris. The indignant commune had passed the most severe resolutions, and Pache had printed this simple and laconic warning:

"Pache, Mayor, to his Fellow-Citizens.

"Paris contains seven hundred thousand inhabitants; the soil of Paris produces nothing for their food, their clothing, their subsistence; it is therefore necessary for Paris to obtain everything from the departments and from abroad.

"When provisions and merchandise come to Paris, if the inhabitants rob the owners of them, supplies will cease to be sent.

"Paris will then have no food, no clothing, nothing for the subsistence of its numerous inhabitants.

"And seven hundred thousand persons, destitute of everything, will devour one another."

The people had not committed any further depredations, but they still demanded severe measures against the dealers; and we have seen the priest Jacques Roux exciting the Cordeliers, with the view to obtain the insertion of an article against forestallers in the Constitution. They also inveighed bitterly against the stock-jobbers, who, they said, raised the prices of goods by speculating in assignats, gold, silver, and foreign paper.

The popular imagination created monsters, and everywhere discovered inveterate enemies, where there were only eager gamblers, profiting by the evil, but not producing it, and most certainly not having the power to produce it. The depreciation of the assignats had a great number of causes; their considerable quantity; the uncertainty of their pledge, which would be swept away, if the Revolution were to fall; their comparison with specie, which did not lose its reality, and with commodities which, retaining their value, refused to exchange themselves for a money that had lost its value. In this state of things, the capitalists would not keep their funds in the form of assignats, because under that form they were wasting from day

to day. At first they had endeavoured to procure money ; but six years of annoyance had scared the sellers and the buyers of specie. They had then thought of purchasing commodities, but these offered only a temporary employment of capital, because they would not keep long, and a dangerous employment, because the rage against forestallers was at its height. They sought, therefore, securities in foreign countries.* All those who had assignats were eager to buy bills of exchange on London, Amsterdam, Hamburg, Geneva, or on any place in Europe. To obtain these foreign values, they gave enormous national values, and thus lowered the assignats by parting with them. Some of these bills of exchange were realized out of France, and the amount of them paid over to emigrants. Splendid furniture, the spoils of ancient luxury, consisting of cabinet-maker's work, clocks, mirrors, gilt bronzes, porcelain, paintings, valuable editions of books, paid for these bills of exchange, which were turned into guineas or ducats. But it was only the smallest portion of them that the holders endeavoured to realize. Sought after by the alarmed capitalists, who had no intention to emigrate but merely wished to give a solid guarantee to their fortune, they remained almost all on the spot, where the alarmed transferred them from one to another. There is reason to believe that Pitt had induced the English bankers to sign a great quantity of this paper, and had even opened for them a considerable credit, for the purpose of increasing the mass, and contributing still more to the discredit of the assignats.

Great eagerness was also shown to obtain shares in the stocks of the financial companies, which seemed to be beyond the reach of the Revolution and of the counter-revolution, and to offer moreover an advantageous employment of capital. Those of the *Compagnie d'Escompte* were in high favour ; but those of the East India Company were sought after with the greatest avidity, because they rested in some measure on a pledge that could not be laid hold of, consisting in ships and storehouses situated all over the globe. To no purpose they had been subjected to a heavy transfer duty. The directors had evaded the law by abolishing the *actions*, and making them consist in an entry in the registers of the Company, which took place without any formality. They thus defrauded the state of a considerable revenue, for there were several thousand transfers per day, and they frustrated the precautions taken to prevent stockjobbing. To no purpose had a duty of five per cent. been imposed on the produce of these shares, in order to lessen their attraction. The dividends were paid to the shareholders, as a compensation for part of their capital ; and by this stratagem the directors again evaded the law. Thus shares of 600 francs rose to 1000, 1200, and even 2000 francs. These were so many values opposed to the revolutionary money, and which served to discredit it still more.

Not only were all these kinds of funds opposed to the assignats, but also certain parts of the public debt, and certain assignats themselves. There existed, in fact, loans subscribed for at all periods, and under all forms. There were some that dated so far back as the reign of Louis XIII. Among the later ones subscribed for under Louis XIV., there were stocks of different creations. Those which were anterior to the constitutional mo-

* "Terrified at the continual recurrence of disorders, the capitalists declined investing their money in purchases of any sort ; and the shares in foreign mercantile companies rose rapidly from the increased demand for them, as the only investments affording a tolerable degree of security—a striking proof of the consequences of the disorders attendant on popular ambition, and their tendency to turn from the people the reservoirs by which their industry is maintained."—*Alison*. E.

narchy were preferred to such as had been opened for the wants of the Revolution. All, in short, were opposed to the assignats founded on the spoliation of the clergy and of the emigrants. Lastly, differences were made between the assignats themselves. Out of about five thousand millions which had been issued since their creation, one thousand millions had been returned by the sale of national possessions ; nearly four thousand millions remained in circulation, and, in these four thousand millions, there were about five hundred millions issued under Louis XVI., and bearing the royal effigy. These latter, it was argued, would be better treated in case of a counter-revolution, and admitted for at least part of their value. Thus they were worth 10 or 15 per cent. more than the others. The republican assignats, the only resource of the government, the only money of the people, were, therefore, wholly discredited, and had to contend at one and the same time with specie, merchandise, foreign paper, the shares in financial companies, the different stocks of the state, and, lastly, the royal assignats.

The compensation made for offices, the payment for the large supplies furnished to the state for the war department, the eagerness of many debtors to pay off their liabilities, had produced a great accumulation of capital in certain hands. The war, and the fear of a terrible revolution, had interrupted many commercial operations, and further increased the mass of stagnant capitals that were seeking securities. These capitals, thus accumulated, were employed in perpetual speculations at the Stock Exchange in Paris, and were converted alternately into gold, silver, merchandise, bills of exchange, companies' shares, old government stocks, &c. Thither resorted, as usual, those adventurous gamblers who plunge into every kind of hazard, who speculate on the accidents of commerce, the supply of armies, the good faith of governments. Placing themselves on the watch at the Exchange, they made a profit by all the rises occasioned by the constant fall of the assignats. The fall of the assignat first began at the Exchange, with reference to specie and to all moveable values. It took place afterwards with reference to commodities, which rose in price in the shops and in the markets. Commodities, however, did not rise so rapidly as specie, because the markets are at a distance from the Exchange, because they are not so easily affected, and, moreover, because the dealers cannot give the word so rapidly to one another as stockjobbers assembled in one and the same building. The difference, pronounced at the Exchange, was not felt in other places till after a longer or shorter time : thus, when the five-franc assignat was worth no more than two francs at the Exchange, it was passing for three in the markets, and the stockjobbers had sufficient time for speculating. Having their capitals quite ready, they procured specie before the rise ; as soon as it had risen in comparison with assignats, they exchanged it for the latter ; they had of course a greater quantity, and, as merchandise had not yet had time to rise too, with this greater quantity of assignats they bought a greater quantity of merchandise, and sold it again when the balance between them was restored. Their part had consisted in holding cash or merchandise while one or the other rose in reference to the assignat. It was therefore the constant profit of the rise of everything in comparison with the assignat which they had made, and it was natural that they should be grudged this profit, invariably founded on a public calamity. Their speculations extended to the variation of all kinds of securities, such as foreign paper, companies' shares, &c. They profited by all the accidents that could produce these fluctuations—a defeat, a motion, a false report. They formed a very considerable class. Among them were included foreign bankers, contractors.

usurers, ancient priests or nobles, revolutionary upstarts, and certain deputies, who, to the honour of the Convention, were but five or six, and who possessed the perfidious advantage of contributing to the fluctuation of securities by seasonable motions. They led a dissolute life with actresses, and *ci-devant* nuns, or countesses, who, after performing the part of mistresses, sometimes took up that of women of business.* The two principal deputies engaged in these intrigues were Julien of Toulouse, who lived with the Countess of Beaufort, and Delaunay of Angers, who was intimate with Descoings, the actress. It is asserted that Chabot, dissolute as an ex-Capuchin, and occasionally turning his attention to financial questions, was engaged in this kind of stockjobbing, in company with two brothers, named Frey, expelled from Moravia for their revolutionary opinions, and who had come to Paris to carry on the banking business there. Fabre d'Eglantine also dabbled in it, and Danton was accused, but without any proof, of having had a hand in it too.

The most shameful intrigue was that which connected Baron de Batz, an able banker and financier, with Julien of Toulouse, and Delaunay of Angers, two men most intent on making money. Their scheme was to charge the East India Company with malversations, to reduce the price of its shares, to buy them up immediately, and then to raise them by means of milder motions, and thus to make a profit by the rise. D'Espagnac, that dissolute abbé, who had been commissary to Dumouriez in Belgium, and had since obtained the general contract for carts and wagons, and whose interests Julien patronized in the Convention, was, out of gratitude, to furnish the funds for this speculation, into which Julien proposed to draw Fabre, Chabot, and others, who were likely to be useful as members of various committees.

Most of these men were attached to the Revolution, and had no intention to do it disservice; but, at any rate, they were desirous of securing pleasures and wealth. All their secret artifices were not known; but, as they speculated on the discredit of the assignats, the evil by which they profited was imputed to them. As they comprised in their ranks many foreign bankers, they were said to be agents of Pitt and of the coalition; and here, too, people fancied that they discovered that mysterious and so much dreaded influence of the English minister. In short, they were equally incensed against the stockjobbers and the forestallers, and called out for the same punishment against both.

Thus, while the North, the Rhine, the South, were assailed by our enemies, our financial means consisted in a money that was not accepted, the pledge of which was uncertain as the Revolution, and which, on every accident, sunk in a ratio proportionate to the danger. Such was this singular situation: as the danger increased and the means ought to have increased along with it, they on the contrary diminished; supplies were beyond the reach of the government, and necessities beyond that of the people. It was requisite, therefore, at one and the same time, to create soldiers, arms, and a currency for the state and for the people, and, after all this, to secure victories.

* "The Bourse was crowded with adventurers of every description, who sometimes made enormous gains, and passed a life of debauchery with abandoned women of all sorts. Such was the universal dissoluteness of manners, arising from the dread of popular jealousy, that almost all the members of the Convention lived publicly with mistresses, who became possessed of much of the influence in the state."—*Alison*. E.

THE NATIONAL CONVENTION.

ANNIVERSARY OF THE TENTH OF AUGUST, AND FESTIVAL FOR THE
ACCEPTANCE OF THE CONSTITUTION—EXTRAORDINARY DECREES
—GENERAL ARREST OF SUSPECTED PERSONS—LEVY EN MASSE—
INSTITUTION OF THE GREAT BOOK—FORCED LOAN—MAXIMUM—
DECREES AGAINST LA VENDEE.

THE deputies sent by the primary assemblies to accelerate the anniversary of the 10th of August, and to accept the constitution in the name of all France, had by this time arrived at Paris. It was determined to seize this occasion for exciting a movement of enthusiasm, reconciling the provinces with the capital, and calling forth heroic resolutions. A brilliant reception was prepared. Considerable stores of articles of consumption were amassed, that no dearth might disturb this festival, and that the deputies might enjoy at once the spectacle of peace, abundance, and order. So far was attention to them carried, that all the administrations of the public conveyances were ordered to give them places, even though they had been already bespoken by other travellers. The administration of the department, which rivalled that of the commune in the austerity of its language and its proclamations, made an address to *its brethren* of the primary assemblies. "Here," it said to them, "men covered with the mask of patriotism will talk to you with enthusiasm about liberty, equality, and the republic one and indivisible, while, in the bottom of their hearts, they aspire and labour only to re-establish royalty, and to tear their country in pieces. Those are the rich; and the rich have at all times abhorred virtue and poisoned morals. There you will find perverse women, too seductive by their charms, who will join with them to lead you into vice. . . . Beware! above all, beware of that *ci-devant* Palais Royal. It is in that garden that you will meet with those perfidious persons. That famous garden, the cradle of the Revolution, once the asylum of the friends of liberty and equality, is at this day, in spite of our active vigilance, but the filthy drain of society, the haunt of villains, the den of all the conspirators. . . . Shun that impoisoned spot; prefer to the dangerous spectacle of luxury and debauchery the useful pictures of laborious virtue; visit the fauxbourgs, the founders of our liberty; enter the workshops where men, active, simple, and virtuous, like yourselves, like you, ready to defend the country, have long been waiting to unite themselves to you by the bonds of fraternity. Come, above all, to our popular societies. Let us unite! let us arm ourselves with fresh courage to meet the new dangers of the country! let us swear, for the last time, death and destruction to tyrants!"

The first step was to take them to the Jacobins, who gave them the warmest welcome, and offered them their hall to meet in. The deputies accepted this offer, and it was agreed that they should deliberate in the very bosom of the society, and mingle with it during their stay. Thus all the difference

was, that there were now four hundred more Jacobins in Paris. The society, which sat every second day, resolved to meet every day, for the purpose of conferring with the envoys of the departments on measures of public welfare. It was said that some of these envoys leant to the side of indulgence, and that they were commissioned to demand a general amnesty on the day of the acceptance of the constitution. Some persons had, in fact, thought of this expedient for saving the imprisoned Girondins and all others who were detained for political causes. But the Jacobins would not hear of any composition, and demanded at once energy and vengeance. The envoys of the primary assemblies, says Hassenfratz, were slandered by a report that they meant to propose an amnesty; they were incapable of such a thing, and were ready to unite with the Jacobins in demanding not only urgent measures of public welfare, but also the punishment of all traitors. The envoys took the hint, and, if some few of them really thought of an amnesty, none of them ventured to propose it.

On the morning of the 7th of August they were conducted to the commune, and from the commune to the Evêché, where the club of the electors was held, and where the 31st of May was prepared. It was there that the reconciliation of the departments with Paris was to take place, since it was thence that the attack upon the national representation had proceeded. Pache, the mayor, Chaumette, the *procureur*, and the whole municipality, walking before them, ushered them into the Evêché. Speeches were made on both sides: the Parisians declared that they never meant either to violate or to usurp the rights of the departments; the envoys acknowledged, in their turn, that Paris had been calumniated; they then embraced one another, and abandoned themselves to the warmest enthusiasm. All at once they be-thought them to repair to the Convention, to communicate to it the reconciliation which had just been effected. Accordingly they repaired thither, and were immediately introduced. The discussion was suspended. One of the envoys addressed the Assembly. "Citizens representatives," said he, "we are come to acquaint you with the affecting scene which has just occurred in the hall of the electors, whither we went to give the kiss of peace to our brethren of Paris. Soon, we hope, the heads of the calumniators of this republican city will fall beneath the sword of the law. We are all Mountaineers. The Mountain for ever!" Another begged the representatives to give the envoys the fraternal embrace. The members of the Assembly immediately left their places, and threw themselves into the arms of the envoys of the departments. A scene of emotion and enthusiasm ensued. The envoys then filed off through the hall, shouting "The Mountain for ever! the republic for ever!" and singing,

La Montagne nous a sauvés
En congédiant Gensonné,
La Montagne nous a sauvés
En congédiant Gensonné;
Au diable les Buzot,
Les Vergniaud, les Brissot!
Dansons la Carmagnole.*

They then proceeded to the Jacobins, where they prepared in the name

* "Carmagnole was the name applied in the early period of the Revolution to a certain dance and the song connected with it. It was afterwards given to the French soldiers who first engaged in the cause of republicanism, and who wore a dress of a peculiar cut" - *Scott's Life of Napoleon*. E.

of all the envoys of the primary assemblies, an address, assuring the departments that Paris had been calumniated. "Brethren and friends," they wrote, "calm your uneasiness. We have all here but one sentiment. All our souls are blended together, and triumphant liberty looks around on none but Jacobins, brethren and friends. The *Marais* no longer exists. We form here but one enormous and terrible MOUNTAIN, which will soon pour forth its fire upon all the royalists and the partisans of tyranny. Perish the infamous libellers who have calumniated Paris? . . . We are all watching here, night and day, and labouring in concert with our brethren of the capital for the public welfare. . . . We shall not return to our homes till we proclaim to you that France is free, and that the country is saved." This address was read, enthusiastically applauded, and sent to the Convention to be inserted forthwith in the minutes of the sitting. The excitement became general. A multitude of speakers rushed to the tribune of the club; many imaginations began to be intoxicated. Robespierre, perceiving this agitation, immediately begged leave to speak. Every one cheerfully gave way to him. Jacobins, envoys, all applauded the celebrated orator, whom some of them had not yet either seen or heard.

He congratulated the departments, which had just saved France. "They saved it," said he, "the first time in 89, by arming themselves spontaneously a second time, by repairing to Paris to execute the 10th of August; a third time, by coming to exhibit in the heart of the capital a spectacle of union and general reconciliation. At this moment untoward events have afflicted the republic and endangered its existence; but republicans ought never to be afraid, and it is their duty to beware of an emotion which might lead them to excesses. It is the design of some at this moment to create a factitious dearth, and to produce a tumult; they would urge the people to attack the Arsenal, to disperse the stores there, and to set it on fire, as has been done in many other towns; lastly, they have not yet renounced the intention of causing another event in the prisons, for the purpose of calumniating Paris, and breaking the union which has just been sworn. Beware of all these snares," added Robespierre; "be calm, be firm; look the calamities of the country in the face without fear, and let us all labour to save it!"

These words restored calmness to the Assembly, and it broke up, after greeting the sagacious speaker with reiterated plaudits.

During the following days Paris was not disturbed by any commotion; but nothing was omitted to work upon the imagination, and to dispose it to a generous enthusiasm. No danger was concealed; no unfavourable intelligence was kept secret from the people. The public was informed successively of the discomfitures in La Vendée, of the daily more and more alarming occurrences at Toulon, of the retrograde movement of the army of the Rhine, which was falling back before the conquerors of Mayence, and lastly, of the extremely perilous situation of the army of the North, which had retired to Cæsar's Camp, and which the Imperialists, the English and the Dutch, masters of Condé and Valenciennes, and forming a double mass, might capture by a *coup-de-main*. The distance between Cæsar's Camp and Paris was at most but forty leagues, and there was not a regiment, not an obstacle, to impede the progress of the enemy. The army of the North broken down, all would be lost, and the slightest rumour from that frontier was caught up with anxiety.

These apprehensions were well founded. At this moment Cæsar's Camp was actually in the greatest danger. On the evening of the 7th of August,

the allies having arrived before it, threatened it on all sides. A line of heights extends between Cambrai and Bouchain. The Scheldt protects by running along them. This is what is called Cæsar's Camp, supported upon two fortresses and bordered by a stream of water. On the evening of the 7th, the Duke of York, being charged to turn the French, debouched in front of Cambrai, which formed the right of Cæsar's Camp. He summoned the place. The commandant replied by closing the gates and burning the suburbs. The same evening, Coburg, with a mass of forty thousand men, arrived in two columns on the banks of the Scheldt, and bivouacked facing our camp. An intense heat paralyzed the strength of men and horses. Several soldiers, struck by the sun's rays, died in the course of the day. Kilmaine, appointed to succeed Custine, but who would only accept the command *ad interim*, deemed it impossible to maintain his ground in so perilous a position. Threatened on his right to be turned by the Duke of York, having scarcely thirty-five thousand disheartened men to oppose to seventy thousand elated with victory, he conceived it most prudent to think of retreating, and to gain time by going in quest of another position. The line of the Scarpe, situated behind that of the Scheldt, appeared to him a good one to occupy. Between Arras and Douai, heights bordered by the Scarpe, form a camp similar to Cæsar's Camp, and like that, it is supported by two fortresses and protected by a stream of water. Kilmaine prepared to retreat on the morning of the following day. His main body was to cross the Cense, a small river, bordering the rear of the ground which he occupied, and he himself was to proceed with a strong rear-guard towards the right, where the Duke of York was on the point of debouching.

Accordingly, next morning, the 8th, at daybreak, the heavy artillery and the baggage of the infantry moved off, crossed the Cense, and destroyed all the bridges. An hour afterwards, Kilmaine, with some batteries of light artillery and a strong division of cavalry, proceeded towards the right, to protect the retreat against the English. He could not have arrived more opportunely. Two battalions, having lost their way, had strayed to the little village of Marquion, and were making an obstinate resistance against the English. In spite of their efforts, they were on the point of being overwhelmed. Kilmaine, on his arrival, immediately placed his light artillery on the enemy's flank, pushed forward his cavalry upon him, and forced him to retire. The battalions, being then extricated, were enabled to rejoin the rest of the army. At this moment the English and the Imperialists, debouching at the same time on the right and on the front of Cæsar's Camp, found it completely evacuated. At length towards the close of day, the French were re-assembled in the camp of Gavarelle, supported upon Arras and Douai, and having the Scarpe in front of them.

Thus, on the 8th of August, Cæsar's Camp was evacuated as that of Famars had been; and Cambrai and Bouchain were left to their own strength, like Valenciennes and Condé. The line of the Scarpe, running behind that of the Scheldt, is not of course between Paris and the Scheldt, but between the Scheldt and the sea. Kilmaine, therefore, had marched on one side instead of falling back; and thus part of the frontier was left uncovered.

The allies had it in their power to overrun the whole department of the Nord. What should they do? Should they, making another day's march, attack the camp of Gavarelle and overwhelm the enemy who had escaped them? Should they march upon Paris? or should they resume their old design upon Dunkirk? Meanwhile they pushed on parties to Peronne and

St. Quentin, and the alarm spread to Paris,* where it was reported with dismay that Cæsar's Camp was lost, like that of Famars; that Cambrai was abandoned like Valenciennes. People inveighed everywhere against Kilmaine, unmindful of the important service that he had rendered by his masterly retreat.

The preparations for the solemn festival of the 10th of August, destined to electrify all minds, were made amidst sinister rumours. On the 9th, the report on the result of the votes was presented to the Convention. The forty-four thousand municipalities had accepted the constitution. In the number of the votes none were missing but those of Marseilles, Corsica, and La Vendée. A single commune, that of St. Tonnant, in the department of the Côtes-du-Nord, had dared to demand the re-establishment of the Bourbons on the throne.

On the 10th, the festival commenced with the dawn. David, the celebrated painter,† had been appointed to superintend the arrangements. At four in the morning, the persons who were to compose the procession assembled in the Place de la Bastille. The Convention, the envoys of the primary assemblies, the eighty-six oldest of whom had been selected to represent the eighty-six departments, the popular societies, and all the armed sections, were ranged around a large fountain called the Fountain of Regeneration. It was formed by a large statue of Nature, who poured forth the water from her breasts into a spacious basin. As soon as the sun had gilded the tops of the buildings, he was saluted by some stanzas which were sung to the tune of the Marseillaise. The president of the Convention took a goblet, poured some of the water of regeneration on the ground, then drank of it, and handed the goblet to the seniors of the departments, each of whom drank in his turn. After this ceremony, the procession moved along the boulevards. The popular societies, bearing a banner on which was painted the eye of vigilance, advanced first. Next came the whole of the Convention. Each of its members held a bunch of ears of corn, and eight of them, in the centre, bore upon an ark the constitutional act and the rights of man. The senior envoys

* "The allies, in great force, were now grouped within one hundred and sixty miles of Paris; fifteen days' march would have brought them to its gates. A camp was formed between Peronne and St. Quentin, and the light troops pushed on to Peronne and Bapaume. Irresolution prevailed in the French army, dismay in the French capital, everywhere the republican authorities were taking to flight; the Austrian generals, encouraged by such extraordinary success, were at length urgent to advance and improve their successes before the enemy recovered from their consternation; and if they had been permitted to do so, what incalculable disasters would Europe have been spared! Everything promised success to vigorous operations; but the allies were paralyzed by intestine divisions. The Prussians were chiefly to blame for this torpor."—*Alison*. E.

† "The fine arts, which David studied, had not produced on his mind the softening and humanizing effect ascribed to them. Frightfully ugly in his exterior, his mind seemed to correspond with the harshness of his looks. 'Let us grind enough of the red,' was the professional phrase of which he made use, when sitting down to the bloody work of the day. He held a seat in the committee of public security. David is allowed to have possessed great merit as a draughtsman. Foreigners, however, do not admire his composition and colouring so much as his countrymen."—*Scott's Life of Napoleon*. E.

"While in Paris, in the year 1815, Sir Walter Scott was several times entertained at dinners by distinguished individuals in the French capital: but the last of these dinners at which he was present was thoroughly poisoned by a preliminary circumstance. The poet, on entering the saloon, was introduced to a stranger, whose physiognomy struck him as the most hideous he had ever seen; nor was his disgust lessened when he found, a few minutes afterwards, that he had undergone the *accolade* of David, the painter—him 'of the blood-stained brush.'"—*Lockhart's Life of Scott*. E.

formed a chain round the Convention, and walked united by a tricoloured cord. Each held in his hands an olive-branch, in token of the reconciliation of the provinces with Paris, and a pike destined to form part of the national fasces which were composed of the eighty-six departments. After this portion of the procession, come groups of people with the implements of their trades, and in the midst of them was a plough, upon which were an aged couple, drawn by their young sons. This plough was immediately followed by a war-chariot containing the urn of the soldiers who had died for their country. The procession was closed by tumbrels laden by sceptres, crowns, coats of arms, and tapestry sprinkled with fleurs de lis.

The procession passed along the boulevards, and pursued its way towards the Place de la Révolution. In passing the boulevard Poissonnière, the president of the Convention handed a laurel bough to the heroines of the 5th and 6th of October, seated on their guns. In the Place de la Révolution he again halted, and set fire to all the insignia of royalty and nobility, drawn thither in the tumbrels. He then tore off a veil thrown over a statue, which, exposed to the view of all, exhibited the features of Liberty. Salutes of artillery marked the moment of its inauguration; and at the same moment thousands of birds bearing light flags were let loose, and seemed, while darting into the air, to proclaim that the earth was set free.

They then proceeded to the Champ de Mars by the Place des Invalides, and filed past a colossal figure representing the French people, which had struck down federalism, and was stifling it in the mud of a marsh. At length, the procession arrived at the field of the Federation. There it divided into two columns, which walked round the altar of the country. The president of the Convention and the eighty-six elders occupied the summit of the altar; the members of the Convention, and the mass of the envoys of the primary assemblies, covered the steps. Each group of the people came in turn and deposited on the altar the produce of its trade, stuffs, fruit, articles of every kind. The president then collected the papers on which the primary assemblies had inscribed their votes, and laid them on the altar of the country. A general discharge of artillery was instantly made, an immense concourse of people mingled their shouts with the sound of the cannon, and the oath to defend the constitution was sworn with the same enthusiasm as on the 14th of July, 1790 and 1792—a vain oath, if we consider the letter of the constitution, but highly heroic and admirably kept, if we consider only the soil and the Revolution itself. The constitutions, in fact, passed away, but the soil and the Revolution were defended with heroic firmness.

After this ceremony, each of the eighty-six elders handed his pike to the president, who made a bundle of them, and delivered it, together with the constitutional act, to the deputies of the primary assemblies, exhorting them to rally all their forces around the ark of the new covenant. The company then separated; one part of the procession accompanied the cinerary urn of the French who had fallen for their country to a temple prepared for its reception; another went to deposit the ark of the constitution in a place where it was to remain till the following day, when it was to be carried to the hall of the Convention. A large representation of the siege and bombardment of Lille and the heroic resistance of its inhabitants occupied the rest of the day, and disposed the imagination of the people to warlike scenes.

Such was the third Federation of republican France. We do not there behold, as in 1790, all the classes of a great nation, rich and poor, noble and simple, mingled for a moment in one and the same intoxication, and, weary of mutual hate, forgiving one another for a few hours their differences of

rank and of opinion ; here was seen an immense people, no longer talking of pardon but of danger, of devotion, of desperate resolutions, and feasting itself on that gigantic pomp, till the morrow should call it away to the field of battle. One circumstance heightened the character of this scene, and covered what contemptuous or hostile minds might deem ridiculous in it—namely, the danger and the enthusiasm with which it was met. On the first 14th of July, 1790, the revolution was still innocent and benevolent, but it could not be serious, and might have ended, like a ridiculous farce, in foreign bayonets. In August, 1793, it was tragic, but grand, marked by victories and defeats, and serious as an irrevocable and heroic resolution.

The moment for taking great measures was arrived. The most extraordinary ideas were fermenting everywhere. It was proposed to exclude all the nobles from public employments, to decree the general imprisonment of suspected persons, against whom there existed as yet no precise law, to raise the population *en masse*, to seize all articles of consumption, to remove them to the magazines of the republic, which should itself distribute them to each individual ; and people felt the need of some expedient for supplying immediately sufficient funds, without being able to devise one. It was particularly desired that the Convention should retain its functions, that it should not give up its powers to the new legislature which was to succeed it, and that the constitution should be veiled, like the statue of the law, till the general defeat of the enemies of the republic.

It was at the Jacobins that all these ideas were successively proposed. Robespierre, striving no longer to repress the energy of opinion, but on the contrary to excite it, insisted particularly on the necessity for maintaining the National Convention in its functions ; and in this he gave a piece of excellent advice. To dissolve in a moment an assembly possessed of the entire government, in whose bosoms dissensions were extinguished, and to replace it by a new inexperienced assembly, which would be again torn by factions, would have been a most disastrous project. The deputies of the provinces, surrounding Robespierre, exclaimed that they had sworn to continue assembled till the Convention had taken measures of public welfare, and they declared that they would oblige it to retain its functions. Audoin, Pache's son-in-law, then spoke, and proposed to demand the levy *en masse*, and the general apprehension of suspected persons. The envoys of the primary assemblies immediately drew up a petition, which, on the following day, the 12th, they presented to the Convention. They demanded that the Convention should take upon itself the duty of saving the country, that no amnesty should be granted, that suspected persons should be apprehended, that they should be sent off first to meet the enemy, and that the people raised *en masse* should march behind. Some of these suggestions were adopted. The apprehension of suspected persons was decreed in principle ; but the project of a levy *en masse*, which appeared too violent, was referred to the committee of public welfare. The Jacobins, dissatisfied, insisted on the proposed measure, and continued to repeat in their club, that it was not a partial but a general movement which was needed.

In the following days, the committee made its report, and proposed too vague a decree and proclamations much too cold. "The committee," exclaimed Danton, "has not said everything : it has not said that, if France is vanquished, if she is torn in pieces, the rich will be the first victims of the rapacity of the tyrants : it has not said that the vanquished patriots will rend and burn this republic, rather than see it pass into the hands of their insolent conquerors ! Such is the lesson that those rich egotists must be taught !

..... What do you hope?" added Danton, "you who will not to do any thing to save the republic? Consider what would be your lot if liberty should fall. A regency directed by an idiot, an infant king whose minority would be long, and lastly, our provinces parcelled out, a frightful dismemberment! Yes, ye rich, they would tax you, they would squeeze out of you more and a thousand times more than you will have to spend to save your country and to perpetuate liberty! The Convention," he continued, "has in its hands the popular thunderbolts. Let it make use of them, let it hurl them at the heads of the tyrants. It has the envoys of the primary assemblies, it has its own members; let it send both to effect a general arming."

The *projets de loi* were again referred to the committee. On the following day, the Jacobins once more despatched the envoys of the primary assemblies to the Convention. They came to repeat the demand, not of a partial recruiting, but of the levy *en masse*, because, said they, half-measures are fatal, because it is easier to move the whole nation than part of its citizens.* "If," added they, "you demand one hundred thousand soldiers, they will not come forward; but millions of men will respond to a general appeal. Let there be no exemption for the citizen physically constituted for arms, be his occupation what it may; let agriculture alone retain the hands that are indispensable for raising the alimentary productions from the earth; let the course of trade be temporarily suspended, let all business cease, let the grand, the only, the universal business of the French be to save the republic."

The Convention could no longer withstand so pressing a summons. Sharing itself the excitement of the petitioners, it directed its committee to retire, and draw up instantly the *projet* of the levy *en masse*. The committee returned in a few minutes and presented the following *projet*, which was adopted amidst universal transport:

"*Art. 1.* The French people declares, by the organ of its representatives, that it will rise one and all, for the defence of its liberty and of its constitution, and for the final deliverance of its territory from its enemies.

"*2.* The committee of public welfare will to-morrow present the mode of organization of this great national movement."

By other articles, eighteen representatives were appointed for the purpose of travelling over all France, and directing the envoys of the primary assemblies in their requisitions of men, horses, stores, and provisions. This grand impulse once given, everything would be possible. When it was once declared that all France, men and things, belonged to the government, that government, according to the danger, its own understanding, and its growing energy, could do whatever it deemed useful and indispensable. It was not

* "The representatives of forty thousand municipalities came to accept the new constitution. Having, when admitted to the bar of the Assembly, signified the consent of the people, they demanded the arrest of all suspected persons, and a general rising of the people. 'Very well,' exclaimed Danton; 'let us consent to their wish. The deputies of the primary assemblies have begun to exercise among us the system of terror. I demand that the Convention, by a decree, invest the commissioners of the primary assemblies with the right to make an appeal to the people, to excite the energy of the people, and to put four hundred thousand men into requisition. It is by the sound of our cannon that we must make our constitution known to our enemies! This is the time to take that great and last oath, that we will die, or annihilate the tyrants!' The oath was immediately taken by every one of the deputies and citizens in the hall. Soon after this, the republic had forty armies, and twelve hundred thousand soldiers. France became, on the one hand, a camp and a workshop for the republicans: and on the other, a prison for the disaffected."—*Mignet*. E.

expedient, it is true, to raise the population *en masse*, and to interrupt production and even the labours necessary for nutrition : but it was expedient that the government should possess the power of demanding everything, save and except that which was required by the wants of the moment.

The month of August was the epoch of the grand decrees which set all France in motion, all resources in activity, and which terminated to the advantage of the Revolution : its last and its most terrible crisis.

It was requisite at once to set the population afoot, to provide it with arms, and to supply by some new financial measure the expense of this mighty movement. It was requisite to place the paper money in proportion with the price of articles of consumption ; it was requisite to distribute the armies and the generals in a manner suitable to each theatre of war, and lastly, to appease the revolutionary indignation by great and terrible executions. We shall presently see what the government did to satisfy at once these urgent wants and those bad passions, to which it was obliged to submit because they were inseparable from the energy which saves a people in danger.

To impose upon each locality a contingent in men was not a proceeding adapted to the circumstances, nor was it worthy of the enthusiasm which it was necessary to suppose the French to possess, in order to inspire them with it. This German method of laying upon each country a tax in men, like money, was moreover in contradiction with the principle of the levy *en masse*. A general recruiting by lot was equally unsuitable. As every one was not called, every one would then have thought how to get exempted, and would have cursed the lot which had obliged him to serve. The levy *en masse* would throw France into one universal confusion, and excite the sneers of the moderates and of the counter-revolutionists. The committee of public welfare, therefore, devised the expedient that was best adapted to circumstances. This was to make the whole population disposable, to divide it into generations, and to send off those generations in the order of age, as they were wanted. The decree of August the 23d ran thus : "From this moment till that when the enemy shall be driven from the territory of the French republic, all the French shall be in permanent requisition for the service of the armies. The young men shall go forth to fight ; the married men shall forge the arms and transport the supplies ; the women shall make tents, and clothes, and attend on the hospitals ; the children shall make lint out of rags ; the old men shall cause themselves to be carried to the public places, to excite the courage of the warriors, to preach hatred of kings and love of the republic."

All the young unmarried men or widowers without children, from the age of eighteen to that of twenty-five years, were to compose the first levy, called the *first requisition*. They were to assemble immediately, not in the chief towns of departments, but in those of districts, for, since the breaking out of federalism, there was a dread of those large assemblages by departments, which gave them a feeling of their strength and an idea of revolt. There was also another motive for adopting this course, namely, the difficulty of collecting in the chief towns sufficient stores of provisions and supplies for large masses. The battalions formed in the chief towns of districts were to commence their military exercises immediately, and to hold themselves in readiness to set out on the very first day. The generation between twenty-five and thirty had notice to prepare itself, and meanwhile it had to do the duty of the interior. Lastly, the remainder, between thirty and sixty, was disposable at the will of the representatives sent to effect this gradual levy. Notwithstanding these dispositions, the instantaneous levy *en masse* of the

whole population was ordered in certain parts, where the danger was most urgent, as La Vendée, Lyons, Toulon, the Rhine, &c.

The means employed for arming, lodging, and subsisting the levies, were adapted to the circumstances. All the horses and beasts of burden which were not necessary either for agriculture or manufactures were required and placed at the disposal of the army commissaries. Muskets were to be given to the generation that was to march: the fowling-pieces and pikes were reserved for the duty of the interior. In the departments where manufactures of arms could be established, the public places and promenades, and the large houses comprehended in the national possessions, were to serve for the erection of workshops. The principal establishment was placed at Paris. The forges were to be erected in the gardens of the Luxembourg, and the machines for boring cannon on the banks of the Seine. All the journeymen gunsmiths were put into requisition, as were also the watch and clock-makers, who had very little work at the moment, and who were capable of executing certain parts in the manufacture of arms. For this manufacture alone, thirty millions were placed at the disposal of the minister of war. These extraordinary means were to be employed, till the quantity produced should amount to one thousand muskets per day. This great establishment was placed at Paris, because there, under the eyes of the government and the Jacobins, negligence became utterly impossible, and all the prodigies of expedition and energy were insured. Accordingly, this manufacture very soon fulfilled its destinations.

As there was a want of saltpetre, an idea occurred to extract it from the mould of cellars. Directions were issued to examine them all, to ascertain whether the soil in which they were sunk contained any portion of that substance or not. In consequence every person was obliged to suffer his cellar to be inspected and dug up, that the mould might be lixiviated when it contained saltpetre.

The houses which had become national property were destined to serve for barracks and magazines. In order to procure supplies for these large armed masses, various measures, not less extraordinary than the preceding, were adopted. The Jacobins proposed that the republic should have a general statement of the articles of consumption drawn up, that it should buy them all, and then undertake the task of distributing them, either by giving them to the soldiers armed for its defence, or by selling them to the other citizens at a moderate price. This propensity to attempt to do everything, to make amends for nature herself, when her course is not according to our wishes, was not so blindly followed as the Jacobins would have desired. In consequence it was ordered that the statements of the articles of consumption already demanded from the municipalities should be forthwith completed and sent to the office of the minister of the interior, in order to furnish a general statistical view of the wants and the resources of the country; that all the corn should be thrashed where that had not yet been done, and that the municipalities themselves should cause it to be thrashed where individuals refused to comply; that the farmers or proprietors of corn should pay the arrears of their contributions, and two-thirds of those for the year 1793, in kind; lastly, that the farmers and managers of the national domains should pay the rents of them in kind.*

* "This system of forced requisitions gave the government the command of a large proportion of the agricultural produce of the kingdom, and it was enforced with merciless severity. Not only grain, but horses, carriages, and conveyances of every sort, were forcibly taken from the cultivators. These exactions excited the most violent discontent, but no one ven-

The execution of these extraordinary measures could not be otherwise than extraordinary also. Limited powers, confided to local authorities, which would have been stopped every moment by resistance and by remonstrances, which, moreover, feeling a greater or less degree of zeal, would have acted with very unequal energy, would not have been adapted either to the nature of the measures decreed or to their urgency. In this case, therefore, the dictatorship of the commissioners of the Convention was the only engine that could be made use of. They had been employed for the first levy of three hundred thousand men, decreed in March, and they had speedily and completely fulfilled their mission. Sent to the armies, they narrowly watched the generals and their operations, sometimes thwarted consummate commanders, but everywhere kindled zeal and imparted great vigour. Shut up in fortresses, they had sustained heroic sieges in Valenciennes and Mayence; spread through the interior, they had powerfully contributed to quell federalism. They were therefore, again employed in this instance, and invested with unlimited powers for executing this requisition of men and *matériel*. Having under their orders the envoys of the primary assemblies, being authorized to direct them at pleasure, and to commit to them a portion of their powers, they had at hand devoted men, perfectly acquainted with the state of each district, and possessing no authority but what they themselves gave them for the necessities of that extraordinary service.

Different representatives had already been sent into the interior, both to La Vendée, and to Lyons and Grenoble, for the purpose of destroying the relics of federalism; eighteen more were appointed, with directions to divide France among them, and to take, in concert with those previously in commission, the needful steps for calling out the young men of the first requisition, for arming them, for supplying them with provisions, and for despatching them to the most suitable points according to the advice and demands of the generals. They were instructed moreover, to effect the complete submission of the federalist administrations.

With these military plans it was necessary to combine financial measures, in order to defray the expenses of the war. We have seen what was the state of France in this respect. A public debt in disorder, composed of debts of all sorts, of all dates, and which were opposed to the debts contracted under the republic; discredited assignats, to which were opposed specie, foreign paper, the shares of the financial companies, and which were no longer available to the government for paying the public services, or the people for purchasing the commodities which they needed—such was then our situation. What was then to be done in such a conjuncture?—resort to a loan or issue assignats? To borrow would be impossible, in the disorder in which the public debt then was, and with the little confidence which the engagements of the republic inspired. To issue assignats would be easy enough; for this nothing more was required than the national printing-office. But, in order to defray the most trifling expenses, it would be necessary to issue enormous quantities of paper, that is to say, five or six times its nominal value, and this would serve to increase the great calamity of its discredit, and to cause a fresh rise in the prices of commodities. We shall see what the genius of necessity suggested to the men who had undertaken the salvation of France.

The first and the most indispensable measure was to establish order in the debt, and to prevent its being divided into contracts of all forms and of all tured to give it vent; to have expressed dissatisfaction, would have put the complainer in imminent hazard of his life.”—*Alison*. E.

periods, and which, by their differences of origin and nature, gave rise to a dangerous and counter-revolutionary stockjobbing. The knowledge of these old titles, their verification, and their classification, required a particular study, and occasioned a frightful complication in the accounts. It was only in Paris that every stockholder could obtain payment of his dividends, and sometimes the division of his credit into several portions obliged him to apply to twenty different paymasters. There was the constituted debt, the debt demandable at a fixed period, the demandable debt proceeding from a liquidation, and in this manner the exchequer was daily liable to demands, and obliged to procure funds for the payment of sums thus falling due. "The debt must be made uniform and *republicanised*," said Cambon, and he proposed to convert all the contracts of the creditors of the state into an inscription in a great book, which should be called the *Great Book of the Public Debt*. This inscription, and the extract from it which should be delivered to the creditors, were thenceforward to constitute their only titles. To prevent any alarm for the safety of his book, a duplicate was to be deposited in the archives of the treasury; and besides, it was not in greater danger from fire or other accidents than the registers of the notaries. The creditors were, therefore, within a certain time to transmit their titles, that they might be inscribed and then burned. The notaries were ordered to deliver up all the titles deposited in their hands, and to be punished with ten years' imprisonment, if, before they gave them up, they kept or furnished any copies. If the creditor suffered six months to elapse without applying to have his debt inscribed, he was to lose his interest; if he allowed a year to pass away, he was to forfeit the principal. "In this manner," said Cambon, "it will no longer be possible to distinguish the debt contracted by despotism from that which has been contracted since the Revolution; and I would defy *Monseigneur le Despotisme*, if he were to rise from his grave, to recognise his old debt when it shall be blended with the new one. This operation effected, you will see the capitalist, who wishes for a king because he has a king for his debtor, and who is apprehensive of losing his credit if his debtor is not re-established, wishing well to the republic which will have become his debtor, because he will be afraid of losing his capital in losing it."

This was not the only advantage of that institution, it had others equally great, and it commenced the system of public credit. The capital of each credit was converted into a perpetual annuity at the rate of five per cent. Thus the creditor of a sum of one thousand francs was inscribed in the great book for an annuity of fifty francs. In this manner, the old debts, some of which bore an usurious interest, while others were liable to unjust deductions, or burdened with certain taxes, would be brought back to a uniform and equitable interest. Then, too, the state, changing its debt into a perpetual annuity, would be no longer liable to payments, and could not be obliged to refund the capital, provided it paid the interest. It would find moreover an easy and advantageous mode of acquitting itself, namely, to redeem the annuity at once whenever it happened to fall below its value. Thus when an annuity of fifty livres, arising from a capital of one thousand francs, should be worth but nine hundred or eight hundred livres, the state would gain, said Cambon, one-tenth or one-fifth of the capital by redeeming it at once. This redemption was not yet organized by means of a fixed sinking-fund, but the expedient had suggested itself, and the science of public credit began to be formed.

Thus the inscription in the Great Book would simplify the form of titles,

bind the existence of the debt to the existence of the republic, and change the credits into a perpetual annuity, the capital of which should not be repayable, and the interests of which should be alike for all portions of the inscriptions. This idea was simple and in part borrowed from the English; but it acquired great courage of execution to apply it to France, and it possessed the merit of being peculiarly seasonable at that moment. There was something forced, to be sure, in thus changing the nature of the titles and the credits, in reducing the interest to a uniform rate, and in punishing with forfeiture those creditors who would not submit to this conversion; but for a state justice is the best possible order; and this grand and energetic plan for giving uniformity to the debt was befitting a bold and complete revolution, which aimed at regulating everything by the standard of the public right.*

With this boldness Cambon's plan combined a scrupulous regard for engagements made with foreigners, who had been promised repayment at fixed periods. It provided that, as the assignats were not current out of France, the foreign creditors should be paid in specie, and at the promised periods. Moreover, the communes having contracted particular debts, exposing their creditors to great inconvenience by not paying them, the state was to take upon itself their debts, but not to seize their property till the payment of the sums for which it should have engaged. This plan was adopted entire, and it was as well executed as conceived. The capital of the debt thus reduced to uniformity was converted into a mass of annuities of two hundred millions per annum. It was deemed right, by way of compensating for the old taxes of different kinds with which it was burdened, to impose a general duty of one-fifth, which reduced the amount of interest to one hundred and sixty millions. In this manner everything was simplified and rendered perfectly clear; a great source of stockjobbing was destroyed, and confidence was restored, because a partial bankruptcy in regard to this or that kind of stock could no longer take place, and it was not to be supposed in regard to the whole debt.

From this moment it became more easy to have recourse to a loan. We shall presently see in what manner that expedient was employed to support the assignats.

The value which the Revolution disposed of, in order to defray its extraordinary expenses, still consisted in national domains. This value, represented by the assignats, floated in the circulation. It was necessary to favour sales for the purpose of bringing back the assignats, and to raise their value by rendering them more rare. Victories were the best but not the readiest means of promoting sales. Various expedients had been devised to make amends for the want of them. The purchasers had, for instance, been allowed to pay in several yearly instalments. But this measure, designed to favour the peasants and to render them proprietors, was more likely to encourage sales than to bring back the assignats. In order to diminish their circulating quantity with greater certainty, it was resolved to make the compensation for offices partly in assignats and partly in *acknowledgments of liquidation*. The compensations amounting to less than three thousand francs were to be paid in assignats, the others in acknowledgments of liqui-

* "The whole of the creditors, both royal and republican, were paid only in assignats, which progressively fell to a fifth, a tenth, a hundredth, and at last, in 1797, to a two hundred and fiftieth part of their nominal value; so that, in the space of a few years, the payment was entirely illusory, and a national bankruptcy had, in fact, existed many years before it was formally declared by the Directory."—*Alison*. E.

dation, which could not be divided into smaller sums than ten thousand livres, which were not to circulate as money, were to be transferable only like any other effects to bearer, and were to be taken in payment for national domains. In this manner the portion of the national domains converted into forced money would be diminished, all that would be transformed into acknowledgments of liquidation would consist of sums not minutely divided, transferable with difficulty, fixed in the hands of the rich, withdrawn from circulation and from stockjobbing.

In order to promote still more the sale of the national domains, it was decided, in creating the Great Book, that the inscriptions of annuities in that book should be taken for one-half the amount in payment for those possessions. This facility could not fail to produce new sales and new returns of assignats.

But all these schemes were insufficient, and the mass of paper money was still far too considerable. The Constituent Assembly, the Legislative Assembly, and the Convention, had decreed the creation of five thousand one hundred millions of assignats: four hundred and eighty-four millions had not yet been issued, and remained in the exchequer; consequently four thousand six hundred and sixteen millions only had been thrown into circulation. Part had come back by means of sales; the purchasers being allowed to pay by instalments, from twelve to fifteen millions were due upon sales effected, and eight hundred and forty millions had been returned and burnt. Thus the amount in circulation, in the month of August, 1793, was three thousand seven hundred and seventy-six millions.

The first step was to take the character of money from the assignats with the royal effigy, which were hoarded, and injured the republican assignats by the superior confidence which they enjoyed. Though deprived of their monetary character, they ceased not to have a value; they were transformed into paper payable to bearer, and they retained the faculty of being taken in payment either of contributions or for national property, till the first of January ensuing. After that period they were not to have any sort of value. These assignats amounted to five hundred and fifty-eight millions. This measure insured their withdrawal from circulation in less than four months; and, as it was well known that they were all in the hands of counter-revolutionary speculators, the government exhibited a proof of justice in not annulling them, and in merely obliging the holders to return them to the exchequer.

It will be recollected that, in the month of May, when it was declared in principle that there should be armies called revolutionary, it was decreed also that a forced loan of one thousand millions should be raised from the rich in order to defray the expenses of a war of which they, as aristocrats, were reputed to be the authors, and to which they would not devote either their persons or their fortunes. This loan, assessed as we shall presently see, was destined according to Cambon's plan, to be employed in taking one thousand millions of assignats out of circulation. To leave the option to the well-disposed citizens, and to insure them some advantages, a voluntary loan was opened; those who came forward to fill it received an inscription of annuity at the rate already decreed of five per cent., and thus obtained interest for their capital. This inscription was to exempt them from their contribution to the forced loan, or at least from a portion of it equivalent to the amount invested in the voluntary loan. The ill-disposed people of wealth, who waited for the forced loan, were to receive a title bearing no interest, and which was, like the inscription of annuity, but a republican title with a

deduction of five per cent. Lastly, as it had been settled that the inscriptions should be taken for half the amount in payment for national property, those who contributed to the voluntary loan, receiving an inscription of annuity, had the faculty of reimbursing themselves in national property: on the contrary, the certificates of the forced loan were not to be taken till two years after the peace in payment for purchased domains. It was requisite, so said the *projet*, to interest the rich in the speedy conclusion of the war, and in the pacification of Europe.

By means of the forced voluntary loan, one thousand millions of assignats were to be returned to the exchequer. These were destined to be burned. There would be returned by the contributions which yet remained to be paid seven hundred millions, five hundred and fifty-eight millions of which were in royal assignats, already deprived of their monetary value, and no longer possessing the faculty of paying for the taxes. It was certain, therefore, that, in two or three months, in the first place the thousand millions from the loan, and in the next, seven hundred millions in contributions, would be withdrawn from circulation. The floating sum of three thousand seven hundred and seventy-six millions would thus be reduced to two thousand and seventy-six millions. It was to be presumed that the faculty of changing the inscriptions of the debt into national property would lead to new purchases, and that in this way five or six hundred millions might be returned. The amount then would be further reduced to fifteen or sixteen hundred millions. Thus for the moment, by reducing the floating mass more than one-half, the assignats would be restored to their value; and the four hundred and eighty-four millions in the exchequer might be employed to advantage. The seven hundred millions returned by taxes, five hundred and fifty-eight of which were to receive the republican effigy and to be thrown into circulation again, would thus recover their value, and might be employed in the following year. The assignats would thus be raised for the moment, and that was the essential point. If the republic should be successful and save itself, victory would completely establish their value, allow new issues to be made, and the remainder of the national domains to be realized—a remainder that was still considerable, and that was daily increasing by emigration.

The manner in which this forced loan was to be executed was in its nature prompt and necessarily arbitrary. How is it possible to estimate property without error, without injustice, even in periods of tranquillity, taking the necessary time, and consulting all probabilities? Now, that which is not possible even with the most propitious circumstances, could still less be hoped for in a time of violence and hurry. But when the government was compelled to injure so many families, to strike so many individuals, could it care much about a mistake in regard to fortune or any little inaccuracy in the assessment? It therefore instituted, for the forced loan as for the requisitions, a sort of dictatorship, and assigned it to the communes. Every person was obliged to give in a statement of his income. In every commune the general council appointed examiners, and these decided from their knowledge of the localities if those statements were probable; and, if they supposed them to be false, they had a right to double them. Out of the income of each family the sum of one thousand francs was set aside for each individual, husband, wife, and children: all beyond this was deemed surplus income, and as such, liable to taxation. For a taxable income of 1000 to 10,000 francs the tax was one-tenth; a surplus of 1000 francs paid 100; a surplus of 2000 paid 200, and so on. All surplus income exceeding 10,000

francs was charged a sum of equal amount. In this manner every family which, besides the 1000 francs allowed per head, and the surplus income of 10,000 francs which had to pay a tax of one-tenth, possessed a still larger income, was obliged to give the whole excess to the loan. Thus a family consisting of five persons and enjoying an income of 50,000 livres, had 5000 francs reputed to be necessary, 10,000 francs taxed one-tenth, which reduced it to 9000, making in the whole 14,000 ; and was obliged to give up for this year the remaining 36,000 to the forced or voluntary loan. To take one year's surplus from all the opulent classes was certainly not so very harsh a proceeding, when so many individuals were going to sacrifice their lives in the field of battle ; and this sum, which, moreover, the government might have taken irrevocably and as an indispensable war-tax, might be changed for a republican title, convertible either into state annuities or into portions of the national property.

This grand operation consisted therefore in withdrawing from circulation one thousand millions in assignats, by taking it from the rich ; in divesting that sum of its quality of money and of circulating medium, and turning it into a mere charge upon the national property, which the rich might change or not into a corresponding portion of that property. In this manner they were obliged to become purchasers, or at least to furnish the same sum in assignats as they would have furnished had they become so. It was in short one thousand millions in assignats, the forced placing of which was effected.

To these measures for supporting paper money were added others. After destroying the rivalry between the old contracts of the state and that of the assignats with the royal effigy, it became necessary to destroy the rivalry of the shares in the financial companies. A decree was therefore passed abolishing the life insurance company, the *compagnie de la caisse d'es-compte*, and in short all those whose funds consisted in shares payable to bearer, in negotiable effects, or inscriptions transferable at pleasure. It was decided that they should wind up their accounts within a short period, and that in future the government alone should have a right to establish institutions of that kind. A speedy report concerning the East India Company was ordered ; that company, from its importance, requiring a separate examination. It was impossible to prevent the existence of bills of exchange upon foreign countries, but those Frenchmen were declared traitors to their country who should place their funds in the banks or counting-houses of countries with which the republic was at war. Lastly, new severities were enacted against specie and the traffic carried on with it. Six years' imprisonment had already been awarded to any one who should buy or sell specie, that is, who should receive or give it for a different sum in assignats ; in like manner all buyers and sellers of goods, who should bargain for a different price according as payment might be stipulated for in specie or in assignats, had been subjected to a fine : such facts were difficult to come at, and the legislature made itself amends by increasing the penalty. Every person convicted of having refused to take assignats in payment, or of having received or paid them away at a certain loss, was sentenced to a fine of three thousand livres and six months' imprisonment for the first offence ; and to a fine of double the amount and twenty years' imprisonment for the second. Lastly, as metallic money was indispensable in the markets, and a substitute for it could not easily be found, it was enacted that the bells should be used for making decimes, demi-decimes, &c., equivalent to two sous, one sou, &c.

But what means soever might be employed for raising the value of assign-

nats, and destroying the rivalry which was so prejudicial to them, no hope could be entertained of restoring them to a level with the price of commodities; and the forced reduction of the latter became, therefore, a measure of necessity. Besides, the people were impressed with a belief that a bad spirit prevailed among the dealers, and that they were guilty of forestalling; and, whatever might be the opinion of the legislators, they could not bridle on this particular point a populace which, in all other respects, they were obliged to let loose. It was therefore requisite to do for commodities in general what had already been done in regard to corn. A decree was issued which placed forestalling among the number of capital crimes, and attached to it the punishment of death. He was considered as a forestaller *who should withhold from circulation commodities of first necessity*, without placing them publicly on sale. The articles and commodities declared *of first necessity* were bread, wine, butchers' meat, corn, flour, vegetables, fruit, charcoal, wood, butter, tallow, hemp, flax, salt, leather, drinkables, salted meat, cloth, wool, and all stuffs, excepting silks. The means of execution for such a decree were necessarily inquisitorial and vexatious. Every dealer was required to render a statement of the stock in his possession. These declarations were to be verified by means of domiciliary visits. Any fraud was, like the crime itself, to be punished with death. Commissioners appointed by the communes were authorized to inspect the invoices, and, from these invoices, to fix a price which, while it left a moderate profit to the dealer, should not exceed the means of the people. If, however, added the decree, the high price of the invoices should render it impossible for the dealers to make any profit, the sale must nevertheless take place at such a price as the purchaser could afford. Thus, in this decree, as in that which ordered a declaration respecting corn, and a *maximum*, the legislature left to the communes the task of fixing the prices according to the state of things in each locality. It was soon led to generalize those measures still more, and, in generalizing them more, to render them more violent.*

The military, financial, and administrative operations of this epoch were, therefore, as ably conceived as the situation permitted, and as vigorous as the danger required. The whole population, divided into generations, was at the disposal of the representatives, and might be called out either to fight or to manufacture arms, or to nurse the wounded. All the old debts, converted into a single republican debt, were made liable to one and the same fate, and to be worth no more than the assignats. The numerous rivalships of the old contracts, of the royal assignats, of the shares in companies, were destroyed; the government prevented capital from being thus locked up by assimilating them all; as the assignats did not come back, it took one thousand millions from the rich, and made it pass from the state of money to the state of a mere charge upon the national property. Lastly, in order to establish a forced relation between the circulating medium and the commodities of first necessity, it invested the communes with authority to seek out all articles of consumption, all merchandise, and to cause them to be sold at a price suited to each locality. Never did a government adopt at once measures more vast or more boldly conceived; and, before we can make their violence a subject of reproach

* These extravagant measures had not been long in operation, before they produced the most disastrous effects. A great proportion of the shops in Paris, and all the principal towns, were shut; business of every sort was at a stand; the laws of the maximum and against forestallers had spread terror and distrust as much among the middling classes who had commenced the Revolution, as the guillotine had among nobles and priests who had been its earliest victims."—*Alison*. E.

against their authors, we must forget the danger of a universal invasion, and the necessity of living upon the national domains without purchasers. The whole system of forced means sprang from these two causes. At the present day, a superficial and ungrateful generation finds fault with these operations, condemns some as violent, others as contrary to right principles of economy, and adds the vice of ingratitude to ignorance of the time and of the situation. Let us revert to the facts, and let us at length be just to those whom it cost such efforts and such perils to save us!

After these general measures of finance and administration, others were adopted with more particular reference to each theatre of the war. The extraordinary means long resolved upon in regard to La Vendée were at length decreed. The character of that war was now well known. The forces of the rebellion did not consist in organized troops which it might be possible to destroy by victories, but in a population which, apparently peaceful and engaged in agricultural occupations, suddenly rose at a given signal, overwhelmed by its numbers, surprised by its unforeseen attack, the republican troops, and, if defeated, concealed itself in its woods, in its fields, and resumed its labours, without it being possible to distinguish him who had been a soldier from him who had never ceased to be a peasant. An obstinate struggle of more than six months, insurrections which had sometimes amounted to one hundred thousand men, acts of the greatest temerity, a renown inspiring terror, and the established opinion that the greatest danger to the Revolution lay in this destructive civil war, could not but call the whole attention of the government to La Vendée, and provoke the most violent and angry measures in regard to it.

It had long been asserted that the only way to reduce that unfortunate country was, not to fight, but to destroy it, since its armies were nowhere and yet everywhere. These views were adopted in a violent decree, in which La Vendée, the Bourbons, the foreigners, were all at once doomed to extermination. In consequence of this decree, the minister at war was ordered to send into the disturbed departments combustible matters for setting fire to the woods, the copses, and the bushes.* “The forests,” it was there said, “shall be cut down, the haunts of the rebels shall be destroyed, the crops shall be cut by companies of labourers, the cattle seized, and the whole carried out of the country. The old men, the women, and the children, shall be removed from the country, and provisions shall be made for their subsistence with the care due to humanity.” The generals and the representatives on missions were moreover enjoined to collect around La Vendée the supplies necessary for the subsistence of large masses, and immediately afterwards to raise in the surrounding departments not a gradual levy, as in other parts of France, but a sudden and general levy, and thus pour one whole population on another.

* “I did not see a single male being at the towns of St. Hermand, Chantonny, or Herbiers. A few women alone had escaped the sword. Country-seats, cottages, habitations of whichever kind, were burnt. The herds and flocks were wandering in terror around their usual places of shelter, now smoking in ruins. I was surprised by night, but the wavering and dismal blaze of the conflagration afforded light over the country. To the bleating of the disturbed flocks, and bellowing of the terrified cattle, were joined the deep hoarse notes of carrion crows, and the yells of wild animals coming from the recesses of the woods to prey on the carcasses of the slain. At length a distant column of fire, widening and increasing as I approached, served me as a beacon. It was the town of Mortagne in flames. When I arrived there, no living creatures were to be seen, save a few wretched women who were striving to save some remnants of their property from the general conflagration.”—*Memoirs of a Republican Officer*. E.

The choice of men corresponded with the nature of these measures. We have seen Biron, Berthier, Menou, Westermann, compromised and stripped of their command for having supported the system of discipline, and Rossignol, who infringed that discipline, taken out of prison by the agents of the ministry. The triumph of the Jacobin system was complete. Rossignol, from merely *chef de bataillon*, was at once appointed general and commander of the army of the coasts of La Rochelle. Ronsin, the principal of those agents of the ministry who carried into La Vendée all the passions of the Jacobins, and asserted that it was not experienced generals, but stanch republican generals, who were wanted, that it was not a regular war, but a war of extermination which ought to be waged, that every man of the new levy was a soldier, and that every soldier might be a general—Ronsin, the principal of those agents, was made, in four days, captain, *chef d'escadron*, general of brigade, and assistant to Rossignol, with all the powers of the minister himself, for the purpose of presiding over the execution of this new system of warfare. Orders were issued, at the same time, that the garrison of Mayence should be conveyed post from the Rhine to La Vendée.

So great was the prevailing distrust, that the generals of that brave garrison had been put under arrest for having capitulated. Fortunately, the brave Merlin, who was always listened to with the respect due to an heroic character, came forward and bore testimony to their devotedness and intrepidity. Kleber and Aubert-Dubayet were restored to their soldiers, who had resolved to liberate them by force, and they repaired to La Vendée where they were destined by their ability to retrieve the disasters caused by the agents of the ministry. There is a truth which cannot be too often repeated: Passion is never either judicious or enlightened, but it is passion alone that can save nations in great extremities. The appointment of Rossignol was a strange boldness, but it indicated a course firmly resolved upon. It admitted of no more half measures in that disastrous war in La Vendée, and it obliged all the local administrations that were still wavering to speak out. Those fiery Jacobins, dispersed among the armies, frequently excited agitation in them, but they imparted to them that energy of resolution, without which there would have been no equipping, no provisioning, no means of any kind. They were most iniquitously unjust towards the generals, but they permitted none of them to falter or to hesitate. We shall soon see that their frantic ardour when combined with the prudence of more sedate men produced the grandest and the most glorious results.

Kilmaine, after effecting that admirable retreat which had saved the army of the North, was immediately superseded by Houchard, formerly commander of the army of the Moselle, who possessed a high reputation for bravery and zeal. In the committee of public welfare some changes had taken place. Thuriot and Gasparin had resigned on account of illness. One of them was succeeded by Robespierre, who at last made his way to the government, and whose immense power was thus acknowledged and submitted to by the Convention, which hitherto had not appointed him upon any committee. The other was replaced by the celebrated Carnot,* who

* "Carnot was one of the first officers of the French army who embraced cordially and enthusiastically the regenerating views of the National Assembly. In 1791 he was in the garrison at St. Omer, where he married Mademoiselle Dupont, daughter of a merchant there. His political principles, the moderation of his conduct, and his varied knowledge procured for him soon after the honour of a seat in the legislature, from which period he devoted himself wholly to the imperative duties imposed on him either by the choice of his fellow-citizens, or by the suffrages of his colleagues. The Convention placed in the hands of Carnot the

had previously been sent to the army of the North, where he had obtained the character of an able and intelligent officer.

To all these administrative and military measures were added measures of vengeance, agreeably to the usual custom of following up acts of energy with acts of cruelty. We have already seen that, on the demand of the envoys of the primary assemblies, a law against suspected persons had been resolved upon. The *projet* of it was yet to be presented. It was called for every day, on the ground that the decree of the 27th of March, which put the aristocrats out of the pale of the law, did not go far enough. That decree required a trial, but people wanted one which should permit the imprisonment without trial of the citizens suspected on account of their opinions, merely to secure their persons. While this decree was pending, it was decided that the property of all those who were outlawed should belong to the republic. More severe measures against foreigners were next demanded. They had already been placed under the *surveillance* of the committees styled revolutionary, but something more was required. The idea of a foreign conspiracy, of which Pitt was supposed to be the prime mover, filled all minds more than ever. A pocket-book found on the walls of one of our frontier towns contained letters written in English, and which English agents in France addressed to one another. In these letters mention was made of considerable sums sent to secret agents dispersed in our camps, in our fortresses, and in our principal towns. Some were charged with contracting an intimacy with our generals in order to seduce them, and to obtain accurate information concerning the state of our forces, of our fortified places, and of our supplies; others were commissioned to penetrate into our arsenals and our magazines with phosphoric matches and to set them on fire. "Make the exchange," was also said in these letters, "rise to two hundred livres for one pound sterling. The assignats must be discredited as much as possible, and all those which have not the royal effigy must be refused. Make the price of all articles of consumption rise too. Give orders to all your merchants to buy up all the articles of first necessity. If you can persuade

colossal and incoherent mass of the military requisition. It was necessary to organize, discipline, and teach. He drew from it fourteen armies. He had to create able leaders. His penetrating eye ranged through the most obscure ranks in search of talent united with courage and disinterestedness; and he promoted it rapidly to the highest grades. In 1802, Carnot opposed the creation of the Legion of Honour. He likewise opposed the erection of the consulate for life; but it was most especially at the period when it was proposed to raise Bonaparte to the throne that he exerted all his energy. He stood alone in the midst of the general defection. His conduct during the Hundred Days appears to me summed up completely in the memorable words which Napoleon addressed to him, on entering the carriage when he was going to Rochefort, 'Carnot, I have known you too late!' After the catastrophe of the Hundred Days, Carnot was proscribed, and obliged to expatriate himself. He died at Magdeburg in 1823, at the age of seventy years. It is true, he had ambition, but he has himself told us its character—it was the ambition of the three hundred Spartans going to defend Thermopylæ."—*Arago*. E.

"Carnot was a man laborious and sincere, but liable to the influence of intrigues, and easily deceived. When minister of war he showed but little talent, and had many quarrels with the ministers of finance and the treasury, in all of which he was wrong. He left the government, convinced that he could not fulfil his station for want of money. He afterwards voted against the establishment of the empire, but as his conduct was always upright, he never gave any umbrage to the government. During the prosperity of the empire he never asked for anything; but, after the misfortunes of Russia, he demanded employment and got the command of Antwerp, where he acquitted himself very well. After Napoleon's return from Elba, he was minister of the interior, and the emperor had every reason to be satisfied with his conduct. He was faithful, and a man of truth and probity."—*A Voice from St. Helena*. E.

Cott—to buy up all the tallow and the candles, no matter at what price, make the public pay five francs per pound for them. His lordship is highly pleased with the way in which B—t—z has acted. We hope that the murderers will be prudently committed. Disguised priests and women are fittest for this operation.”

These letters merely proved that England had some military spies in our armies, some agents in our commercial towns for the purpose of aggravating there the distress occasioned by the dearth, and that some of them might *perhaps* take money upon the pretext of committing seasonable murders.* But all these means were far from formidable, and they were certainly exaggerated by the usual boasting of the agents employed in this kind of manœuvre. It is true that fires had broken out at Douai, at Valenciennes, in the sailmakers' building at Laurient, at Bayonne, and in the parks of artillery near Chemillé and Saumur. It is possible that these agents might have been the authors of those fires; but assuredly they had not pointed either the dagger of Paris, the life-guardsmen against Lepelletier, or the knife of Charlotte Corday against Marat; and, if they were engaged in stockjobbing speculations upon foreign paper and assignats, if they bought some goods by means of the credits opened in London by Pitt, they had but a very slight influence on our commercial and financial situation, which was the effect of causes far more general, and of far greater magnitude than these paltry intrigues. These letters, however, concurring with several fires, two murders, and the jobbing in foreign paper, excited universal indignation. The Convention, by a decree, denounced the British government to all nations, and declared Pitt the enemy of mankind. At the same time it ordered that all foreigners domiciliated in France since the 14th of July, 1789, should be immediately put in a state of arrest.

Lastly, it was directed by a decree that the proceedings against Custine should be speedily brought to a conclusion. Biron and Lamarche were put upon trial. The act of accusation of the Girondins was pressed afresh, and orders were given to the revolutionary tribunal to take up the proceedings against them with the least possible delay. The wrath of the Assembly was again directed against the remnant of the Bourbons and that unfortunate family which was deploring in the tower of the Temple the death of the late King. It was decreed that all the Bourbons who were still in France should be exiled, excepting those who were under the sword of the law; that the Duke of Orleans, who had been transferred in the month of May to Marseilles, and whom the federalists were against bringing to trial, should be conveyed back to Paris, and delivered over to the revolutionary tribunal. His death would stop the mouths of those who accused the Mountain of an intention to set up a king. The unhappy Marie Antoinette, notwithstanding her sex, was, like her husband, devoted to the scaffold. She was reputed

* “We need scarcely point out to our readers the utter absurdity of the supposition that the English government employed agents in France to recommend that “seasonable murders” should be “prudently committed,” and to reward those who perpetrated them! We are surprised that an historian so temperate and sagacious as M. Thiers should have thought it worth his while to insinuate even a qualified belief in such a preposterous rumour. His cautious introduction of the word “perhaps” does not much mend the matter. But, granting that there were the slightest foundation for such a supposition, was it for France to take fright at, and be filled with a virtuous abhorrence of, murder—that same France which had winked at the wholesale slaughter of the Swiss guards, and the still more indefensible and atrocious massacre of upwards of eighty thousand persons in the dungeons of Paris? When a nation has not hesitated to “swallow the camel,” it is sheer affectation in it to “strain at the gnat.” E.

to have instigated all the plots of the late court, and was deemed much more culpable than Louis XVI. Above all, she was a daughter of Austria, which was at this moment the most formidable of all the hostile powers. According to the custom of most daringly defying the most dangerous enemy, it was determined to send Marie Antoinette to the scaffold, at the very moment when the imperial armies were advancing towards our territory. She was, therefore, transferred to the Conciergerie to be tried, like any ordinary accused person, by the revolutionary tribunal. The Princess Elizabeth, destined to banishment, was detained as a witness against her sister. The two children were to be maintained and educated by the republic, which would judge, at the return of peace, what was fitting to be done in regard to them. Up to this time the family imprisoned in the Temple had been supplied with a degree of luxury consistent with its former rank. The Assembly now decreed that it should be reduced to what was barely necessary. Lastly, to crown all these acts of revolutionary vengeance, it was decreed that the royal tombs at St. Denis should be destroyed.*

Such were the measures which the imminent dangers of the month of August, 1793, provoked for the defence and for the vengeance of the Revolution.

* "The royal tombs at St. Denis near Paris, the ancient cemetery of the Bourbons, the Valois, and all the long line of French monarchs, were not only defaced on the outside, but utterly broken down, the bodies exposed, and the bones dispersed. The first vault opened was that of Turenne. The body was found dry like a mummy, and the features perfectly resembling the portrait of this distinguished general. Relics were sought after with eagerness, and Camille Desmoulins cut off one of the little fingers. The features of Henry IV. were also perfect. A soldier cut off a lock of the beard with his sabre. The body was placed upright on a stone for the rabble to divert themselves with it; and a woman, reproaching the dead Henry with the crime of having been a king, knocked down the corpse, by giving it a blow in the face. Two large pits had been dug in front of the north entrance of the church, and quicklime laid in them: into those pits the bodies were thrown promiscuously; the leaden coffins were then carried to a furnace, which had been erected in the cemetery, and cast into balls, destined to punish the enemies of the republic."—*Scott's Life of Napoleon*. E

THE NATIONAL CONVENTION.

MOVEMENT OF THE ARMIES IN AUGUST AND SEPTEMBER, 1793—INVESTMENT OF LYONS—TREASON OF TOULON—PLAN OF CAMPAIGN AGAINST LA VENDÉE—VICTORY OF HONDTSCHOOTE—GENERAL REJOICING—FRESH REVERSES—DEFEAT AT MENIN, AT PIRMASENS, AT PERPIGNAN, AND AT TORFOU—RETREAT OF CANCLAUX UPON NANTES.

AFTER the retreat of the French from Cæsar's Camp to the camp of Gavarelle, it was again the moment for the allies to follow up a demoralized army, which had been uniformly unfortunate ever since the opening of the campaign. Since the month of March, in fact, beaten at Aix-la-Chapelle and at Neerwinden, it had lost Dutch Flanders, Belgium, the camp of Famars, Cæsar's Camp, and the fortresses of Condé and Valenciennes. One of its generals had gone over to the enemy, another had been killed. Thus, ever since the battle of Jemappes, it had been making only a series of retreats, highly meritorious, it is true, but by no means encouraging. Without even entertaining the too bold design of a direct march to Paris, the allies had it in their power to destroy this nucleus of an army, and then they might take at their leisure all the places which it might suit their selfishness to occupy. But as soon as Valenciennes had surrendered, the English, in virtue of the agreement made at Antwerp, insisted on the siege of Dunkirk. Then, while the Prince of Coburg, remaining in the environs of his camp at Herin, between the Scarpe and the Scheldt, meant to occupy the French, and thought of taking Le Quesnoy, the Duke of York, marching with the English and Hanoverian army by Orchies, Menin, Dixmude, and Furnes, sat down before Dunkirk between the Langmoor and the sea. Two sieges to be carried on would therefore give us a little more time. Houchard sent to Gavarelle, hastily collected there all the disposable force in order to fly to the relief of Dunkirk. To prevent the English from gaining a seaport on the continent, to beat individually our greatest enemy, to deprive him of all advantage from this war, and to furnish the English opposition with new weapons against Pitt—such were the reasons that caused Dunkirk to be considered as the most important point of the whole theatre of war. "The salvation of the republic is there"—wrote the committee of public welfare to Houchard; and at the instance of Carnot, who was perfectly sensible that the troops collected between the northern frontier and that of the Rhine, that is on the Moselle, were useless there, it was decided that a reinforcement should be drawn from them and sent to Flanders. Twenty or twenty-five days were thus spent in preparations, a delay easily conceivable on the part of the French, who had to reassemble their troops dispersed at considerable distances, but inconceivable on the part of the English, who had only four or five marches to make in order to be under the walls of Dunkirk.

We left the two French armies of the Moselle and of the Rhine endeavouring to advance, but too late, towards Mayence, and without preventing the

reduction of that place. They had afterwards fallen back upon Saarbruck, Hornbach, and Weissenburg. We must give the reader a notion of the theatre of war, to enable him to comprehend these movements. The French frontier is of a singular conformation to the north and east. The Scheldt, the Meuse, the Moselle, the chain of the Vosges, and the Rhine, run towards the north, forming nearly parallel lines. The Rhine, on reaching the extremity of the Vosges, makes a sudden bend, ceases to run in a parallel direction with those lines, and terminates them by turning the foot of the Vosges, and receiving in its course the Moselle and the Meuse. On the northern frontier, the allies had advanced as far as between the Scheldt and the Meuse. Between the Meuse and the Moselle they had not made any progress, because the weak corps left by them between Luxemburg and Treves had not been able to attempt anything; but they were stronger between the Moselle, the Vosges, and the Rhine.

We have seen that they placed themselves *à cheval* at the Vosges, partly on the eastern and partly on the western slope. The plan to be pursued was, as we have before observed, extremely simple. Considering the backbone of the Vosges as a river, all the passages of which you ought to occupy, you might throw all your masses upon one bank, overwhelm the enemy on that side, and then return and crush him on the other. This idea had not occurred either to the French or to the allies; and ever since the capture of Mayence, the Prussians, placed on the western slope, faced the army of the Rhine. We had retired within the celebrated lines of Weissenburg. The army of the Moselle, to the number of twenty thousand men, was posted at Saarbruck, on the Sarre; the corps of the Vosges, twelve thousand in number, was at Hornbach and Ketrick, and was connected in the mountains with the extreme left of the army of the Rhine. The army of the Rhine, twenty thousand strong, guarded the Lauter from Weissenburg to Lauterburg. Such are the lines of Weissenburg. The Sarre runs from the Vosges to the Moselle, the Lauter from the Vosges to the Rhine, and both form a single line, which almost perpendicularly intersects the Moselle, the Vosges, and the Rhine. You make yourself master of it by occupying Saarbruck, Hornbach, Ketrick, Weissenburg, and Lauterburg. This we had done. We had scarcely sixty thousand men on this whole frontier, because it had been necessary to send succours to Houchard. The Prussians had taken two months to approach us, and had at length arrived at Pirmasens. Reinforced by the forty thousand men who had just brought the siege of Mayence to a conclusion, and united with the Austrians, they might have overwhelmed us on one or the other of the two slopes, but discord prevailed between Prussia and Austria, on account of the partition of Poland. Frederick William, who was still at the camp of the Vosges, did not second the impatient ardour of Wurmser. The latter, full of fire, notwithstanding his age,* made every day fresh attempts upon the lines of Weissenburg; but his partial attacks had proved unsuccessful, and served only to slaughter men to no purpose. Such was still, early in September, the state of things on the Rhine.

In the South, events had begun to develop themselves. The long uncertainty of the Lyonnese had at length terminated in open resistance, and the

* "Wurmser, observed Bonaparte, was very old, brave as a lion, but so extremely deaf, that he could not hear the balls whistling about him. Wurmser saved my life on one occasion. When I reached Rimini, a messenger overtook me with a letter from him, containing an account of a plan to poison me, and where it was to have been put into execution. It would in all probability have succeeded, had it not been for this information. Wurmser, like Fox, acted a noble part."—*A Voice from St. Helena*. E.

siege of their city had become inevitable. We have seen that they offered to submit and to acknowledge the Constitution, but without explaining themselves respecting the decrees which enjoined them to send the imprisoned patriots to Paris, and to dissolve the new sectionary authority: nay, it was not long before they infringed those decrees in the most signal manner, by sending Chalier and Riard to the scaffold, making daily preparations for war, taking money from the public coffers, and detaining the convoys destined for the armies. Many partizans of the emigration gained admittance among them, and alarmed them about the re-establishment of the old Moun-taineer municipality. They flattered them, moreover, with the arrival of the Marseillais, who, they said, were ascending the Rhone, and with the march of the Piedmontese, who were about to debouch from the Alps with sixty thousand men. Though the Lyonnese, stanch federalists, bore an equal enmity to the foreign powers and to the emigrants, yet they felt such a horror of the Mountain and the old municipality, that they were ready to expose themselves to the danger and the infamy of a foreign alliance rather than to the vengeance of the Convention.

The Saône, running between the Jura and the Côte-d'Or, and the Rhone, coming from the Valais between the Jura and the Alps, unite at Lyons. That wealthy city is seated at their confluence. Up the Saône, towards Macon, the country was entirely republican, and Laporte and Reverchond, the deputies, having collected some thousands of the requisitionary force, cut off the communication with the Jura. Dubois-Crancé was approaching on the side next to the Alps, and guarding the upper course of the Rhone. But the Lyonnese were completely masters of the lower course of the Rhone, and of its right bank as far as the mountains of Auvergne. They were masters also of the whole Forez, into which they made frequent incursions, and supplied themselves with arms at St. Etienne. A skilful engineer had erected excellent fortifications around their city; and a foreigner had founded cannon for the ramparts. The population was divided into two portions. The young men accompanied Precy, the commandant, in his excursions; the married men, the fathers of families, guarded the city and its intrenchments.

At length, on the 8th of August, Dubois-Crancé, who had quelled the federalist revolt at Grenoble, prepared to march upon Lyons, agreeably to the decree which enjoined him to reduce that rebellious city to obedience. The army of the Alps amounted at the utmost to twenty-five thousand men, and it was soon likely to have on its hands the Piedmontese, who, profiting at length by the month of August, made preparations for debouching by the great chain. This army had lately been weakened, as we have seen, by two detachments, the one to reinforce the army of Italy, and the other to reduce the Marseillais. The Puy-de-Dôme, which was to send its recruits, had kept them to stifle the revolt of La Lozère, of which we have already treated. Houchard had retained the legion of the Rhine, which was destined for the Alps; and the minister was continually promising a reinforcement of one thousand horse, which did not arrive. Dubois-Crancé, nevertheless, detached five thousand regular troops, and added to them seven or eight thousand young requisitionaries. He came with his forces and placed himself between the Saône and the Rhone in such a manner as to occupy their upper course, to intercept the supplies coming to Lyons by water, to remain in communication with the army of the Alps, and to cut off all communication with Switzerland and Savoy. By these dispositions he still left the Forez and the still more important heights of Fourvières to the Lyonnese; but in his

situation he could not act otherwise. The essential point was to occupy the courses of the two rivers, and to cut off Lyons from Switzerland and Piedmont. Dubois-Crancé awaited in order to complete the blockade, the fresh forces which had been promised him, and the siege artillery which he was obliged to fetch from our fortresses near the Alps. The transport of this artillery required five thousand horses.

On the 8th of August, he summoned the city. The conditions on which he insisted were the absolute disarming of all the citizens, the retirement of each to his own house, the surrender of the arsenal, and the formation of a provisional municipality. But at this moment, the secret emigrants in the commission and the staff continued to deceive the Lyonnese, and to alarm them about the return of the Mountaineer municipality, telling them at the same time that sixty thousand Piedmontese were ready to debouch upon their city. An action which took place, between two advanced posts, and which terminated in favour of the Lyonnese, excited them to the highest pitch and decided their resistance and their misfortunes. Dubois-Crancé opened his fire upon the quarter of the Croix Rousse, between the two rivers, where he had taken position, and on the very first day his artillery did great mischief. Thus one of our most important manufacturing cities was involved in the horrors of bombardment, and we had to execute this bombardment in presence of the Piedmontese, who were ready to descend from the Alps.

Meanwhile Cartaux* had marched upon Marseilles, and had crossed the Durance in the month of August. The Marseillais had retired from Aix towards their own city, and had resolved to defend the gorges of Septème, through which the road from Aix to Marseilles runs. On the 24th, General Doppet attacked them with the advanced guard of Cartaux. The action was very brisk, but a section, which had always been in opposition to the others, went over to the side of the republicans, and turned the combat in their favour. The gorges were carried, and on the 25th Cartaux entered Marseilles with his little army.

This event decided another, the most calamitous that had yet afflicted the republic. The city of Toulon, which had always appeared to be animated with the most violent republicanism, while the municipality had been maintained there, had changed its spirit under the new authority of the sections, and was soon destined to change masters. The Jacobins, jointly with the municipality, inveighed against the aristocratic officers of the navy; they never ceased to complain of the slowness of the repairs done to the squadron, and of its loitering in port; and they loudly demanded the punishment of the officers to whom they attributed the unfavourable result of the expedition against Sardinia. The moderate republicans replied there, as everywhere else, that the old officers alone were capable of commanding squadrons; that the ships could not be more expeditiously repaired; that it would be the height of imprudence to insist on their sailing against the combined Spanish and English fleet; and lastly, that the officers whose punishment was called for were not traitors, but warriors whom the fortune of war had not favoured. The moderates predominated in the sections. A multitude of secret agents, intriguing on behalf of the

* "General Cartaux, originally a painter, had become an adjutant in the Parisian corps; he was afterwards employed in the army; and, having been successful against the Marseillais, the deputies of the Mountain had on the same day obtained him the appointments of brigadier-general, and general of division. He was extremely ignorant, and had nothing military about him; otherwise he was not ill-disposed, and committed no excesses at Marseilles on the taking of that city."—*Bourrienne*. E.

emigrants and the English, immediately introduced themselves into Toulon, and induced the inhabitants to go farther than they intended. These agents communicated with Admiral Lord Hood, and made sure that the allied squadrons would be off the harbour, ready to make their appearance at the first signal. In the first place, after the example of the Lyonnese, they caused the president of the Jacobin club, named Sevestre, to be tried and executed. They then restored the refractory priests to their functions. They dug up and carried about in triumph the bones of some unfortunate persons who had perished in the disturbances in behalf of the royalist cause.

The committee of public welfare having ordered the squadron to stop the ships bound to Marseilles, for the purpose of reducing that city, they caused the execution of this order to be refused, and made a merit of it with the sections of Marseilles. They then began to talk of the dangers to which the city was exposed by resisting the Convention, of the necessity for securing aid against its fury, and of the propriety of obtaining that of England by proclaiming Louis XVII. The commissioner of the navy was, as it appears, the principal instrument of the conspiracy. He seized the money in the coffers, sent by sea in quest of funds as far as the department of the Herault, and wrote to Genoa desiring the supplies of provisions to be withheld, that the situation of Toulon might be rendered more critical. The staffs had been changed; a naval officer, compromised in the expedition to Sardinia, was taken out of prison and appointed commander of the place; an old life-guardsmen was put at the head of the national guard, and the forts were intrusted to returned emigrants: lastly, Admiral Trogoff, a foreigner whom France had loaded with favours, was secured. A negotiation was opened with Lord Hood, under pretext of an exchange of prisoners, and at the moment when Cartaux had just entered Marseilles, when terror was at its height in Toulon, and when eight or ten thousand Provençals, the most counter-revolutionary in the country, had taken refuge there, the conspirators ventured to submit to the sections the disgraceful proposal to receive the English, who were to take possession of the place in trust for Louis XVII.

The marine, indignant at the treachery, sent a deputation to the sections to oppose the infamy that was preparing. But the Toulonese and Marseillais counter-revolutionists, more daring than ever, rejected the remonstrances of the marine, and caused the proposal of the 29th of August to be adopted. The signal was immediately given to the English. Admiral Trogoff, putting himself at the head of those who were for delivering up the port, called the squadron around him and hoisted the white flag. The brave Rear-admiral Julien, declaring Trogoff a traitor, hoisted the flag of commander-in-chief on board his own ship, and endeavoured to rally round him such of the squadron as remained faithful. But at this moment the traitors, already in possession of the forts, threatened to burn St. Julien and his ships. He was then obliged to fly with a few officers and seamen; the others were hurried away without knowing precisely what was going to be done with them; and Lord Hood, who had long hesitated, at length appeared, and, upon pretext of receiving the port of Toulon in trust for Louis XVII., took possession of it for the purpose of burning and destroying it.*

* The following is Lord Hood's proclamation on taking possession of Toulon, which certainly does not warrant M. Thiers's assumption, that he entered, "for the purpose of burning and destroying" the town:—"Considering that the sections of Toulon have, by the commissioners whom they have sent to me, made a solemn declaration in favour of Louis XVII

During this interval, no movement had taken place in the Pyrenees. In the West, preparations were made to carry into execution the measures decreed by the Convention.

We left all the columns of Upper Vendée reorganizing themselves at Angers, Saumur, and Niort. The Vendéans had meanwhile gained possession of the Ponts-de-Cé, and, in consequence of the terror which they excited, Saumur was placed in a state of siege. The column of Luçon and Les Sables was the only one capable of acting on the offensive. It was commanded by a general named Tuncq, one of those who were reputed to belong to the military aristocracy, and whose dismissal had been solicited of the minister by Ronsin. He had with him the two representatives, Bourdon of the Oise, and Goupilleau of Fontenay, whose sentiments were similar to his own, and who were adverse to Ronsin and Rossignol. Goupilleau, in particular, being a native of the country, was inclined, from the ties of consanguinity and friendship, to treat the inhabitants with indulgence, and to spare them the severities which Ronsin and his partisans would fain have inflicted upon them.

The Vendéans, in whom the column of Luçon excited some apprehensions, resolved to direct against it their forces, which had been everywhere victorious. They wished more especially to succour the division of M. de Roirand, which, placed before Luçon, and between the two great armies of Upper and Lower Vendée, acted with its own unaided resources, and deserved to be seconded in its efforts. Accordingly, early in August, they directed some parties against Luçon, but were completely repulsed by General Tuncq. They then resolved to make a more decisive effort. Messrs. d'Elbée, de Lescure, de Laroche-Jacquelein, and Charette, joined with forty thousand men, proceeded on the 14th of August to the environs of Luçon. Tuncq had scarcely six thousand. M. de Lescure, confident in the superiority of number, gave the fatal advice to attack the republican army on open ground. Messrs. de Lescure and Charette took the command of the left, M. d'Elbée that of the centre, M. de Laroche-Jacquelein that of the right. Messrs. de Lescure and Charette acted with great vigour on the right, but in the centre, the men, obliged to meet regular troops on plain ground, manifested hesitation; and M. de Laroche-Jacquelein, having missed his way, did not arrive in time on the left. General Tuncq, seizing the favourable moment for directing his light artillery against the staggered centre, threw it into confusion, and, in a few moments, put to flight all the Vendéans, forty thousand in number. Never had the latter experienced such a disaster. They lost the whole of their artillery, and returned home stricken with consternation.*

and a monarchical government; and that they will use their utmost efforts to break the chains which fetter their country, and re-establish the Constitution, as it was accepted by their defunct sovereign in 1789; I repeat, by this present declaration, that I take possession of Toulon, and shall keep it solely as a deposit for Louis XVII., and that only till peace is re-established in France." In another proclamation his lordship is still more explicit. "I declare," says he, "that property and persons in Toulon shall be held sacred; we wish only to re-establish peace." Surely Lord Hood could never have dreamed of entering Toulon "for the purpose of burning and destroying it," after publicly pledging himself to sentiments like these! E.

* "The Vendéans had to fight in an open plain, a new and difficult thing to them. Lescure proposed arranging the divisions behind each other, in such a manner that they could successively support, and warmly urged the advantages of this plan, which was adopted. The Blues fell back at the first, and the left wing had already taken five cannon, when they perceived that the centre did not follow the movement. M. d'Elbée had given no instruction to

At this moment the dismissal of General Tuncq arrived, which had been demanded by Ronsin. Bourdon and Goupilleau, indignant at this procedure, retained him in his command, wrote to the Convention to obtain the revocation of the minister's decision, and made fresh complaints against the disorganizing party of Saumur, which, they said, produced nothing but confusion, and would fain turn out all the experienced generals to make room for ignorant demagogues. At this moment Rossignol who was inspecting the different columns under his command, arrived at Luçon. His interview with Tuncq, Goupilleau, and Bourdon, was but an interchange of reproaches. Notwithstanding two victories, he was dissatisfied because battles had been fought without his approbation; for he thought, and indeed with reason, that any engagement ought to be avoided before the general reorganization of the different armies. They separated, and immediately afterwards, Bourdon and Goupilleau, being informed of certain acts of severity exercised by Rossignol in the country, had the boldness to issue an order for displacing him. The representatives who were at Saumur, Merlin, Bourbotte, Choudieu, and Rewbel, immediately cancelled the order of Goupilleau and Bourdon, and reinstated Rossignol. The affair was referred to the Convention. Rossignol, again confirmed, triumphed over his adversaries. Bourdon and Goupilleau were recalled, and Tuncq was suspended.

Such was the state of things when the garrison of Mayence arrived in La Vendée. It became a question what plan should be adopted, and in what quarter this brave garrison was to act. Should it be attached to the army of La Rochelle, and placed under the command of Rossignol, or to the army of Brest under Canclaux? Each was desirous of having it, because it could not fail to insure success wherever it might act. It was agreed to overwhelm the country by simultaneous attacks, which, directed from all the points of the circumference, should meet at the centre. But as the column to which the men of Mayence should be attached, would necessarily act upon a more decidedly offensive plan, and drive back the Vendéans upon the others, it became a subject for consideration on which point it would be most advantageous to repel the enemy. Rossignol and his partisans maintained that the best plan would be to let the men of Mayence march by Saumur, in order to drive back the Vendéans upon the sea and the Upper Loire, where they might be entirely destroyed; that the columns of Saumur and Angers, being too weak, needed the support of the men of Mayence to act; that, left

his officers; and his soldiers, intending to fight according to their usual custom, by running upon the enemy, M. d'Elbée stopped them, and called repeatedly, 'Form your lines, my friends, by my horse.' M. Herbauld, who commanded a part of the centre, and who knew nothing of this circumstance, led his soldiers forward, without suspecting that the others did not follow. The republican general, seizing the moment of this disorder, made a manœuvre with the light artillery, which entirely separated M. d'Elbée's division; and this being followed by a charge of cavalry, the rout became complete. M. de Larochefajuelin succeeded in covering the retreat, and saved many lives by the timely removal of an overturned wagon from the bridge of Bessay. In the midst of this rout of the centre, forty peasants of Courlay, with crossed bayonets, sustained the whole charge of cavalry without losing ground. This unfortunate affair, the most disastrous that had yet taken place, cost many lives. The light artillery acted with great effect on the level plain; and the peasants had never taken flight in so much terror and disorder."—*Memoirs of the Marchioness de Larochefajuelin*. E.

* "General Canclaux, the heroic defender of Nantes, was a man of military skill and high courage. He was born at Paris in 1740. After the revolution of the 18th Brumaire, Napoleon gave him the command of a military division, and made him a senator. At the restoration he was created a peer. Canclaux died in the year 1817."—*Scott's Life of Napoleon*. E.

to themselves, it would be impossible for them to advance in the field, and to keep pace with the other columns of Niort and Luçon; that they would not even be able to stop the Vendéans, when driven back, and prevent them from spreading over the interior; that, lastly, by letting the Mayençais march by Saumur, no time would be lost, whereas in making them march by Nantes, they would be obliged to take a considerable circuit and would lose ten or fifteen days.

Canclaux; on the contrary, was struck by the danger of leaving the sea open to the Vendéans. An English squadron had just been discovered off the west coast, and it was impossible to doubt that the English meditated a landing in the Marais. Such was at the time the general notion, and though it was erroneous, it was the general topic of conversation. The English, however, had only just sent an emissary into La Vendée. He had arrived in disguise, and had inquired the names of the chiefs, the number of their forces, their intentions, and their precise object: so ignorant was Europe of the occurrences in the interior of France! The Vendéans replied by a demand of money and ammunition, and by a promise to send fifty thousand men to any point where it might be resolved upon to effect a landing. Any operation of this kind, therefore, was still far distant, but it was everywhere supposed to be on the point of execution. It was consequently necessary, said Canclaux, that the Mayençais should act by Nantes, and thus cut off the Vendéans from the sea, and drive them back towards the upper country. If they were to spread themselves in the interior, added Canclaux, they would soon be destroyed, and as for the loss of time, that was a consideration which ought not to have any weight, for the army of Saumur was in such a state as not to be able to act in less than ten or twelve days, even with the Mayençais. One reason, which was not assigned, was that the army of Mayence, ready trained to the business of war, would rather serve with professional men; and preferred Canclaux, an experienced general, to Rossignol, an ignorant general; and the army of Brest, signalized by glorious deeds, to that of Saumur, known only by its defeats. The representatives, attached to the cause of discipline, were also of this opinion, and were afraid of compromising the army of Mayence by placing it amidst the unruly Jacobin soldiers of Saumur.

Philippeaux,* the most zealous of the representatives against Ronsin's party, repaired to Paris, and obtained an order of the committee of public welfare in favour of Canclaux's plan. Ronsin obtained the revocation of the order, and it was then agreed that a council of war, to be held at Saumur, should decide on the employment of the forces. The council was held on the 2d of September. Among its members were many representatives and generals. Opinions were divided. Rossignol, who was perfectly sincere in his, offered to resign the command to Canclaux if he would suffer the Mayençais to act by Saumur. The opinion of Canclaux, however, prevailed. The Mayençais were attached to the army of Brest, and the principal attack was to be directed from Lower upon Upper Vendée. The plan of campaign was signed, and it was agreed to start on a given day from Saumur, Nantes, Les Sables, and Niort.

* "Pierre Philippeaux, a lawyer, deputy to the Convention, voted for the King's death. He was afterwards sent into La Vendée to reorganize the administration of Nantes, where he was involved in a contention with some of the representatives sent into the same country, which ended in his recall to Paris. He was condemned to death by the revolutionary tribunal, in the thirty-fifth year of his age. Philippeaux was an honest, enthusiastic republican."

Biographie Moderne. E.

The greatest mortification prevailed in the Saumur party. Rossignol possessed zeal, sincerity, but no military knowledge. He had ill health, and, though staunch in principle, he was incapable of serving in a useful manner. He felt less resentment on account of the decision adopted than his partisans themselves, Ronsin, Momoro, and all the ministerial agents. They wrote forthwith to Paris, complaining of the injudicious course which had been taken, of the calumnies circulated against the *sans-culotte* generals, and of the prejudices which had been infused into the army of Mayence; and by so doing, they showed dispositions which left no room to hope for much zeal on their part in seconding the plan agreed upon at Saumur. Ronsin even carried his ill-will to such a length as to interrupt the distribution of provisions to the Mayence troops, because, as they were transferred from the army of La Rochelle to that of Brest, it was the duty of the administrators of the latter to furnish them with supplies. The Mayençais set out immediately for Nantes, and Canclaux made all the necessary arrangements for executing the plan agreed upon early in September. We must now follow the grand operations which succeeded these preparations.

The Duke of York had arrived before Dunkirk with twenty-one thousand English and Hanoverians, and twelve thousand Austrians. Marshal Freytag was at Ost Capelle with sixteen thousand men; The Prince of Orange at Menin with fifteen thousand Dutch. The two latter corps were placed there as an army of observation. The rest of the allies, dispersed around Le Quesnoy and as far as the Moselle, amounted to about one hundred thousand men. Thus one hundred and sixty or one hundred and seventy thousand men were spread over that immense line engaged in sieges and in guarding all the passes. Carnot, who began to direct the operations of the French, had already perceived that their principal object ought to be, not to fight at every point, but to employ a mass opportunely on one decisive point. He had, therefore, recommended the removal of thirty-five thousand men from the Moselle and the Rhine to the North. His advice had been adopted, but only twelve thousand of them had been able to reach Flanders. With this reinforcement, however, and with the different camps at Gavarelle, at Lille, and at Cassel, the French could have formed a mass of sixty thousand men, and struck severe blows in the state of dispersion in which the enemy then was. To convince himself of this, the reader need but cast his eye on the theatre of the war. In following the coast of Flanders to enter France, you first come to Furnes, and then to Dunkirk. These two towns, bathed on the one hand by the ocean, on the other by the extensive marshes of the Grande Moer, have no communication with each other but by a narrow stripe of land. The Duke of York arriving by Furnes, which is the first town you come to on entering France, had placed himself on this stripe of land between the Grande-Moer and the ocean, for the purpose of besieging Dunkirk. Freytag's corps of observation was not at Furnes, so as to protect the rear of the besieging army, but at a great distance in advance of the marshes and of Dunkirk, so as to intercept any succours that might come from the interior of France. The Dutch troops of the Prince of Orange, posted at Menin, three days' march from this point, became wholly useless. A mass of sixty thousand men, marching rapidly between the Dutch and Freytag, might push on to Furness, in the rear of the Duke of York, and, manœuvring thus between the three hostile corps, successively overwhelm Freytag, the Duke of York, and the Prince of Orange. For this purpose a single mass and rapid movements were required. But then, nothing further was contemplated than to push on in front, by opposing to each detachment a similar force. The com

mittee of public safety, however, had very nearly hit upon this plan. It had ordered a single corps to be formed and marched upon Furnes. Houchard seized the idea for a moment, but did not adhere to it, and thought of merely marching against Freytag, driving him back upon the rear of the Duke of York, and then endeavouring to disturb the operations of the siege.

While Houchard was hastening his preparations, Dunkirk made a vigorous resistance. General Souham, seconded by young Hoche,* who behaved in an heroic manner at this siege, had already repulsed several attacks. The besiegers could not easily open the trenches in a sandy soil beneath which they came to water at the depth of only three feet. The flotilla which was to sail from the Thames to bombard the place had not arrived: and on the other hand a French flotilla which had come from Dunkirk, and lay broadside to along the coast, annoyed the besiegers, hemmed in on their narrow neck of land, destitute of water fit to drink, and exposed to all sorts of dangers. It was a case that called for despatch and for decisive blows. Houchard arrived towards the end of August. Agreeably to the tactics of the old school, he began by a demonstration upon Menin, which led to nothing but a sanguinary and useless action. Having given this preliminary alarm, he advanced by several roads towards the line of the Yser, a small stream which separated him from Freytag's corps of observation. Instead of placing himself between the corps of observation and the besieging corps, he directed Hedouville to march upon Rousbrugge, merely to harass the retreat of Freytag upon Furnes, and went himself to meet Freytag in front, by marching with his whole army by Houtkerke, Herseele, and Bambeke. Freytag had disposed his corps on a very extended line, and he had but part of it around him when he received Houchard's first attack. He resisted at Herseele; but, after a very warm action, he was obliged to recross the Yser, and fall back upon Bambeke, and successively from Bambeke upon Rexpæde and Killem. In thus falling back beyond the Yser, he left his wings compromised in advance. Walmoden's division was thrown to a great distance from him on his right, and his own retreat was threatened near Rousbrugge by Hedouville.

* "Lazare Hoche, general in the French revolutionary war, was born in 1764 at Monreuil, near Versailles, where his father was keeper of the King's hounds. He entered the army in his sixteenth year. At the beginning of the Revolution he joined the popular party, and studied military science with great diligence. He was not twenty-four years old when he received the command of the army of the Moselle. He defeated Wurmser, and drove the Austrians out of Alsace. His frankness displeased St. Just, who deprived him of his command, and sent him a prisoner to Paris. The revolution of the 9th Thermidor saved him from the guillotine. In 1795 Hoche was employed against the royalists in the West, where he displayed great ability and humanity. He was one of the chief pacificators of La Vendée. He afterwards sailed for Ireland, but his scheme of exciting a disturbance there failed. On his return he received the command of the army of the Sambre and Meuse, in which capacity he was frequently victorious over the enemy. Hoche died suddenly in the year 1797, at Wetzlar, it was supposed, at the time, of poison."—*Encyclopædia Americana*. E.

"The death of Hoche may be regarded as an event in our revolution. With his military talent he combined extensive abilities of various kinds; and was a citizen as well as a soldier. When his death was made known, the public voice rose in an accusing outcry against the Directory. I am satisfied that Hoche was the constant object of the hatred of a party, then unfortunately powerful, though acting in the shade. I entertain a firm conviction also that he died by assassination."—*Duchess d'Abrantes*. E.

"Hoche, said Bonaparte, was one of the first generals that ever France produced. He was brave, intelligent, abounding in talent, decisive, and penetrating. If he had landed in Ireland he would have succeeded. He was accustomed to civil war, had pacified La Vendée and was well adapted for Ireland. He had a fine, handsome figure, a good address, and was prepossessing and intriguing."—*A voice from St. Helena*. E.

Freytag then resolved on the same day to advance again and to retake Rexpæde, with a view to rally Walmoden's division to him. He arrived there at the moment when the French were entering the place. A most obstinate action ensued. Freytag was wounded and taken prisoner. Meanwhile evening came on. Houchard, apprehensive of a night attack, retired from the village, leaving there only three battalions. Walmoden, who was falling back with his compromised division, arrived at this moment, and resolved to make a brisk attack upon Rexpæde, in order to force a passage. A bloody action was fought at midnight. The passage was cleared, Freytag delivered, and the enemy retired *en masse* upon the village of Hondtschoote. This village, situated between the Grande-Moer and the Furnes road, was one of the points which must be passed in retiring upon Furnes. Houchard had relinquished the essential idea of manœuvring towards Furnes, between the besieging corps and the corps of observation; he had, therefore, nothing to do but to continue to push Marshal Freytag in front, and to throw himself against the village of Hondtschoote. The 7th was spent in observing the enemy's positions, defended by very powerful artillery, and on the 8th the decisive attack was resolved upon. In the morning, the French army advanced upon the whole line to attack the front. The right, under the command of Hedouville, extended between Killem and Beveren; the centre under Jourdan,* marched direct from Killem upon Hondtschoote; the left attacked between Killem and the canal of Furnes. The action commenced in the copses which covered the centre. On both sides, the principal force was directed upon this same point. The French returned several times to the attack of the positions, and at length made themselves masters of them. While they were victorious in the centre, the intrenchments were carried on the right, and the enemy determined to retreat upon Furnes by the Houthem and Hoghestade roads.

During these transactions at Hondtschoote, the garrison of Dunkirk, under the conduct of Hoche, made a vigorous sortie, and placed the besiegers in the greatest danger. Next day, they actually held a council of war; finding themselves threatened on the rear, and seeing that the naval armament which was to be employed in bombarding the place had not arrived, they resolved

* "Jean Baptiste Jourdan, born in 1762 at Limoges, where his father practised as a surgeon, entered the army in 1778, and fought in America. After the peace he employed himself in commerce. In 1793 he was appointed general of division, and, in the battle of Hondtschoote, mounted the enemy's works at the head of his troops, and afterwards received the command of the army in the place of Houchard. In 1794 he gained the victory of the Fleurus, by which he became master of Belgium, and drove the allies behind the Rhine. In 1796 he undertook the celebrated invasion of the right bank of the Rhine, in which he conquered Franconia, and pressed forward towards Bohemia and Ratisbon. The Archduke Charles, however, defeated him, and his retreat became a disorderly flight, whereupon Beurnonville took the command, and Jourdan retired to Limoges as a private individual. In 1797 he was chosen a member of the council of Five Hundred, and was twice their president, remaining a staunch friend to the republic. After the revolution of the 18th Brumaire, which he opposed, he received the command of Piedmont. In the year 1803 Napoleon named him general-in-chief of the army of Italy, and, in the following year, marshal of France, and grand cross of the Legion of Honour. In 1808 he went with King Joseph, as major-general, to Spain, and, after the decisive battle of Vittoria, lived in retirement at Rouen. In 1815 he took the oath of allegiance to Louis, and when the latter left France, retired to his seat. Napoléon then made him a peer, and intrusted him with the defence of Besançon. After the return of Louis, Jourdan was one of the first to declare for him; and in 1819 the King raised him to the peerage. Jourdan belonged to the party of liberal constitutionalists."—*Encyclopædia Americana*. E.

to raise the siege and retire upon Furnes, where Freytag had just arrived. They joined there in the evening of the 9th of September.

Such were those three actions the result of which had been to oblige the corps of observation to fall back upon the rear of the besieging corps, by following a direct march. The last conflict gave name to this operation, and the battle of Hondtschoote was considered as the salvation of Dunkirk. This operation, indeed, broke the long chain of our reverses in the North, gave a personal check to the English, disappointed their fondest wishes, saved the republic from the misfortune which it would have felt the most keenly, and gave great encouragement to France.

The victory of Hondtschoote produced great joy in Paris, inspired all our youth with greater ardour, and excited hopes that our energy might prove successful. Reverses are, in fact, of little consequence, provided that success be mingled with them, and impart hope and courage to the vanquished. The alternative has but the effect of increasing the energy, and exalting the enthusiasm of the resistance.

While the Duke of York was occupied with Dunkirk, Coburg had resolved to attack Le Quesnoy. That fortress was in want of all the means necessary for its defence, and Coburg pressed it very closely. The committee of public welfare, not neglecting that portion of the frontier any more than the others, had immediately issued orders that columns should march from Landrecies, Cambrai, and Maubeuge. Unluckily these columns could not act at the same time. One of them was shut up in Landrecies; another, surrounded in the plain of Avesne, and formed into a square battalion, was broken, after a most honourable resistance. At length, on the 11th of September, Le Quesnoy was obliged to capitulate. This loss was of little importance compared with the deliverance of Dunkirk, but it mixed up some bitterness with the joy which the latter event had just produced.

Houchard, after obliging the Duke of York to concentrate himself at Furnes with Freytag, could not make any further successful attempt on that point. All that he could do was to throw himself with equal forces on soldiers more inured to war, without any of those circumstances, either favourable or urgent, which induce a commander to hazard a doubtful battle. In this situation, the best step he could take was to fall upon the Dutch, divided into several detachments round Menin, Halluin, Roncq, Werwike, and Ypres. Houchard, acting prudently, ordered the camp at Lille to make a sortie upon Menin, while he should himself act by Ypres. The advanced posts at Werwicke, Roncq, and Halluin, were contested for two days. On both sides great intrepidity was displayed with a moderate degree of intelligence. The Prince of Orange, though pressed on all sides, and having lost his advanced post, made an obstinate resistance, because he had been apprized of the surrender of Le Quesnoy and the approach of Beaulieu, who was bringing him succour. At length, on the 13th of September, he was obliged to evacuate Menin, after losing in these different actions two or three thousand men and forty pieces of cannon. Though our army had not derived from its position all the advantages that it might have done, and though, contrary to the instructions of the committee of public welfare, it had operated in too divided masses, it nevertheless occupied Menin. On the 16th it left Menin and marched upon Courtray. At Bisseghem it fell in with Beaulieu. The battle began with advantage on our side; but all at once the appearance of a corps of cavalry on the wings spread an alarm which was not founded on any real danger. The whole army was thrown into confusion, and fled to Menin. This inconceivable panic did not stop there. It

was communicated to all the camps, to all the posts, and the army *en masse* sought refuge under the guns of Lille. This terror, the example of which was not new, which was owing to the youth and inexperience of our troops, perhaps also to a perfidious *Sauve qui peut*, occasioned us the loss of the greatest advantages, and brought us back beneath the walls of Lille. The tidings of this event, on reaching Paris, produced the most gloomy impression, deprived Houchard of the fruit of his victory, and excited the most violent invectives against him, some of which even recoiled upon the committee of public welfare itself. A fresh series of checks immediately followed, and threw us into the same perilous position from which we had been extricated for a moment by the victory of Hondtschoote.

The Prussians and Austrians, placed on the two slopes of the Vosges, facing our two armies of the Moselle and the Rhine, began at length to make some serious attempts. Old Wurmser, more ardent than the Prussians, and aware of the advantage of the passes of the Vosges, resolved to occupy the important post of Bodenthal, towards the Upper Lauter. He hazarded, however, a corps of four thousand men, which, after traversing frightful mountains, took possession of Bodenthal. The representatives with the army of the Rhine, yielding on their part to the general impulse which everywhere stimulated the troops to redoubled energy, resolved upon a general sortie from the lines of Weissenburg, for the 12th of September. The three generals, Desaix,* Dubois, and Michaud, pushed at once against the Austrians, made useless efforts, and were obliged to return to the lines. The attempts directed in particular against the Austrian corps at Bodenthal, were completely repulsed. Preparations were nevertheless made for a new attack on the 14th. While General Ferrette was to march upon Bodenthal, the army of the Moselle, acting upon the other slope, was to attack Pirmasens, which corresponds with Bodenthal, and where Brunswick was posted with part of the Prussian army. The attack of General Ferrette was completely successful. The soldiers assaulted the Austrian positions with heroic temerity, took them, and recovered the important defile of Bodenthal. But on the opposite slope fortune was not equally favourable. Brunswick was sensible of the importance of Pirmasens, which closed the defiles; he possessed considerable forces, and was in excellent position. While the army of the Moselle was making head upon the Savre against the rest of the

* "Louis Charles Antoine Desaix de Voygoux, was born in 1768, of a noble family, and entered the regiment of Bretagne in 1784 as sub-lieutenant. He contributed in 1793 to the capture of the Haguenau lines, which the left wing, where he was stationed, first broke through. In the year 1795 he served in the army of the North under Pichegru, and repeatedly distinguished himself. In 1798 he accompanied Bonaparte to Egypt; and, on his return to France, hastened to join the First Consul in Italy, where he contributed to the victory of Marengo, in which battle he was mortally wounded."—*Encyclopædia Americana*. E.

"Desaix, said Bonaparte, was wholly wrapped up in war and glory. To him riches and pleasure were valueless. He was a little, black-looking man, about an inch shorter than I am, always badly dressed, sometimes even ragged, and despising comfort and convenience. Wrapped up in his cloak, he would throw himself under a gun, and sleep as contentedly as if he were in a palace. Upright and honest in all his proceedings, he was called by the Arabs the Just Sultan. Desaix was intended by nature for a great general."—*A Voice from St. Helena*. E.

"Desaix was a man for whom the First Consul had a high esteem, and whose talents and character afforded the fairest promise of what might one day be expected from him. Napoleon was jealous of some generals, but Desaix gave him no uneasiness: equally remarkable for his unassuming disposition, his talent, and his information, he proved by his conduct that he loved glory for its own sake. Bonaparte's friendship for him was enthusiastic."—*Bourrienne*. E.

Prussian army, twelve thousand men were thrown from Hornbach upon Pirmasens. The only hope of the French was to take Pirmasens by surprise, but, being perceived and fired upon with grape-shot at their first approach, the best thing they could do was to retire. So thought the generals, but the representatives opposed that intention, and ordered an attack in three columns and by three ravines, terminating at the height on which Pirmasens is seated. Our soldiers, urged on by their bravery, had already far advanced; the column on the right was indeed on the point of clearing the ravine and turning Pirmasens, when a double fire poured upon both flanks unexpectedly stopped it. Our soldiers at first resisted, but the fire became more fierce, and they were forced to return through the ravine which they had entered. The other columns fell back in like manner, and all fled along the valleys in the utmost disorder. The army was obliged to return to the post from which it had started. Very fortunately the Prussians did not think of pursuing it, nor even of occupying its camp at Hornbach, which it had quitted to march upon Pirmasens. In this affair we lost twenty-two pieces of cannon, and four thousand men, killed, wounded, or prisoners. This check of the 14th of September was likely to be of great importance. The allies, encouraged by success, began to think of using all their forces, and prepared to march upon the Sarre and the Lauter, and thus to drive us out of the lines of Weissenburg.

The siege of Lyons was proceeding slowly. The Piedmontese, in debouching by the high Alps into the valleys of Savoy, had made a diversion, and obliged Dubois-Crancé and Kellermann to divide their forces. Kellermann had marched into Savoy. Dubois-Crancé, continuing before Lyons with insufficient means, poured in vain showers of iron and of fire upon that unfortunate city, which, resolved to endure all extremities, was no longer to be reduced by the horrors of blockade and bombardment, but only by assault.

At the Pyrenees we had just received a sanguinary check. Our troops had remained since the late events in the environs of Perpignan. The Spaniards were in their camp at Mas-d'Eu. In considerable force, inured to war, and commanded by an able general, they were full of ardour and hope. We have already described the theatre of the war. The two nearly parallel valleys of the Tech and of the Tet run off from the great chain and terminate near the sea. Perpignan is in the second of these valleys. Ricardos had passed the first line, that of the Tech, since he was at Mas-d'Eu, and he had resolved to pass the Tet considerably above Perpignan, so as to turn that place and to force our army to abandon it. For this purpose, he proposed first to take Villefranche. This little fortress, situated on the upper course of the Tet, would secure his left wing against the brave Dagobert, who, with three thousand men, was gaining advantages in Cerdagne. Accordingly, early in August, he detached General Crespo with some battalions. The latter had only to make his appearance before Villefranche; the commandant, in a cowardly manner, abandoned the fortress to him. Crespo, having left a garrison there, rejoined Ricardos. Meanwhile Dagobert, with a very small corps, overran the whole Cerdagne, compelled the Spaniards to fall back as far as the Seu-d'Urgel, and even thought of driving them to Campredon. Owing, however, to the weakness of the detachment, and the fortress of Villefranche, Ricardos felt no uneasiness about the advantages obtained over his left wing. He persisted, therefore, in the offensive. On the 31st of August, he threatened the French camp under Perpignan, and crossed the Tet above the Soler, driving before him our right wing, which fell back to Salces, a few leagues in the rear of Perpignan, and close to the sea. In this

position, the French, some shut up in Perpignan, the others backed upon Salces, having the sea behind them, were in a most dangerous situation. Dagobert, it is true, was gaining fresh advantages in the Cerdagne, but too unimportant to alarm Ricardos. The representatives, Fabre and Cassaigne, who had retired with the army to Salces, resolved to call Dagobert to supersede Barbantanes, with a view to bring fortune back to our arms. Whilst awaiting the arrival of the new general, they planned a combined movement between Salces and Perpignan, for the purpose of extricating themselves from the unfortunate situation in which they were. They ordered a column to advance from Perpignan and to attack the Spaniards in the rear, while they would leave their positions and attack them in front. Accordingly, on the 15th of September, General Davoust* marched from Perpignan with six or seven thousand men, while Perignon advanced from Salces upon the Spaniards. At a concerted signal they fell on both sides upon the enemy's camp. The Spaniards, pressed on all quarters, were obliged to fly across the Tet, leaving behind them twenty-six pieces of cannon. They immediately returned to the camp at Mas-d'Eu, whence they had set out for these bold but unfortunate operations.

During these occurrences, Dagobert arrived; and that officer, possessing at the age of seventy-five the fire of a young man, together with the consummate prudence of a veteran general, lost no time in marking his arrival by an attempt on the camp of Mas-d'Eu. He divided his attack into three columns: one, starting from our right, and marching by Thuir to St. Colombe, was to turn the Spaniards; the second, acting on the centre, was ordered to attack them in front, and drive them back; and the third, operating on the left, was to place itself in a wood, and to cut off their retreat. This last, commanded by Davoust, had scarcely attacked, before it fled in disorder. The Spaniards were then able to direct all their forces against the two other columns of the centre and of the right. Ricardos, judging that all the danger was on the right, opposed his main force to it, and repulsed the French on that side. In the centre alone, Dagobert, animating all by his presence, carried the intrenchments which were before him, and was even on the point of deciding the victory, when Ricardos, returning with the troops victorious on the right and left, overwhelmed his enemy with his whole united force. Dagobert nevertheless made a brave resistance, when a battalion threw down its arms, shouting *Vive le Roi!* The enraged Dagobert ordered two pieces of cannon to be turned upon the traitors, and, while these were playing upon them, he rallied round him some of the brave fellows who yet remained faithful, and retired with a few hundred men; the enemy, intimidated by his bold front, not daring to pursue him.

* "Louis Nicholas Davoust was born in 1770 of a noble family, and studied with Bonaparte in the military school of Brienne. He distinguished himself under Dumouriez, and in the year 1793 was made general. In the Italian campaigns under Napoleon, he zealously attached himself to the First Consul, whom he accompanied to Egypt. After the battle of Marengo, Davoust was made chief of the grenadiers of the consular guard. When Napoleon ascended the throne in 1804, he created Davoust marshal of the empire, and grand cross of the Legion of Honour. In 1806 he created him Duke of Auerstadt, and after the peace of Tilsit, commander-in-chief of the army of the Rhine. Having had an important share in the victories of Eckmühl and Wagram, Davoust was created prince of the former place. He accompanied Napoleon to Russia; and in 1813 was besieged in Hamburg, where he lost eleven thousand men, and was accused of great cruelty. On the Emperor's return to Paris, in 1815, he was appointed minister of war. After the battle of Waterloo he submitted to Louis XVIII., and was subsequently employed by the court. Davoust died in the year 1823 leaving a son and two daughters."—*Encyclopædia Americana*. E.

This gallant general had assuredly deserved laurels only by his firmness amidst such a reverse; for, had his left column behaved better, and his centre battalions not disbanded themselves, his dispositions would have been attended with complete success. The jealous distrust of the representatives, nevertheless, imputed to him this disaster. Indignant at this injustice, he returned to resume the subordinate command in the Cerdagne. Our army was, therefore, again driven back to Perpignan, and likely to lose the important line of the Tet.

The plan of campaign of the 2d of September was carried into execution in La Vendée. The division of Mayence was, as we have seen, to act by Nantes. The committee of public welfare, which had received alarming intelligence concerning the designs of the English upon the West, entirely approved of the idea of directing the principal force towards the coast. Rossignol and his party were extremely mortified at this, and the letters which they wrote to the minister afforded no hope of any great zeal on their part in seconding the plan agreed upon. The division of Mayence marched to Nantes, where it was received with great demonstrations of joy and festivities. An entertainment was prepared, and, before the troops went to partake of it, a prelude was made by a sharp skirmish with the hostile parties spread over the banks of the Loire. If the division of Nantes was glad to be united to the celebrated army of Mayence, the latter was not less delighted to serve under the brave Canclaux, and with his division, which had already signalized itself by the defence of Nantes and by a great number of honourable feats. According to the adopted plan, columns starting from all the points of the theatre of war were to unite in the centre, and to crush the enemy there. Canclaux, commanding the army of Brest, was to march from Nantes, to descend the left bank of the Loire, to turn round the extensive lake of Grand-Lieu, to sweep Lower Vendée, and then to ascend again towards Machecoul, and to be at Leger between the 11th and the 13th. His arrival at the latter point was to be the signal for the departure of the columns of the army of La Rochelle, destined to assail the country from the south and east.

It will be recollected that the army of La Rochelle, of which Rossignol was commander-in-chief, was composed of several divisions: that of Les Sables was commanded by Mieszkousky, that of Luçon by Beffroy, that of Niort by Chalbos, that of Saumur by Santerre, that of Angers by Duhoux. The column of Les Sables had orders to move the moment Canclaux should be at Leger, and to arrive on the 13th at St. Fulgent, on the 14th at Herbiers, and on the 16th to join Canclaux at Mortagne. The columns of Luçon and Niort were to advance, supporting one another, towards Bressuire and Argenton, and to reach those parts on the 14th; lastly, the columns of Saumur and Angers, quitting the Loire, were to arrive also on the 14th in the environs of Vihiers and Chemillé. Thus, according to this plan, the whole country was to be scoured from the 14th to the 16th, and the rebels were to be enclosed by the republican columns between Mortagne, Bressuire, Argenton, Vihiers, and Chemillé. Their destruction would then be inevitable.

We have already seen that, having been twice repulsed from Luçon with considerable loss, the Vendéans had it much at heart to take their revenge. They collected in force before the republicans had time to carry their plans into execution, and while Charette* attacked the camp of Les Naudières

* "Charette was the only individual to whom Napoleon attached particular importance. I have read a history of La Vendée, said he to me, and if the details and portraits are correct, Charette was the only great character—the true hero of that remarkable episode in our

towards Nantes, they attacked the division of Luçon, which had advanced to Chantonay. These two attempts were made on the 5th of September. That of Charette on Les Naudières was repulsed; but the attack on Chantonay, unforeseen and well-directed, threw the republicans into the greatest disorder.* The young and gallant Marceau performed prodigies to prevent a disaster; but his division, after losing its baggage and its artillery, retired in confusion to Luçon. This check was likely to derange the projected plan, because the disorganization of one of the columns would leave a chasm between the division of Les Sables and that of Niort; but the representatives made the most active efforts for reorganizing it, and couriers were despatched to Rossignol to apprise him of the event.

All the Vendéans were at this moment collected at Les Herbiers around the generalissimo d'Elbée. Discord prevailed among them as among their adversaries, for the human heart is everywhere the same, and nature does not reserve disinterestedness and the virtues for one party, leaving pride, selfishness, and the vices to the other. The Vendean chiefs had their mutual jealousies, as well as the republican chiefs. The generals paid but little deference to the superior council, which affected a sort of sovereignty. Possessing the real strength, they were by no means disposed to yield the command to a power which owed to themselves its factitious existence. They were, moreover, envious of d'Elbée, the generalissimo, and alleged that Bonchamps was much better qualified for the supreme command. Charette, for his part, wished to remain sole master of Lower Vendée. There was, consequently, but little disposition among them to unite and to concert a plan in opposition to that of the republicans. An intercepted despatch had made them acquainted with the intentions of their enemies. Bonchamps was the only one who proposed a bold project, and which indicated comprehensive views. He was of opinion that it would not be possible to resist much longer the forces of the republic collected in La Vendée; that it behoved them to quit their woods and ravines, in which they would be everlastingly buried, without knowing their allies, or being known by

revolution. He impressed me with the idea of a great man. He betrayed genius. I replied, that I had known Charette very well in my youth, and that his brilliant exploits astonished all who had formerly been acquainted with him. We looked on him as a commonplace sort of man, devoid of information, ill-tempered, and extremely indolent. When, however, he began to rise into celebrity, his early friends recollected a circumstance which certainly indicated decision of character. When Charette was first called into service during the American war, he sailed out of Brest on board a cutter during the winter. The cutter lost her mast, and to a vessel of that description, such an accident was equivalent to certain destruction. The weather was stormy—death seemed inevitable—and the sailors, throwing themselves on their knees, lost all presence of mind, and refused to exert themselves. At this crisis, Charette, notwithstanding his extreme youth, killed one of the men, in order to compel the rest to do their duty. This dreadful example had the desired effect, and the ship was saved. Ay, said the emperor, here was the spark that distinguished the hero of La Vendée. Men's dispositions are often misunderstood. There are sleepers whose waking is terrible. Charette was one of these.—*Las Cases. E.*

* "The Blues again occupied Chantonay. We were much distressed at seeing them thus established in the Bocage. A new plan was concerted with M. de Royrand. He made a false attack towards the four roads, while the grand army, making a great circuit, assailed the republican rearguard towards the bridge of Charron. The victory was due to Bonchamps's division, which, with great intrepidity, carried the intrenchments. Thus surrounded, the defeat of the Blues was terrible. The great roads were intercepted, and their columns bewildered in the Bocage. They lost both their cannon and baggage, and seldom had suffered so great a loss of men. A battalion that had assumed the name of the 'Avenger,' and had never given quarter to any Vendean, was wholly exterminated."—*Memoirs of the Marchioness de Larochefoucauld. E.*

them; he insisted consequently that, instead of exposing themselves to the risk of being destroyed, it would be better to march in close column from La Vendée, and to advance into Bretagne, where they were desired, and where the republic did not expect to be struck. He proposed that they should proceed to the coast, and secure a seaport, communicate with the English, receive an emigrant prince there, then start for Paris, and thus carry on an offensive and decisive war. This advice, which is attributed to Bonchamps, was not followed by the Vendéans, whose views were still so narrow, and whose repugnance to leave their own country was still so strong. Their chiefs thought only of dividing that country into four parts, that they might reign over them individually. Charette was to have Lower Vendée, M. de Bonchamps the banks of the Loire towards Angers, M. de Laroche-Jacquelin the remainder of Upper Anjou, M. de Lescure the whole insurgent portion of Poitou. M. d'Elbée was to retain his useless title of generalissimo, and the superior council its factitious authority.

On the 9th, Canclaux put himself in motion, leaving a strong reserve under the command of Grouchy* and Haxo† for the protection of Nantes, and despatched the Mayence column towards Leger. Meanwhile, the former army of Brest, under Beysser, making the circuit of Lower Vendée by Pornic, Bourneuf, and Machecoul, was to rejoin the Mayence column at Leger.

These movements, directed by Canclaux, were executed without impediment. The Mayence column, its advanced guard commanded by Kleber, and the main body by Aubert-Dubayet, drove all its enemies before it. Kleber, with the advanced guard, equally humane and heroic, encamped his troops out of the villages to prevent devastations. "In passing the beautiful lake of Grand-Lieu," said he, "we had delightful landscapes and scenery equally pleasing and diversified. In an immense pasture strolled at random numerous herds left entirely to themselves. I could not help lamenting the fate of those unfortunate inhabitants, who, led astray and imbued with fanaticism by their priests, refused the benefits offered by a new order of things to run into certain destruction." Kleber made continual efforts to protect the country against the soldiers, and most frequently with success. A civil commission had been added to the staff, to carry into execution the decree of the 1st of August, which directed that the country should be laid waste, and the inhabitants removed to other places. The soldiers were forbidden

* "Emanuel, Count de Grouchy, born in 1769, entered the army at the age of fourteen. On the breaking out of the Revolution, he showed his attachment to liberal principles, and served in the campaign of 1792 as commander of a regiment of dragoons. He was afterwards sent to La Vendée, where he distinguished himself on several occasions. In 1797 he was appointed second in command of the army destined for the invasion of Ireland, but was compelled to return to France without effecting anything. In 1799 he contributed to Moreau's victories in Germany, and the battle of Hohenlinden was gained chiefly by his skill and courage. During the campaign in Russia, Grouchy commanded one of the three cavalry corps of the grand army; and was rewarded with the marshal's baton for his brilliant services in the campaign of 1814. After the restoration, he joined Napoleon on his return from Elba, and was accused by him of being the author of the defeat at Waterloo, by permitting two divisions of the Prussian army under Blücher to join the English forces. Grouchy was afterwards ordered to be arrested by the ordinance of 1815, in consequence of which he retired to the United States, where he remained until he received permission to return to France."—*Encyclopædia Americana*. E.

† "The republican general Haxo was a man of great military talent. He distinguished himself in the Vendean war, but in the year 1794, shot himself through the head, when he saw his army defeated by the insurgents, rather than encounter the vengeance of the Convention."—*Scott's Life of Napoleon*.

ever to burn anything, and it was only by the orders of the generals and of the civil commission that the means of destruction were to be employed.

On the 14th, the Mayence column arrived at Leger, and was there joined by that of Brest under the command of Beysser. Meanwhile the column of Les Sables, under Mieszkousky, had advanced to St. Fulgent, according to the concerted plan, and already given a hand to the army of Canclaux. That of Luçon, delayed for a moment by its defeat at Chantonay, was behind its time; but thanks to the zeal of the representatives, who had given it a new general, Beffroy, it was again advancing. That of Niort had reached La Châtaigneraie. Thus, though the general movement had been retarded for a day or two on all the points, and though Canclaux had not arrived till the 14th at Leger, where he ought to have been on the 12th, still the delay was common to all the columns, their unity was not destroyed, and there was nothing to prevent the prosecution of the plan of campaign. But, in this interval of time, the news of the defeat sustained by the Luçon division had reached Saumur; Rossignol, Ronsin, and the whole of the staff had taken alarm; and, apprehensive that similar accidents might befall the two other columns of Niort and Les Sables, whose force they suspected, they determined to order them to return immediately to their first posts. This order was most imprudent; yet it was not issued with the wilful design of uncovering Canclaux and exposing his wings: but those from whom it emanated had little confidence in his plan; they were well disposed, on the slightest obstacle to deem it impossible, and to give it up. It was no doubt this feeling that determined the staff of Saumur to order the retrograde movement of the columns of Niort, Luçon, and Les Sables.

Canclaux, pursuing his march, had made fresh progress; he had attacked Montaigu on three points. Kleber by the Nantes road, Aubert-Dubayet by that of Roche-Servière, and Beysser by that of St. Fulgent, had fallen upon it all at once, and had soon dislodged the enemy. On the 17th, Canclaux took Clisson, and, not perceiving that Rossignol was yet acting, he resolved to halt, and to confine himself to reconnoissances till he should receive further intelligence.

Canclaux, therefore, established himself in the environs of Clisson, left Beysser at Montaigu, and pushed forward Kleber with the advanced guard to Torfou. Such was the state of things on the 18th. The counter-orders given from Saumur had reached the Niort division, and been communicated to the two other divisions of Luçon and Les Sables; they had immediately turned back, and, by their retrograde movement, thrown the Vendéans into astonishment, and Canclaux into the greatest embarrassment. The Vendéans were about a hundred thousand men under arms. There was an immense number of them towards Vihiers and Chemillé, facing the columns of Saumur and Angers. There was a still greater number about Clisson and Montaigu, on Canclaux's hands. The columns of Angers and Saumur, seeing them so numerous, said that it was the Mayence army which threw them upon their hands, and inveighed against the plan which exposed them to the attack of so formidable an enemy. This, however, was not the case. The Vendéans were on foot in sufficient number to find employment for the republicans in every quarter. On the same day, instead of throwing themselves upon Rossignol's columns, they advanced upon Canclaux; and d'Elbée and Lescure quitted Upper Vendée with the intention of marching against the army of Mayence.

By a singular complication of circumstances, Rossignol, on learning the success of Canclaux, who had penetrated into the very heart of La Vendée

countermanded his first orders for retreat, and directed his columns to advance. The columns of Saumur and Angers, being nearest to him, acted first and skirmished, the one at Doué, the other at the Ponts-de-Cé. The advantages were equal. On the 18th, the column of Saumur, commanded by Santerre, attempted to advance from Vihiers to a small village called Coron. Owing to faulty dispositions, artillery, cavalry, and infantry, were confusedly crowded together in the streets of this village. Santerre endeavoured to repair this blunder, and ordered the troops to fall back, with the intention of drawing them up in order of battle on a height. But Ronsin, who, in the absence of Rossignol, arrogated to himself a superior authority, found fault with Santerre for ordering the retreat, and opposed it. At this moment the Vendéans rushed upon the republicans, and the whole division was thrown into the most frightful disorder.* It contained many men of the new contingent raised with the tocsin; these dispersed: all were hurried away, and fled in confused from Coron to Vihiers, Doué, and Saumur. On the following day, the 19th, the Vendéans advanced against the Angers division, commanded by Duhoux. As fortunate as the day before, they drove back the republicans beyond Erigne and once more possessed themselves of the Ponts-de-Cé.

In the quarter where Canclaux was, the fighting was not less brisk. On the same day, twenty thousand Vendéans, posted in the environs of Torfou, rushed upon Kleber's advanced guard, consisting at most of two thousand men. Kleber placed himself in the midst of his soldiers, and supported them against this host of assailants. The ground on which the action took place was a road commanded by heights; in spite of the disadvantage of the position, here tired with order and firmness. Meanwhile a piece of artillery was dismounted, some confusion then ensued in his battalions, and those brave fellows were giving way for the first time. At this sight, Kleber, in order to stop the enemy, placed an officer with a few soldiers at a bridge, saying, "My lads, defend this passage to your last gasp." This order they executed with admirable heroism. In the meantime the main body came up and renewed the combat. The Vendéans were at length

* "M. de Piron opposed Santerre at the head of twelve thousand men; the Blues marched from Coron upon Vihiers, and their army, forty thousand strong, the most part from levies *en masse*, occupied a line of four leagues along the great road. M. de Piron, observing the error of this disposition, attacked with vigour the centre of the republicans, and after an hour and a half's fighting, succeeded in cutting their line and throwing them into disorder. Their artillery filing off at that moment through a long and narrow street of Coron, M. de Piron instantly secured it, by placing troops at each end of the village, and the rout became complete. The enemy were followed for four miles, and lost eighteen cannon and their waggons. It was somewhere about this period that the republicans found the dead body of a woman, about whom a great deal was said in the newspapers. A short time previously to the engagement at Coron, a soldier accosted me at Boulaye, saying he had a secret to confide to me. It was a woman, who said her name was Jeanne Robin, and that she was from Courlay. The vicar of that parish to whom I wrote, answered, that she was a very good girl, but that he had been unable to dissuade her from being a soldier. The evening before one of our battles, she sought for M. de Lescure, and addressing him, said, 'General, I am a woman. To-morrow there is to be a battle, let me but have a pair of shoes; I am sure I shall fight so that you will not send me away.' She indeed fought under Lescure's eye, and called to him, 'General, you must not pass me; I shall always be nearer the Blues than you!' She was wounded in the hand, but this only animated her the more, and, rushing furiously into the thick of the conflict, she perished. There were in other divisions a few women who also fought, disguised as men. I saw two sisters, fourteen and fifteen years old who were very courageous. In the army of M. de Bonchamp, a young woman became a dragon to avenge the death of her father, and during the war performed prodigies of valour."

-*Memoirs of the Marchioness de Larochejaquelein. E.*

repulsed, driven to a great distance, and punished for their transient advantage.*

All these events had occurred on the 19th. The order to advance, which had so ill succeeded with the two divisions of Saumur and Angers, had not reached the columns of Luçon and Niort, on account of the distance. Beysser was still at Montaigu, forming the right of Canclaux, and finding himself uncovered. Canclaux, with a view to place Beysser under cover, ordered him to leave Montaigu and draw nearer to the main body. He directed Kleber to advance towards Beysser, in order to protect his movement. Beysser, too negligent, had left his column ill-guarded at Montaigu. Messrs. de Lescure and Charette had proceeded thither; they surprised and would have annihilated it but for the intrepidity of two battalions, which by their firmness checked the rapidity of the pursuit and of the retreat. The artillery and the baggage were lost, and the wrecks of this column fled to Nantes, where they were received by the brave reserve left to protect the place. Canclaux then resolved to fall back, that he might not be left alone *en flèche* in the country, exposed to all the attacks of the Vendéans. Accordingly, he retreated upon Nantes with his brave Mayençais, who had not suffered, owing to their imposing attitude, and to the refusal of Charette to join Messrs d'Elbée and Bonchamps in the pursuit of the republicans.

The cause which had prevented the success of this new expedition against La Vendée is evident. The staff of Saumur had been dissatisfied with a plan which allotted the Mayence column to Canclaux. The check of the 5th of September furnished it with a sufficient pretext for being disheartened and relinquishing that plan. A counter-order was immediately issued to the columns of Les Sables, Luçon, and La Rochelle. Canclaux, who had successfully advanced, found himself thus uncovered, and the check at Torfou rendered his position still more difficult. Meanwhile, the army of Saumur, on receiving intelligence of its progress, marched from Saumur and Angers to Vihiers and Chemillé, and, had it not so suddenly dispersed, it is probable that the retreat of the wings would not have prevented the success of the enterprise. Thus, too great promptness in relinquishing the proposed plan, the defective organization of the new levies, and the great force of the Vendéans, who amounted to more than one hundred thousand under arms, were the causes of these new reverses. But there was neither treason on the part of the staff of Saumur, nor folly in the plan of Canclaux. The effect of these reverses was disastrous, for the new resistance of La Vendée awakened all the hopes of the counter-revolutionists, and exceedingly aggravated the perils of the republic. Lastly, if the armies of Brest and Mayence

* "At the head of three thousand men, M. de Lescure succeeded in maintaining the battle of Torfou for two hours. This part of the country, the most unequal and woody of the Bogue, did not allow the Mayençais to observe how weak a force was opposed to them before Bonchamp's division arrived, and Charette and the other chiefs had succeeded in rallying those who had fled on the first onset. They then spread themselves round the left of the republicans, whose columns entangled in deep and intricate roads, were exposed to the fire of the Vendéans. The courage of the republican officers would scarcely have saved them, had not Kleber, after a retreat of about a league, placed two pieces of cannon on the bridge of Boussay, and said to a colonel, 'You and your battalion must die here.'—'Yes, general,' replied the brave man, and perished on the spot. This allowed Kleber time to rally the Mayençais, so as to stop the career of the Vendéans, who proceeded no further. The next day Charette and Lescure attacked General Beysser at Montaigu to prevent his junction with the Mayençais, and completely defeated him. The panic of the republicans was such that they could not be rallied nearer than Nantes."—*Memoirs of the Marchioness de Larochejaquelein*. E

had not been shaken by them, that of La Rochelle was once more disorganized, and all the contingents proceeding from the levy *en masse* had returned to their homes, carrying the deepest discouragement along with them.

The two parties in the army lost no time in accusing one another. Philippeaux, always the most ardent, sent to the committee of public welfare a letter full of indignation, in which he attributed to treason the counter-order given to the columns of the army of La Rochelle. Choudieu and Richard, commissioners at Saumur, wrote answers equally vehement, and Ronsin went to the minister and to the committee of public welfare, to denounce the faults of the plan of campaign. Canclaux, he said, by causing too strong masses to act by Lower Vendée, had driven the whole insurgent population into Upper Vendée, and occasioned the defeat of the columns of Saumur and Angers. Lastly, Ronsin, returning calumnies with calumnies, replied to the charge of treason by that of aristocracy, and denounced at once the two armies of Brest and Mayence as full of suspicious and evil-disposed men. Thus the quarrel of the Jacobin party with that which was in favour of discipline and regular warfare became more and more acrimonious.

THE NATIONAL CONVENTION.

ATTACKS ON THE COMMITTEE OF PUBLIC WELFARE—INSTITUTION OF THE REVOLUTIONARY GOVERNMENT—ORDERS TO THE ARMIES TO CONQUER BEFORE THE TWENTIETH OF OCTOBER—TRIAL AND DEATH OF CUSTINE—ARREST OF SEVENTY-THREE MEMBERS OF THE CONVENTION.

THE inconceivable rout at Menin, the useless and sanguinary attempt on Pirmasens, the defeats in the Eastern Pyrenees, the disastrous issue of the new expedition against La Vendée, were known in Paris, almost all at the same time, and produced a most painful impression there. The tidings of these events arrived in succession from the 18th to the 25th of September, and, as usual, fear excited violence. We have already seen that the most vehement agitators met at the Cordeliers, the members of which society imposed less reserve upon themselves than the Jacobins, and that they governed the war department under the weak Bouchotte. Vincent was their head in Paris, as Ronsin was in La Vendée; and they seized this occasion to renew their customary complaints. Placed beneath the Convention, they would fain have got rid of its inconvenient authority, which they encountered in the armies in the person of the representatives, and in Paris in the committee of public welfare. The representatives on mission did not allow them to carry the revolutionary measures into execution with all the violence that they could have wished. The committee of public welfare, directing with sovereign authority all operations agreeably to the most lofty and the most impartial views, continually thwarted them, and of all the obstacles which they met with, this annoyed them most: hence they frequently thought of

affecting the establishment of the new executive power, as it was organized by the constitution.

The enforcing of the constitution, repeatedly and maliciously demanded by the aristocrats, would have been attended with great dangers. It would have required new elections, superseded the Convention by another assembly, necessarily inexperienced, unknown, and comprehending all the factions at once. The enthusiastic revolutionists, aware of this danger, did not demand the renewal of the representation, but claimed the execution of the constitution in so far as it chimed in with their views. Being almost all of them placed in the public offices, they merely desired the formation of the constitutional ministry, which was to be independent of the legislative power, and consequently of the committee of public welfare. Vincent had, therefore, the boldness to cause a petition to be addressed to the Cordeliers, demanding the organization of the constitutional ministry, and the recall of the deputies on mission. The agitation was extreme. Legendre, the friend of Danton, and already ranked among those whose energy seemed to relax, in vain opposed this petition, which was adopted, with the exception of one clause, that which demanded the recall of the representatives on mission. The utility of these representatives was so evident, and there was in this demand something so personal against the members of the Convention, that those who brought it forward dared not persist in it. This petition produced great tumult in Paris, and seriously compromised the nascent authority of the committee of public welfare.

Besides these violent adversaries, this committee had others, namely, the new moderates, who were accused of reviving the system of the Girondins and thwarting the revolutionary energy. Decidedly hostile to the Cordeliers, the Jacobins, and the disorganizers of the armies, they were constantly preferring their complaints to the committee, and even reproached it for not declaring itself forcibly enough against the anarchists.

The committee had therefore against it the two new parties that began to be formed. As usual, these parties laid hold of disastrous events to accuse it, and both joining to condemn its operations, criticised them each in its own way.

The rout of the 15th at Menin was already known; confused accounts of the late reverses in La Vendée began to be received. There were vague rumours of defeats at Coron, Torfu, and Montaigu. Thuriot, who had refused to be a member of the committee of public welfare, and who was accused of being one of the new moderates, inveighed, at the commencement of the sitting, against the intriguers, the disorganizers, who had just made new and extremely violent propositions relative to articles of consumption. "Our committees and the executive council," said he, "are harassed, surrounded by a gang of intriguers, who make pretensions to extraordinary patriotism solely because it is productive to them. Yes, it is high time to drive out those men of rapine and of conflagration, who conceive that the revolution was made for them, while the upright and the pure uphold it solely for the welfare of mankind." The propositions attacked by Thuriot were rejected. Briez, then one of the commissioners to Valenciennes, read a critical memorial on the military operations; he insisted that the war hitherto carried on had been slow and ill-suited to the French character; that the operations had always been upon a small scale and executed by small masses, and that in this system was to be sought the cause of the reverses which had been sustained. Then, without openly attacking the committee of public welfare, he appeared to insinuate that this committee had not communicated all that

it knew to the Convention, and that, for instance, there had been near Douai a corps of six thousand Austrians which might have been taken.

The Convention, after hearing Briez, added him to the committee of public welfare. At this moment detailed accounts arrived from La Vendée, contained in a letter from Montaigu. These alarming particulars produced a general excitement. "Instead of being intimidated," cried one of the members, "let us swear to save the republic!" At these words the whole Assembly rose, and once more swore to save the republic, be the perils that threatened it what they might. The members of the committee of public welfare, who had not yet arrived, entered at this moment. Barrère, the ordinary reporter, addressed the Assembly. "Every suspicion directed against the committee of public welfare," said he, "would be a victory won by Pitt. It is not right to give our enemies the too great advantage of throwing discredit ourselves on the power instituted to save us." Barrère then communicated the measures adopted by the committee. "For some days past," continued he, "the committee has had reason to suspect that serious blunders were committed at Dunkirk, where the English might have been exterminated to the last man, and at Menin, where no effort was made to check the strange effects of panic terror. The committee has removed Houchard, as well as the divisionary general, Hedouville, who did not behave as he ought to have done at Menin. The conduct of those two generals will be immediately investigated; the committee will then cause all the staffs and all the administrations of the armies to be purified; it has placed our fleets on such a footing as will enable them to cope with our enemies: it has just raised eighteen thousand men; it has ordered a new system of attack *en masse*; lastly, it is in Rome itself that it purposes to attack Rome, and one hundred thousand men, landing in England, will march to London and strangle the system of Pitt. The committee of public welfare, then, is wrongfully accused. It has never ceased to merit the confidence which the Convention has hitherto testified towards it." Robespierre then spoke. "For a long time," said he, "people have been intent on defaming the Convention and the committee, the depository of its power. Briez, who ought to have died at Valenciennes, left the place like a coward, to come to Paris to serve Pitt and the coalition by throwing discredit upon the government. It is not enough," added he, "that the Convention continues to repose confidence in us. It is requisite that it should solemnly proclaim this, and that it should make known its decision in regard to Briez, whom it has just added to our number." This demand was greeted with applause; it was decided that Briez should not be joined to the committee of public welfare, and it was declared by acclamation that this committee still possessed the entire confidence of the National Convention.

The moderates were in the Convention, and they had just been defeated; but the most formidable adversaries of the committee, that is the ardent revolutionists, were among the Jacobins and the Cordeliers. It was against the latter, in particular, that it behoved the committee to defend itself. Robespierre repaired to the Jacobins, and exercised his ascendancy over them: he explained the conduct of the committee; he justified it against the twofold attacks of the moderates and the enthusiasts, and expatiated on the danger of petitions tending to demand the formation of the constitutional ministry. "A government of some sort," said he, "must succeed that which we have destroyed. The system of organizing at this moment the constitutional ministry is no other than that of ousting the Convention itself, and breaking up the supreme power in presence of the hostile armies. Pitt alone can be

the author of that idea. His agents have propagated it; they have seduced the sincere patriots; and the credulous and suffering people, always inclined to complain of the government, which is not able to remedy all these evils, have become the faithful echo of their calumnies and their propositions. You Jacobins," exclaimed Robespierre, "too sincere to be gained, too enlightened to be seduced, will defend the Mountain, which is attacked; you will support the committee of public welfare, which men strive to calumniate in order to ruin you, and thus with you it will triumph over all the secret intrigues of the enemies of the people."

Robespierre was applauded, and the whole committee in his person. The Cordeliers were brought back to order, their petition was forgotten, and the attack of Vincent, victoriously repelled, had no result.

It became a matter of urgent necessity, however, to adopt some course in regard to the new constitution. To give up the place to new revolutionists, equivocal, unknown, probably divided, because they would be the offspring of all the factions subsisting below the Convention, would be dangerous. It was therefore necessary to declare to all the parties that the government would retain the supreme power, and that before it left the republic to itself and to the effect of the laws which had been given to it, it should be governed revolutionarily till it should be saved. Numerous petitions had already prayed the Convention to continue at its post. On the 10th of October, St. Just, speaking in the name of the committee of public welfare, proposed new measures of government. He drew a most melancholy picture of France; he overspread this picture with the sombre colours of his gloomy imagination: and, by means of his rare talent and facts otherwise perfectly authentic, he produced a sort of terror in the minds of his auditors. He presented, therefore, and procured the adoption of, a decree containing the following resolutions. By the first clause, the government of France was declared revolutionary till the peace: which signified that the constitution was temporarily suspended, and that an extraordinary dictatorship should be instituted till the expiration of all dangers. This dictatorship was conferred on the Convention and on the committee of public welfare. "The executive council," said the decree, "the ministers, the generals, the constituted bodies, are placed under the superintendence of the committee of public welfare, which will render an account of it every week to the Convention."

We have already explained how the superintendence was transformed into supreme authority, because the ministers, the generals, the functionaries, obliged to submit their operations to the committee, had at length no longer dared to act of their own motion, but waited for the orders of the committee itself. It was then said: "The revolutionary laws ought to be rapidly executed. The inertness of the government being the cause of the reverses, the delays for the execution of these laws shall be fixed. The violation of these terms shall be punished as a crime against liberty." Measures relative to articles of consumption were added to these measures of government, for bread is the right of the people, observed St. Just. The general statement of articles of consumption, when definitely completed, was to be sent to all the authorities. The stock of necessities in the departments was to be approximately estimated and guaranteed; as to the surplus of each of them, it was subjected to requisitions either for the armies or for the provinces which had not sufficient for their consumption. These requisitions had been regulated by a committee of consumption. Paris was to be provisioned, like a fortress, for a year, from the 1st of the ensuing March. Lastly, it was decreed that a tribuna! should be instituted to investigate the conduct and

the property of all those who had had the management of the public money.

By this grand and important declaration, the government, composed of the committee of public welfare, the committee of general safety, and the extraordinary tribunal, found itself completed and maintained while the danger lasted. It was declaring the Revolution in a state of siege, and applying to it the extraordinary laws of that state, during the whole time that it should last. To this government were added various institutions, which had long been called for and had become inevitable. A revolutionary army, that is, a force specially charged with carrying into execution the orders of the government in the interior, was demanded. It had long since been decreed; it was at length organized by a new decree. It was to consist of six thousand men and twelve hundred artillery; to repair from Paris to any town where its presence might be necessary, and to remain there in garrison at the cost of the wealthiest inhabitants. The Cordeliers wanted to have one in each department, but this was opposed, on the ground that it would be reverting to federalism to give an individual force to each department. The same Cordeliers desired, moreover, that the detachments of the revolutionary army should be accompanied by a moveable guillotine upon wheels. All sorts of ideas float in the mind of the populace when it gains the upper hand. The Convention rejected all these suggestions, and adhered to its decree. Bouchotte, who was directed to raise this army, composed it of the greatest vagabonds in Paris, and who were ready to become the satellites of the ruling power. He filled the staff with Jacobins and more especially with Cordeliers; he took Ronsin away from Rossignol and La Vendée, to put him at the head of this revolutionary army. He submitted the list of this staff to the Jacobins, and made each officer undergo the test of the ballot. None of them in fact was confirmed by the minister, until he had been approved by the society.

To the institution of the revolutionary army was at length added the law against suspected persons, so frequently demanded, and resolved upon in principle on the same day as the *levy en masse*. The extraordinary tribunal, though instituted in such a manner as to strike upon mere probabilities, was not sufficiently satisfactory to the revolutionary imagination. It desired the power of confining those who could not be sent to death, and demanded decrees which should permit their persons to be secured. The decree which outlawed the aristocrats was too vague, and required a trial. It was desired that, on the mere denunciation of the revolutionary committees, a person declared suspected might be immediately thrown into prison. The provisional detention till the peace of all suspected persons was at length decreed. As such were considered, 1stly, those who, either by their conduct or by their connexions, or by their language or their writings, had shown themselves partisans of tyranny and of federalism, and enemies of liberty; 2dly, those who could not certify, in the manner prescribed by the law of the 20th of March last, their means of subsistence and the performance of their civic duties; 3dly, those to whom certificates of civism had been refused; 4thly, the public functionaries suspended or removed from their functions by the National Convention, and by its commissioners; 5thly, the *ci-devant* nobles, the husbands, wives, fathers, mothers, sons or daughters, brothers or sisters and agents, of emigrants who had not constantly manifested their attachment to the Revolution; 6thly, those who had emigrated in the interval between the 1st of July, 1789, and the publication of the law of the 8th of April, 1792, though they might have returned to France within the specified time.

The detained persons were to be confined in the national houses, and guarded at their own cost. They were allowed to remove to these houses such furniture as they needed. The committees authorised to issue orders for apprehension could only do so by a majority, and on condition of transmitting to the committee of general safety the list of the motives of each apprehension. Their functions, becoming from that moment extremely arduous and almost incessant, constituted a sort of profession which it was requisite to pay. A salary was therefore allowed them by way of indemnity.

To these resolutions was added a last, which rendered this law against suspected persons still more formidable, and which was adopted on the urgent demand of the commune of Paris; this was to revoke the decree which forbade domiciliary visits during the night. From that moment, every citizen who was sought after was threatened at all hours, and had not a moment's rest. By shutting themselves up in the daytime in very narrow places of concealment, ingeniously contrived at the suggestion of necessity, suspected persons had at least enjoyed the faculty of breathing during the night; but, from this moment, they could no longer do so, and arrests, multiplied day and night, soon filled all the prisons of France.

The sectional assemblies were held daily; but people of the lower classes had no time to attend them, and, in their absence, the revolutionary motions were no longer supported. It was decided, at the express proposition of the Jacobins and of the commune, that these assemblies should be held only twice a week, and that every citizen who attended them should be paid forty sous per sitting. The surest way of having the people was not to call them together too often, and to pay them for their presence. The ardent revolutionists were angry, because bounds were set to their zeal by this limitation of the meetings of sections to two in a week. They therefore drew up a very warm petition, complaining that attacks were made on the rights of the sovereign people, inasmuch as they were prevented from assembling as often as they pleased. Young Varlet was the author of this new petition; which was rejected, and no more attention paid to it than to all the demands suggested by the revolutionary ferment.

Thus the machine was complete in the two points most necessary to a threatened state—war and police. In the Convention, a committee directed the military operations, appointed the generals,* and the agents of all kinds, and was empowered by the decree of permanent requisition to dispose alike of men and things. All this it did, either of itself, or by the representatives sent on missions. This committee had under it another, that of general safety, which exercised the high police, and caused it to be exercised by the revolutionary committees* instituted in each commune. Persons slightly suspected of hostility, or even of indifference, were confined; those who were more seriously compromised were punished by the extraordinary tribunal, but, fortunately as yet, in small number, for that tribunal had, up to this time, pronounced but few condemnations. A special army, a real moveable column or gendarmerie of this system, enforced the execution of the orders of government; and lastly, the populace, paid for attending at the sections, was always ready to support it. Thus war and police both centred in the committee of public welfare. Absolute master, having the means of putting in requisition all the wealth of the country, being empowered to send

* "The revolutionary committees were declared the judges of the persons liable to arrest. Their number augmented with frightful rapidity. Paris had soon forty-eight. Every village throughout the country followed its example. Fifty thousand were soon in operation from Calais to Bayonne."—*Alison*. E.

the citizens either to the field of battle, to the scaffold, or to prison, it possessed for the defence of the Revolution a sovereign and terrible dictatorship. It was, indeed, obliged to render a weekly account of its proceedings to the Convention, but this account was always approved, for critical opinion was exercised only at the Jacobins, and of them it had been master ever since Robespierre had become one of its members. There was nothing in opposition to this power but the moderates, who did not go so far, and the new enthusiasts, who went farther, but who were neither of them much to be feared.

We have already seen that Robespierre and Carnot had been attached to the committee of public welfare as successors to Gasparin and Thuriot, who were both ill. Robespierre had brought with him his powerful influence, and Carnot his military science. The Convention would have joined with Robespierre, Danton, his colleague, and his rival in renown; but the latter, weary of toil, little qualified for the details of administration, disgusted, moreover, by the calumnies of the parties, had resolved not to be on any committee. He had already done a great deal for the Revolution; he had supported flagging courage on all the days of danger; he had furnished the first idea of the revolutionary tribunal, of the revolutionary army, of the permanent requisition, of the tax on the rich, and the allowance of forty sous per sitting to the members of the sections; he was, in short, the author of all the measures which, though cruel in the execution, had nevertheless imparted to the Revolution the energy that saved it. At this period he began to be no longer so necessary, for, since the first invasion of the Prussians, people had become in a manner habituated to danger; he disapproved of the vengeance preparing against the Girondins; he had just married a young wife, of whom he was deeply enamoured, and on whom he had settled the gold of Belgium, said his enemies, and the compensation for his place of advocate to the council, said his friends; he was attacked, like Mirabeau and Marat, by an inflammatory disorder; and, lastly, he needed rest, and solicited leave of absence, that he might go to Arcis-sur-Aube, his native place, to enjoy the country, of which he was passionately fond. He had been advised to adopt this mode of putting an end to calumnies by a temporary retirement. The victory of the Revolution might thenceforward be accomplished without him; two months of war and energy would suffice; and he purposed to return when the victory was achieved, to raise his mighty voice in favour of the vanquished and of a better order of things. Vain illusion of indolence and discouragement! To abandon so rapid a revolution for two months, nay, for one only, was making himself a stranger to it, impotent, and mortal.

Danton, therefore, declined the appointment, and obtained leave of absence. Billaud-Varennes and Collet-d'Herbois were added to the committee, and carried with them, the one his cold, implacable disposition, the other his fire and his influence over the turbulent Cordeliers. The committee of general safety was reformed. From eighteen members it was reduced to nine, known to be the most severe.

While the government was thus organizing itself in the strongest manner redoubled energy was apparent in all the resolutions. The great measures adopted in the month of August had not yet produced their results. La Vendée, though attacked upon a regular plan, had resisted; the check at Menin had nearly occasioned the loss of all the advantages of the victory of Hondtschoote; new efforts were required. Revolutionary enthusiasm suggested this idea—that in war, as in everything else, the will has a decisive influence—and, for the first time, an army was enjoined to conquer within a given term.

All the dangers of the republic in La Vendée were fully appreciated. "Destroy La Vendée," said Barrère, "and Valenciennes and Condé will be no longer in the hands of the Austrians. Destroy La Vendée, and the English will think no more of Dunkirk. Destroy La Vendée, and the Rhine will be delivered from the Prussians. Destroy La Vendée, and Spain will find herself harassed, conquered by the southerners, united with the victorious soldiers of Mortagne and Cholet. Destroy La Vendée, and part of the army of the interior may reinforce that courageous army of the North, so often betrayed and so often disorganized. Destroy La Vendée, and Lyons will cease to resist, Toulon will rise against the Spaniards and the English, and the spirit of Marseilles will again mount to the height of the republican Revolution. In short, every blow that you strike at La Vendée will resound in the rebellious towns, in the federalist departments, on the invaded frontiers! La Vendée is still La Vendée. It is there that you must strike between this day and the 20th of October, before the winter, before the roads become impassable, before the brigands* find impunity in the climate and in the season.

"The committee, in one comprehensive and rapid glance has discovered in these few words all the vices of La Vendée;

"Too many representatives;

"Too much moral division;

"Too many military divisions;

"Too much indiscipline in success;

"Too many false reports in the relation of events;

"Too much avidity, too much love of money, in a portion of the chiefs and of the administrators."

In accordance with these views, the Convention reduced the number of the representatives on mission, united the armies of La Rochelle and Brest into one, called the army of the West, and gave the command of it not to Rossignol, not to Canclaux, but to Lechelle, general of brigade in the division of Luçon. Lastly, it fixed the day in which the war of La Vendée was to be finished, and that day was the 20th of October. The proclamation which accompanied the decree was as follows:

"The National Convention to the Army of the West

"Soldiers of liberty, the brigands of La Vendée must be exterminated before the end of October. The welfare of the country requires this: the impatience of the French people commands it; their courage ought to accomplish it. The national gratitude awaits at that period all those whose valour and patriotism shall have irrevocably established liberty and the republic!"

Measures not less prompt and not less energetic were adopted in regard to the army of the North, for the purpose of repairing the check at Menin, and deciding new successes. Houchard, removed from the command, was arrested. Jourdan, who had commanded the centre at Hondtschoote, was appointed general-in-chief of the army of the North and that of the Ardennes. He was directed to collect considerable masses at Guise for the purpose of attacking the enemy. There was but one outcry against attacks in detail. Without considering either the plan or the operations of Houchard around

* "The Vendean officers wore, for distinction, a sort of chequered red handkerchief, knotted round their head, with others of the same colour tied round their waist, by way of sash, in which they stuck their pistols. The adoption of this wild costume procured them the name of *brigands* from its fantastic singularity. It originated in the whim of Henri de Larochejaquelein, who first used the attire."—*Scott's Life of Napoleon*. E.

Dunkirk, it was alleged that he had not fought *en masse*, and the people insisted exclusively on this kind of combat, asserting that it was more appropriate to the impetuosity of the French character. Carnot had set out for Guise to join Jourdan, and to put in execution a new and wholly revolutionary system of warfare. Three new commissioners had been appointed to assist Dubois-Crancé in raising levies *en masse*, and directing them against Lyons. Orders were issued to relinquish the system of methodical attacks, and to assault the rebellious city. Thus redoubled efforts were making in every quarter to bring the campaign to a victorious conclusion.

But severity is always the companion of energy. The trial of Custine, too long deferred in the opinion of the Jacobins, was at length commenced, and it was conducted with all the violence and barbarity of the new judicial forms. No general-in-chief had yet ascended the scaffold. People were impatient to strike an elevated head, and to make the commanders of armies bend to the popular authority; they desired above all to make one of the generals atone for the defection of Dumouriez, and they chose Custine, whose opinions and sentiments caused him to be considered as another Dumouriez. He had been arrested at the moment when, holding the command of the army of the North, he had repaired to Paris to concert operations with the ministry. He was at first thrown into prison, and a decree for transferring him to the revolutionary tribunal was soon demanded and obtained.

The reader will recollect Custine's campaign on the Rhine. Commanding a division of the army, he had found Spire and Worms weakly guarded, because the allies, in their hurry to march upon Champagne, had neglected everything on their wings and in their rear. German patriots flocking from all quarters, offered him their towns; he advanced, took Spire, Worms was delivered up to him, neglected Mannheim, which was in his route, out of respect to the neutrality of the elector-palatine, and also out of fear that he should not easily enter it. At length he arrived at Mayence, made himself master of it, rejoiced France by his unexpected conquests, and obtained a command which rendered him independent of Biron. At this moment Dumouriez had repulsed the Prussians, and driven them beyond the Rhine. Kellermann was near Treves. Custine was then to descend the Rhine to Coblenz, to join Kellermann, and thus make himself master of the banks of that river. All reasons concurred to favour this plan. The inhabitants of Coblenz called for Custine, those of St. Goar and Rheinfels also called for him; it is impossible to tell how far he might have gone had he followed the course of the Rhine. Perhaps he might even have descended to Holland. But from the interior of Germany other patriots called for him, too; people fancied, on seeing him advance so boldly, that he had one hundred thousand men. To penetrate into the enemy's territory and beyond the Rhine was more gratifying to the imagination and the vanity of Custine. He made an incursion to Frankfort, to levy contributions and to exercise impolitic vexations. There he was again beset with solicitations. Madmen invited him to come to Cassel, in the heart of electoral Hesse, and seize the elector's treasures. The wiser counsels of the French government advised him to return to the Rhine, and to march towards Coblenz. But he would not listen to them, and dreamt of a revolution in Germany.

Meanwhile Custine became sensible of the dangers of his position. Seeing clearly that, if the elector were to break the neutrality, his rear would be threatened by Mannheim, he would fain have taken that place, which was offered to him, but durst not. Threatened to be attacked at Frankfort, where he could not maintain himself, still he would not abandon that city and

return to the line of the Rhine, that he might not abandon his pretended conquests, and not involve himself in the operations of others by descending towards Coblenz. In this situation he was surprised by the Prussians, lost Frankfort, was driven back upon Mayence, remained undecided whether he should keep that place or not, threw into it some artillery brought from Strasburg, issued not till very late the order to provision it, was again surprised amidst his vacillation by the Prussians, withdrew from Mayence, and, smitten with terror and fancying that he was pursued by one hundred and fifty thousand men, retreated to Upper Alsace, almost under the cannon of Strasburg. Placed on the Upper Rhine with a considerable army, he might have marched upon Mayence, and put the besiegers between two fires, but he durst not; at length, ashamed of his inactivity, he made an unsuccessful attack on the 15th of May, was beaten and went with regret to the army of the North, where he completed his ruin by moderate language and by a very prudent piece of advice, namely, that the army should be allowed to reorganize itself in Cæsar's Camp, instead of being made to fight uselessly for the relief of Valenciennes.

Such had been the career of Custine. There were many faults in it but no treason. His trial began, and representatives on mission, agents of the executive power, bitter enemies of the generals, discontented officers, members of the clubs of Strasburg, Mayence, and Cambrai, and lastly, the terrible Vincent, the tyrant of the war office under Bouchotte, were brought forward as witnesses. There was a host of accusers, accumulating unjust and contradictory charges, charges not founded on genuine military criticism but on accidental misfortunes, of which the general was not guilty, and which could not be imputed to him. Custine replied with a certain military vehemence to all these accusations, but he was overwhelmed. Jacobins of Strasburg told him that he would not take the gorges of Porentruy when Luckner ordered him to do so; and he proved, to no purpose, that it was impossible. He was reproached by a German with not having taken Manheim, which he offered to him. Custine excused himself by alleging the neutrality of the elector and the difficulties of the project. The inhabitants of Coblenz, Rheinfels, Darmstadt, Hanau, of all the towns which had wanted to give themselves up to him, and which he had not consented to occupy, accused him at once. Against the charge of not marching to Coblenz he made a weak defence, and calumniated Kellermann, who, he said, had refused to second him. As to his refusal to take the other places, he alleged with reason that all the German enthusiasts called for him, and that to satisfy them he must have occupied a hundred leagues of country. By a singular contradiction, while he was blamed for not taking this town, or not levying contributions on that, it was urged against him as a crime that he had taken Frankfort, plundered the inhabitants, not made the necessary dispositions there for resisting the Prussians, and exposed the French garrison to the risk of being slaughtered. The brave Merlin de Thionville, who gave evidence against him, justified him in this instance with equal generosity and reason. Had he left twenty thousand men at Frankfort, said Merlin, he could not have kept that city; it was absolutely necessary to retire to Mayence, and he was only wrong in not having done so sooner. But at Mayence, added a multitude of other witnesses, he had not made any of the necessary preparations, he had not collected either provisions or ammunition, but merely crowded together there the artillery of which he had stripped Strasburg, for the purpose of putting it into the hands of the Prussians, with a garrison of twenty thousand men and two deputies. Custine proved that he had given orders

for provisioning the place, that the artillery was scarcely sufficient, and that it had not been uselessly accumulated there merely to be given up. Merlin supported all these assertions of Custine, but he could not forgive his pusillanimous retreat and his inactivity on the Upper Rhine, while the garrison of Mayence was performing prodigies. On these points Custine had nothing to reply. He was then charged with having burned the magazines of Spire on retiring—an absurd charge, for when once the retreat became imperative, it was better to burn the magazines than to leave them to the enemy. He was accused of having caused some volunteers to be shot at Spire on account of pillage; to this he replied that the Convention had approved of his conduct. He was further accused of having particularly spared the Prussians; of having voluntarily exposed his army to be beaten on the 15th of May; of having tarried long before he repaired to his command in the North; of having attempted to strip Lille of its artillery for the purpose of taking it to Cæsar's Camp; of having prevented Valenciennes from being succoured; of not having opposed any obstacles to the landing of the English—charges which were each more absurd than the other. Lastly, it was said to him, "You pitied Louis XVI.; you were sad on the 31st of May; you wanted to hang Dr. Hoffman, president of the Jacobins at Mayence; you prevented the circulation of the journal of Père Duchesne, and the journal of the Mountain in your army; you said that Marat and Robespierre were disturbers; you surrounded yourself with aristocratic officers; you never had at your table good republicans." These charges were fatal. They comprehended the real crimes for which he was prosecuted.

The trial had been long; all the imputations were so vague that the tribunal hesitated. Custine's daughter, and several persons who interested themselves on his behalf, had ventured to take some steps; for, at this period, though the terror was already great, still persons durst yet testify some interest for the victims. The revolutionary tribunal itself was immediately denounced at the Jacobins. "It is painful to me," said Hebert, addressing that society, "to have to denounce an authority, which was the hope of the patriots, which at first deserved their confidence, and which will before long become their bane. The revolutionary tribunal is on the point of acquitting a villain, in whose favour, it is true, the handsomest women in Paris are soliciting everybody. Custine's daughter, as clever a comedian in this city as was her father at the head of armies, is calling upon everybody, and promising everything to obtain his pardon." Robespierre, on his part, denounced the spirit of chicane and the fondness for formalities, which had seized the tribunal; and maintained that, if it were only for the attempt to strip Lille of its artillery, Custine deserved death.

Vincent, one of the witnesses, had ransacked the portfolios of the war-office, and brought the letters and orders for which Custine was accused, and which assuredly did not constitute crimes. Fouquier-Tinville* drew a comparison between Custine and Dumouriez, which was the ruin of the unfortunate general. Dumouriez, he said, had advanced rapidly into Belgium to

* "Fouquier Tinville, the son of a farmer, was first an attorney at the Chatelet, but having dissipated his property, he lost his place, and became a bankrupt. In 1793 he was appointed head jurymen of the revolutionary tribunal, and caused the Queen to be condemned to death; but in the year 1795 was himself condemned and executed, for having caused the destruction of an innumerable multitude of French persons, under pretence of conspiracies; for having caused between sixty and eighty individuals to be tried in four hours; for having caused carts which were ready beforehand, to be loaded with victims whose very names were not mentioned, and against whom no depositions were made, and for having constituted a jury of his own

abandon it afterwards as rapidly, and to deliver up to the enemy soldiers, magazines, and representatives themselves. In like manner, Custine had advanced rapidly into Germany, had abandoned our soldiers at Frankfort and at Mayence, and meant to deliver up with the latter city twenty thousand men, two representatives, and our artillery, which he had maliciously removed from Strasburg. Like Dumouriez, he slandered the Convention and the Jacobins, and caused brave volunteers to be shot upon the pretext

adherents. It would be impossible to detail all his atrocities, but a few instances will convey an idea of his character. M. de Gamache was brought into court, but the officer declared that he was not the person accused. "Never mind," said Fouquier, "bring him nevertheless." A moment after, the real Gamache appeared and both were at once condemned and executed. Sixty or eighty unhappy wretches were often confounded in the same accusation, though they had never seen each other, and when Fouquier wished to despatch them in the mass, he merely said to the jury, "I think, citizens, that you are convinced of the guilt of the accused." When this hint was thrown out, the jury would declare themselves sufficiently enlightened, and condemn all the accused in the gross, without hearing one of them. Fouquier Tinville was accustomed to frequent a coffee-house in the Palace of Justice, where the judges and jurymen of his tribunal met. There they reckoned the number of heads which had fallen in the course of the decade. "What do you think I have gained to-day for the republic?" Some of the guests, to pay court to him, would answer, "so many millions," when he would immediately add, "in the next decade I shall undress three or four hundred," meaning, guillotine them. A considerable number of victims were one day met on their way home from the tribunal by Fouquier, who had not been present at their trial; he asked the jury on what crime they had been pronouncing sentence. They did not know, they said, but he might run after the condemned persons, and inquire, upon which they all burst into laughter. When he was himself led to execution, after the fall of Robespierre, Fouquier Tinville's forehead, hard as marble, defied all the eyes of the multitude; he was even seen to smile and utter threatening words. He trembled however, as he ascended the scaffold, and seemed for the first time to feel remorse. He had a round head, black straight hair, a narrow and wan forehead, small round eyes, a full face marked with the smallpox, a look sometimes fixed, sometimes oblique, a middling stature, and thick legs."—*Biographie Moderne*. E.

"Fouquier Tinville who was excessively artful, quick in attributing guilt, and skilled in controverting facts, showed immoveable presence of mind on his trial. While standing before the tribunal from which he had condemned so many victims, he kept constantly writing; but like Argus, all eyes and ears, he lost not while he wrote, one single word uttered by the president, by an accused person, by a judge, by a witness, or by a public accuser. He affected to sleep during the public accuser's recapitulation, as if to feign tranquillity, while he had hell in his heart. No eye but must involuntarily fall before his steadfast gaze; when he prepared to speak, he frowned; his brow was furrowed; his voice was rough, loud, and menacing; he carried audacity to the utmost in his denial; and showed equal address in altering facts and rendering them independent of each other, and especially in judiciously placing his alibis."—*Mercier*. E.

"Fouquier Tinville was the public accuser in the revolutionary tribunal, and his name soon became as terrible as that of Robespierre to all France. He was born in Picardy, and exhibited a combination of qualities so extraordinary, that if it had not been established by undoubted testimony, it would have been deemed fabulous. Justice in his eyes consisted in condemning; an acquittal was the source of profound vexation; he was never happy unless when he had secured the conviction of all the accused. He required no species of recreation; women, the pleasures of the table or of the theatre, were alike indifferent to him. Sober and sparing in diet, he never indulged in excess, excepting when with the judges of the revolutionary tribunal, when he would at times give way to intemperance. His power of undergoing fatigue was unbounded. The sole recreation which he allowed himself was to behold his victims perish on the scaffold. He confessed that that object had great attractions for him. He might during the period of his power have amassed an immense fortune; he remained to the last poor, and his wife is said to have died of famine. His lodgings were destitute of every comfort; their whole furniture, after his death, did not sell for twenty pounds. No seduction could influence him. He was literally a bar of iron against all the ordinary desires of men. Nothing roused his mind but the prospect of inflicting death, and then his animation was such that his countenance became radiant and expressive."—*Alison*. F

of maintaining discipline. After this parallel, the tribunal ceased to hesitate. Custine defended his military operations in a speech of two hours; and Tronçon-Decoudray defended his administrative and civil conduct, but to no purpose. The tribunal declared the general guilty, to the great joy of the Jacobins and Cordeliers, who filled the hall and gave tumultuous demonstrations of their satisfaction. Custine, however, had not been unanimously condemned. On the three questions, he had successively had against him ten, nine, eight voices out of eleven. The president asked if he had anything further to say. He looked around, and not seeing his counsel, he replied, "I have no longer any defenders; I die calm and innocent."

He was executed on the following morning. This warrior, a man of acknowledged intrepidity, was staggered at the sight of the scaffold. He nevertheless knelt down at the foot of the ladder, offered up a short prayer, recovered himself, and received death with courage.* Such was the end of this unfortunate general, who lacked neither intelligence nor firmness, but who combined inconsistency with presumption, and who committed three capital faults; the first in leaving his proper line of operation and marching to Frankfort; the second in not returning to it when exhorted to do so; and the third in remaining in the most timid inaction during the siege of Mayence. None of these faults, however, were deserving of death; but he suffered the punishment which could not be inflicted on Dumouriez, and which he had not merited, like the latter, by great and guilty projects. His death was a terrible example for all the generals, and a signal to them for absolute obedience to the orders of the revolutionary government.

This act of rigour was destined to be followed up by executions without intermission. The order for hastening the trial of Marie Antoinette was renewed. The act of accusation of the Girondins, so long demanded and never prepared, was presented to the Convention. It was drawn up by St. Just. Petitions came from the Jacobins to oblige the Convention to adopt it. It was directed not only against the twenty-two and the commission of twelve, but also against seventy-three members of the right side, who had maintained an absolute silence since the victory of the Mountain, and who had drawn up a well-known protest against the events of the 31st of May and the 2d of June. Some furious Mountaineers insisted on the accusation, that is death, against the twenty-two, the twelve, and the seventy-three; but Robespierre opposed this and suggested a middle course, namely, to send the twenty-two and the twelve to the revolutionary tribunal, and to put the seventy-three under arrest. His proposal was adopted. The doors of the hall were immediately secured, the seventy-three were apprehended, and Fouquier-Tinville was ordered to take into his hands the unfortunate Girondins. Thus the Convention, becoming more and more docile, suffered the order for sending part of its colleagues to execution to be extorted from it. In truth it could no longer delay issuing it, for the Jacobins had sent five petitions, each more imperative than the other, in order to obtain these last decrees of accusation.

* "Custine's beautiful and gifted daughter-in-law in vain sat daily by his side, and exerted herself to the utmost in his behalf; her grace and the obvious injustice of the accusation produced some impression on the judges, and a few were inclined to an acquittal: but immediately the revolutionary tribunal itself was complained of, and Custine was found guilty. When he ascended the scaffold, the crowd murmured because he appeared with a minister of religion by his side."—*Alison*. E.

THE NATIONAL CONVENTION.

**SIEGE AND REDUCTION OF LYONS—VICTORY OF WATIGNIES—THE
BLOCKADE OF MAUBEUGE RAISED—JUNCTION OF THE REPUBLICAN
ARMIES IN THE CENTRE OF LA VENDÉE—VICTORY OF CHOLET;
FLIGHT OF THE VENDEANS BEYOND THE LOIRE.**

EVERY reverse roused the revolutionary energy, and that energy produced success. It had always been thus during that memorable campaign. A continual series of disasters, from the defeat of Neerwinden till the month of August, had at length stimulated to desperate efforts. The annihilation of federalism, the defence of Nantes, the victory of Hondtschoote, the raising of the blockade of Dunkirk, had been the consequence of these efforts. Fresh reverses at Menin, Pirmasens, the Pyrenees, and at Torfou and Coron, in La Vendée, had just given fresh excitement to energy, and decisive successes on all the theatres of the war were destined to be the result of it.

Of all the operations, the siege of Lyons was that the end of which was awaited with the greatest impatience. We left Dubois-Crancé encamped before that city, with five thousand of the requisitionary force. He was threatened with soon having on his rear the Sardinians, whom the weak army of the great Alps was no longer able to keep in check. As we have already observed, he had placed himself to the north, between the Saône and the Rhone, facing the redoubts of Croix-Rousse, and not on the heights of St. Foy and Fourvières situated to the west, from which the attack ought by rights to have been directed. The motive for this preference was founded on more than one reason. It was above all important to keep in communication with the frontier of the Alps, where the main body of the republican army was, and whence the Piedmontese could come to succour the Lyonnese. In this position he also had the advantage of occupying the upper course of the two rivers, and of intercepting any provisions which might have been descending the Saône and the Rhone. It is true that the west was thus left open to the Lyonnese, and that they could make continual excursions towards St. Etienne and Mont-Brison; but the arrival of the contingents of the Puy-de-Dôme was daily expected, and, when these new requisitions had once joined, Dubois-Crancé would be enabled to complete the blockade of the west side, and then to choose the real point of attack. Meanwhile, he contented himself with pressing the enemy closely, with cannonading the Croix-Rousse to the north, and with commencing his lines on the east before the bridge of La Guillotière. The transport of ammunition was difficult and slow. It had to be brought from Grenoble, Fort Barraux, Briançon, and Embrun, and thus to travel over sixty leagues of mountains. These extraordinary convoys could be effected only by way of forced requisition, and by putting in motion five thousand horses; for they had to transport before Lyons fourteen thousand bombs, thirty-four thousand cannon-balls, three hundred thousand pounds of gunpowder, eight hundred thousand cartridges, and one hundred and thirty pieces of artillery.

Very early in the siege, the march of the Piedmontese, who were debouch-

ing from the Little St. Bernard and from Mont-Cenis, was announced. At the urgent solicitations of the department of the Isère, Kellermann immediately set out, and left General Dumay to succeed him at Lyons. Dumay, however, was his successor only in appearance, for Dubois-Crancé, a representative and an able engineer, directed alone all the operations of the siege. To hasten the levy of the requisitions of the Puy-de-Dôme, Dubois-Crancé detached General Nicolas, with a small corps of cavalry; but it was taken in the Forez, and delivered up to the Lyonnese. Dubois-Crancé then sent thither a thousand good troops with Javognes,* the representative. The mission of the latter was more fortunate; he repressed the aristocrats of Mont-Brison and St. Etienne, and levied seven or eight thousand peasants, whom he brought before Lyons. Dubois-Crancé placed them at the bridge of Oullins, situated to the north-west of Lyons, so as to cramp the communications of Lyons with the Forez. He ordered Reverchon, the deputy, who had collected some thousand requisitionaries at Maçon, to draw nearer, and placed him up the Saône, quite to the north. In this manner, the blockade began to be rather strict, but the operations were slow, and attacks by main force impossible. The fortifications of La Croix-Rousse, between the Rhone and the Loire, before which the principal corps lay, could not be carried by assault. On the east side and on the left bank of the Rhone, the bridge of Morand was defended by a semicircular redoubt, very skilfully constructed. On the west the decisive heights of St. Foy and Fourvières could not be taken without a strong army, and for the moment nothing further was to be thought of than intercepting provisions, pressing the city, and setting it on fire.

From the commencement of August to the middle of September Dubois-Crancé had not been able to do more, and in Paris people complained of his slowness without making allowance for its motives. He had, nevertheless, done great damage to the unfortunate city. Conflagrations had consumed the magnificent square of Bellecour, the arsenal, the quarter of St. Clair, and the port of the Temple, and damaged in particular that fine building, the Hospital, which rises so majestically on the bank of the Rhone. The Lyonnese, however, still continued to resist with the utmost obstinacy. A report was circulated among them that fifty thousand Piedmontese were approaching their city; the emigrants loaded them with promises, but without throwing themselves into the midst of them; and those worthy manufacturers, sincere republicans, were by their false position forced to desire the baneful and ignominious succour of emigrants and foreigners. Their sentiments had more than once burst forth in an unequivocal manner. Précy had proposed to hoist the white flag, but had soon perceived the impossibility of doing so. An obsidional paper having been created to supply the wants of the siege, and there being *fleurs de lis* in the water-mark of this paper, it had been found necessary to destroy it and make another. Thus the sentiments of the Lyonnese were republican, but the fear of the vengeance of the Convention, and the false promises of Marseilles, Bordeaux, Caen, and more especially of the emigrants, had hurried them into an abyss of faults and calamities.

* "Javognes was famous for his cruelties and rapine at Lyons. He traversed the departments of Ain and Loire at the head of a revolutionary army, and began by establishing at Feurs a tribunal composed of ignorant and profligate men, to one of whom he said, 'The *sans-culottes* must profit by this opportunity to do their own business; so send all the rich men to the guillotine, and you will quickly become rich yourself.' With such tools, he quickly organized death and pillage in all the towns which he visited."—*Prudhomme*. E.

While they were feeding themselves with hopes of the arrival of fifty thousand Sardinians, the Convention ordered the representatives Couthon, Maignet, and Chateaufort-Randon, to repair to Auvergne and the neighbouring departments, to raise a levy *en masse* there, and Kellermann was hastening to the valleys of the Alps to meet the Piedmontese.

A fair occasion here again offered itself to the Piedmontese for making a grand and bold attempt, which could not have failed to prove successful; this was, to concentrate their principal force on the Little St. Bernard, and to debouch on Lyons with fifty thousand men. It is well known that the three valleys of Sallenche, the Tarentaise, and the Maurienne, wind in a kind of spiral form, and that, commencing at the little St. Bernard, they debouch upon Geneva, Chambery, Lyons, and Grenoble. Small French corps were scattered in these valleys. To descend rapidly by one of them and to take post at their outlets would have been a sure way, according to all the principles of the art, to cut off the detachments in the mountains, and to make them lay down their arms. There was little reason to fear any attachment of the Savoyards for the French, for the assignats and requisitions had as yet taught them to know nothing of liberty but its extortions and its rigour. The Duke of Montferrat, placed at the head of the expedition, took with him but twenty or twenty-five thousand men, threw a corps on his right into the valley of the Sallenche, descended with his main body into the Tarentaise, and left General Gordon to pass through the Maurienne with his left wing. So dilatory was his movement, that, though commenced on the 14th of August, it lasted till September. The French, though far inferior in number, made an energetic resistance, and prolonged the retreat to eighteen days. On reaching Moustier, the Duke of Montferrat sought to place himself in connexion with Gordon, on the chain of the Grand-Loup, which parts the two valleys of the Tarentaise and the Maurienne, and never thought of marching rapidly upon Conflans, the point where the three valleys meet. This dilatoriness and his twenty-five thousand men prove sufficiently whether he had any intention of proceeding to Lyons.

Meanwhile Kellermann, hastening from Grenoble, had called out the national guard of the Isère and of the surrounding departments. He had encouraged the Savoyards, who began to fear the vengeance of the Piedmontese government, and had contrived to collect about twelve thousand men. He then reinforced the corps in the valley of Sallenche, and marched towards Conflans, at the outlet of the two valleys of the Tarentaise and the Maurienne. This was about the 10th of September. At this moment orders to advance had reached the Duke of Montferrat. But Kellermann, anticipating the Piedmontese, ventured to attack them in the position of Espierre, which they had taken up on the chain of the Grand-Loup, for the purpose of communicating between the two valleys. As he could not approach this position in front, he caused it to be turned by a detached corps. This corps, composed of half-naked soldiers, nevertheless made heroic efforts, and lifted the guns by main strength up almost inaccessible heights. All at once, the French artillery unexpectedly opened over the heads of the Piedmontese, who were dismayed by it. Gordon immediately retired in the valley of Maurienne on St. Michel, and the Duke of Montferrat moved back to the middle of the valley of the Tarentaise. Kellermann, having annoyed the latter on his flanks, soon obliged him to return to St. Maurice and St. Germain, and at length drove him, on the 4th of October, beyond the Alps. Thus the short and successful campaign which the Piedmontese might have made by debouching with twice the mass, and descending by a single valley upon Chambery and

Lyons, failed here for the same reasons that had caused all the attempts of the allies to miscarry, and saved France.

While the Sardinians were thus driven back beyond the Alps, the three deputies sent into the Puys-de-Dôme, to effect a levy *en masse* there, raised the country people by preaching up a kind of crusade, and persuading them that Lyons, so far from defending the republican cause, was the rendezvous of the factions, of the emigration, and of foreigners. The paralytic Couthon, full of an activity which his infirmities could not relax, excited a general movement. He despatched Maignet and Chateauneuf with a first column of twelve thousand men, and remained behind himself for the purpose of bringing another of twenty-five thousand, and collecting the necessary supplies of provisions. Dubois-Crancé placed the new levies on the west side, towards St. Foy, and thus completed the blockade. He received at the same time a detachment of the garrison of Valenciennes, which, like that of Mayence, could not serve any where but in the interior; he placed detachments of regular troops in advance of the new levies so as to form good heads of columns. His army was thus composed of about twenty-five thousand requisitionaries and eight or ten thousand men inured to war.

On the 24th, at midnight, he carried the redoubt of the bridge of Oullins, which led to the foot of the heights of St. Foy. Next day, General Doppet, a Savoyard,* who had distinguished himself under Carteaux, in the war against the Marseillais, arrived to supersede Kellermann. The latter had been removed on account of the lukewarmness of his zeal, and he had been suffered to retain his command for a few days, merely that he might bring his expedition against the Piedmontese to a conclusion. General Doppet then concerted with Dubois-Crancé for the assault of the heights of St. Foy. All the preparations were made for the night between the 28th and 29th of September. Simultaneous attacks were directed on the north near La Croix-Rousse, on the east facing the bridge of Morand, and on the south by the bridge of La Mulatière, which is situated below the city, at the conflux of the Saône and the Rhone. The serious attack was to be made by the bridge of Oullins on St. Foy. This was not begun till five in the morning of the 29th, an hour or two after the three others. Doppet, inflaming the soldiers, rushed with them upon a first redoubt, and hurried them on to a second, with the utmost vivacity. Great and little St. Foy were carried. Meanwhile the column sent to attack the bridge of La Mulatière made itself master of it, and penetrated to the isthmus at the point of which the two rivers join. It was about to enter Lyons, when Précy, hastening up with his cavalry, repulsed it and saved the place. Meanwhile Vaubois, commandant of artillery, who had made a very brisk attack upon the bridge of Morand, had penetrated into the horseshoe redoubt, but had been obliged to leave it again.

Of all these attacks one only had completely succeeded, but this was the principal attack, that of St. Foy. The assailants had now to pass from the heights of St. Foy to those of Fourvières, which were much more regularly intrenched and much more difficult to carry. Dubois-Crancé, who acted systematically and like a skilful soldier, was of opinion that he ought not to expose himself to the risks of a new assault, for the following reasons; He knew that the Lyonnese, who were compelled to eat pea-flour, had provi-

* "General Doppet was a Savoyard, a physician, and an unprincipled man. He was entirely governed by interested motives. He was a decided enemy to all who possessed talent, and no idea of war, and was anything but brave."—*Bourrienne*. E.

sions for only a few days longer, and that they would very soon be obliged to surrender. He had found them extremely brave in the defence of La Mutilatière and the bridge of Morand; he was fearful that an attack on the heights of Fourvières might not succeed, and that a check might disorganize the army and compel him to raise the siege. "The greatest favour," said he, "that we could do to the brave and desperate besieged, is to furnish them with an opportunity to save themselves by fighting. Let us leave them to perish in a few days by famine."

At this moment, on the 2d of October, Couthon arrived with a new levy of twenty-five thousand peasants of the Auvergne. "I am coming," he wrote, "with my rocks of the Auvergne, and I shall hurl them upon the suburb of Devaise." He found Dubois-Crancé amidst an army of which he was the absolute chief, in which he had established the rules of military subordination, and among which he more commonly wore the uniform of a superior officer than that of a representative of the people. Couthon was irritated to see a representative superseding equality by the military hierarchy, and, above all, would not listen to a word about regular warfare. "I know nothing of tactics," said he; "I bring with me the people, whose holy rage will conquer everything. We must overwhelm Lyons with our masses and take it by main force. Besides, I have promised my peasants leave of absence next Monday, for they must go home and attend to their vintage." It was then Tuesday. Dubois-Crancé, who thoroughly understood his profession and was accustomed to regular troops, expressed some contempt for this ill-armed mob of peasants. He proposed to pick out the youngest, to incorporate them into the battalions already organized, and to dismiss the others. Couthon would not listen to any of these prudent suggestions, and caused it to be immediately decided that Lyons should be attacked on all points, with the sixty thousand men of whom the army now consisted, in consequence of the junction of the new levy. He wrote at the same time to the committee of public welfare, urging it to recall Dubois-Crancé. It was resolved in the council of war that the attack should take place on the 8th of October.

The recall of Dubois-Crancé and of his colleague Gauthier arrived in the meantime. The Lyonnese had a great horror of Dubois-Crancé, whom they had seen for two months so inveterate against their city, and they declared that they would not surrender to him. On the 7th, Couthon sent them a last summons, and wrote to them that it was he, Couthon, and the representatives, Maignet and Laporte, who were charged by the Convention with the prosecution of the siege. The firing was suspended till four in the afternoon, and then renewed with extreme violence. Preparations were about to be made for the assault, when a deputation came to treat on behalf of the Lyonnese. It appears that the object of this negotiation was to give time to Précy and two thousand of the inhabitants, who were most deeply compromised, to escape in close column. They actually did avail themselves of this interval, and left the place by the suburb of Devaise, with the intention of retiring towards Switzerland.

Scarcely had the parley commenced, when a republican column penetrated to the suburb of St. Just. It was no longer time to make conditions, and besides, the Convention would grant none. On the 9th the army entered, headed by the representatives. The inhabitants had concealed themselves, but all the persecuted Mountaineers came forth in a body to meet the victorious army, and composed for it a sort of popular triumph. General Doppet

made his troops observe the strictest discipline, and left to the representatives the exercise of the revolutionary vengeance upon that unfortunate city.

Meanwhile Précý, with his two thousand fugitives, was marching towards Switzerland. But Dubois-Crancé, foreseeing that this would be his only resource, had for a long time caused all the passes to be guarded. The unfortunate Lyonnese were therefore pursued, dispersed, and killed by the peasants. Not more than eighty of them, with Précý, reached the Helvetic territory.

No sooner had Couthon entered the city, than he re-established the old Mountaineer municipality, and commissioned it to seek out and point out the rebels. He instituted a popular commission to try them according to martial law. He then wrote to Paris that there were three classes of inhabitants: 1, the guilty rich; 2, the selfish rich; 3, the ignorant artizans who were of no party whatever, and alike incapable of good and evil. The first should be guillotined and their houses destroyed; the second forced to contribute their whole fortune; and the third be displaced, and a republican colony planted in their stead.

The capture of Lyons produced the greatest rejoicing in Paris, and compensated for the bad news of the end of September. Still, notwithstanding the results, complaints were made of the dilatoriness of Dubois-Crancé, and to him was imputed the flight of the Lyonnese by the suburb of Devaise, a flight, however, which had only saved eighty of them. Couthon, in particular, accused him of having made himself absolute general in his army, of having more frequently appeared in the dress of a superior officer than in that of representative of the people, of having affected the superciliousness of a tactician; lastly, of having preferred the system of regular sieges to that of attacks *en masse*. An outcry was immediately raised by the Jacobins against Dubois-Crancé, whose activity and vigour had, nevertheless, rendered such important services at Grenoble, in the South, and before Lyons. At the same time, the committee of public welfare prepared terrible decrees, with a view to make the authority of the Convention more formidable and more implicitly obeyed. The decree submitted by Barrère, and immediately adopted, was as follows:

Art. 1. There shall be appointed by the National Convention, on the presentation of the committee of public welfare, a commission of five representatives of the people, who shall proceed to Lyons without delay, and cause all the counter-revolutionists who have taken up arms in that city to be apprehended and tried according to martial law.

2. All the Lyonnese shall be disarmed; the arms shall be given to those who shall be acknowledged to have had no hand in the revolt and to the defenders of the country.

3. The city of Lyons shall be destroyed.

4. No part of it shall be preserved but the poor-house, the manufactories, the workshops of the arts, the hospitals, the public buildings, and those of instruction.

5. That city shall cease to be called Lyons. It shall be called *Commune-Affranchie*.

6. On the ruins of Lyons shall be erected a monument, on which shall be inscribed these words: LYONS MADE WAR UPON LIBERTY—LYONS IS NO MORE!*

* "The practice of all governments being to establish their continuance as a right, those who attack them are enemies while they fight, and conspirators when they are conquered; consequently, they are killed both by means of war and of the law. All these motives in-

The intelligence of the capture of Lyons was immediately communicated to the two armies of the North and of La Vendée, where the decisive blows were to be struck, and a proclamation invited them to imitate the army of Lyons. The army of the North was thus addressed: "The standard of liberty waves over the walls of Lyons, and purifies them. Behold there the omen of victory; victory belongs to courage. It is yours: strike, exterminate the satellites of the tyrants! The eyes of the country are fixed on you; the Convention seconds your generous devotedness; a few days longer, and the tyrants will be no more, and the republic will owe to you its happiness and its glory." To the soldiers of La Vendée it was said, "And you, too, brave soldiers, you, too, will gain a victory. Too long has La Vendée annoyed the republic. March, strike, finish! All our enemies must fall at once. Every army must conquer. Would you be the last to gather laurels, to earn the glory of having exterminated the rebels and saved the country?"

The committee, as we see, spared no pains to make the most of the reduction of Lyons. That event was, in fact, of the utmost importance. It delivered the east of France from the last remains of insurrection, and took all hope from the emigrants intriguing in Switzerland, and from the Piedmontese, who could not henceforth reckon upon any diversion. It quelled the Jura, secured the rear of the army of the Rhine, permitted the succours in men and stores, which had become indispensable, to be despatched to Toulon and the Pyrenees; and lastly, it intimidated all the towns which still felt disposed to insurrection, and insured their definitive submission.

It was in the North that the committee was particularly desirous to display the greatest energy, and that it expected generals and soldiers to show that quality most conspicuously. Scarcely had Custine's head been struck off on the scaffold, when Houchard was sent to the revolutionary tribunal for not having done all that he might have done before Dunkirk. The recent complaints addressed to the committee in September had obliged it to renew all the staffs. It had just recomposed them entirely, and raised mere officers to the highest commands. Houchard, colonel at the beginning of the campaign, general-in-chief before it was finished, and now accused before the revolutionary tribunal; Hoche, a mere officer at the siege of Dunkirk, and now promoted to the command of the army of the Moselle; Jourdan, *chef de bataillon*, then commandant of the centre at the battle of Hondtschoote, and at length appointed general-in-chief of the army of the North; were striking examples of the vicissitudes of fortune in the republican armies. These sudden promotions did not allow soldiers, officers, or generals, time to become acquainted and to gain each other's confidence; but they conveyed a terrible idea of that will, which thus struck at every one, not only in case of a proved treason, but for a suspicion, for insufficient zeal, or for a half victory; and thence resulted an absolute devotion on the part of the armies, and unbounded hopes in spirits daring enough to defy the dangerous chances of the generalship.

To this period must be referred the first advances of the art of war. The principles of that art had, indeed, been known and practised in all ages by captains combining boldness of mind with boldness of character. In very recent times, Frederick had furnished an example of the most admirable

fluenced at the same time the policy of the revolutionary government—a policy of vengeance, of terror, and of self-preservation. These are the maxims according to which they acted with respect to the insurgent towns, more especially Lyons, which was denounced in a terrible spirit."—*Mignet*. E.

strategical combinations. But, as soon as the man of genius disappears and gives place to ordinary men, the art of war falls back into circumspection and routine. Generals fight everlastingly for the defence or the attack of a line; they acquire skill in calculating the advantages of ground, in adapting it to each kind of arm; but, with all these means, they dispute for whole years the possession of a province which a bold captain would be able to gain by one manœuvre; and this prudence of mediocrity sacrifices more blood than the temerity of genius, for it consumes men without producing adequate results.

Such had been the course pursued by the skilful tacticians of the coalition. To each battalion they opposed another; they guarded all the routes threatened by the enemy, and while with one bold march they might have destroyed the Revolution, they durst not take a step for fear of uncovering themselves. The art of war was yet to be regenerated. To form a compact mass, to fill it with confidence and daring, to carry it rapidly beyond a river or a chain of mountains, to strike an enemy unawares, by dividing his force, by separating him from his resources, by taking his capital, was a difficult and a grand art, which required the presence of genius, and which could develop itself only amidst the revolutionary agitation.

The Revolution, by setting the public mind in motion, prepared the epoch of great military combinations. At first it raised in its cause enormous masses of men, masses considerable in a very different way from all those that were ever raised for the cause of kings. It then excited an extraordinary impatience of success, and a disgust of slow and methodical combats, and suggested the idea of sudden and numerous irruptions on one and the same point. On all sides, it was said, We must fight *en masse*. This was the cry of the soldiers on the frontiers, and of the Jacobins in the clubs. Couthon, arriving at Lyons, had replied to all the arguments of Dubois-Crancé that the assault ought to be made *en masse*. Lastly, Barrère had presented an able and profound report, in which he showed that the cause of our reverses lay in combats of detail. Thus, in forming masses, in inspiring them with new courage, in abrogating the old system of military routine, the Revolution laid the foundation for the revival of warfare on a large scale. This change could not be effected without disorder. Peasants and artisans, taken directly to fields of battle, carried with them on the first day nothing but ignorance of discipline, and panic terror, the consequence of disorganization. Representatives, who were sent to fan the revolutionary passions in the camps, frequently required impossibilities, and were guilty of injustice to brave generals. Dumouriez, Custine, Houchard, Brunet, Canclaux Jourdan, perished or retired before this torrent; but in a month these artisans became Jacobin declaimers, docile and intrepid soldiers; those representatives communicated an extraordinary energy to the armies; and, by dint of exigencies and changes, they at length found out the bold spirits that were suitable to the circumstances.

Lastly, there came forward a man to give regularity to this great movement—this was Carnot. Formerly an officer of engineers, afterwards member of the Convention and of the committee of public welfare, sharing in some measure its inviolability, he could with impunity introduce order into too disjointed operations, and above all, command a unity which no minister before him had been sufficiently powerful to impose upon them. One of the principal causes of our preceding reverses was the confusion which accompanies a great agitation. The committee once established and become irresistible, and Carnot being invested with all the power of that committee,

obedience was paid to the intelligence of the skilful mind, which, calculating from a general view of the whole, prescribed movements perfectly harmonizing together, and tending to one and the same end. A general could no longer, as Dumouriez and Custine had formerly done, act each in his own way, by drawing the whole war and all the means to himself. Representatives could no longer command some manœuvres, or thwart others, or modify the superior orders. Both were obliged to obey the supreme will of the committee, and to adhere to the uniform plan which it had prescribed. Placed thus at the centre, soaring over all the frontiers, the mind of Carnot became enlarged as it rose. He conceived widely extended plans, in which prudence was united with boldness.* The instructions sent to Houchard afford a proof of this. His plans, it is true, had sometimes the inconvenience of plans formed in offices. When his orders arrived, they were not always either adapted to the places, or practicable at the moment; but they redeemed by their harmony the inconvenience of the details, and secured for us in the following year universal triumphs.

Carnot had hastened to the northern frontier to Jourdan. It had been resolved to attack the enemy boldly, though he appeared formidable. Carnot asked the general for a plan, that he might judge of his views and reconcile them with those of the committee, that is, with his own. The allies, returning from Dunkirk towards the middle of the line, had collected between the Scheldt and the Meuse, and composed there a formidable mass capable of striking decisive blows. We have already described the theatre of the war. Several lines divided the space comprised between the Meuse and the sea, namely, the Lys, the Scarpe, the Scheldt, and the Sambre. The allies, in taking Condé and Valenciennes, had secured two important points on the Scheldt. Le Quesnoy, which they had just reduced, gave them a support between the Scheldt and the Sambre; but they had none upon the Sambre itself. They thought of Maubeuge, which, by its position on the Sambre, would have made them almost masters of the space comprised between that river and the Meuse. At the opening of the next campaign, Valenciennes and Maubeuge would furnish them with an excellent base of operations, and their campaign of 1793 would not have been entirely useless. Their last project consisted therefore in occupying Maubeuge.

On the part of the French, among whom the spirit of combination began to develop itself, it was the intention to act, by Lille and Maubeuge, on the two wings of the enemy, and in thus attacking him on both flanks, it was hoped they should make his centre fall. In this manner they would be under the liability of sustaining his whole effort on one or other of the wings, and they would leave him all the advantage of his mass; but there was certainly more originality in this conception than in those which had preceded it. Meanwhile the most urgent point was to succour Maubeuge. Jourdan,

* "The royalists and their foreign allies have never been able to forgive Carnot's signal military exploits during the war of the French Revolution; and affected to confound him with Robespierre, as if he had been the accomplice of that monster in the Reign of Terror. Situated as Carnot then was, he had but one alternative—either to continue in the committee of public safety, co-operating with men whom he abhorred, and lending his name to their worst deeds, while he was fain to close his eyes upon their details; or to leave the tremendous war which France was then waging for her existence, in the hands of men so utterly unfit to conduct the machine an instant, that immediate conquest, in its worst shape, must have been the consequence of his desertion. There may be many an honest man who would have preferred death to any place in Robespierre's committee; but it is fair to state that in all probability Carnot saved his country by persevering in the management of the war."—*Edinburgh Review*. E.

leaving nearly fifty thousand men in the camps of Gavarelle, Lille, and Cassel, to form his left wing, collected as many troops as possible at Guise. He had composed a mass of about forty-five thousand men, already organized, and he caused the new levies proceeding from the permanent requisition to be formed into regiments with the utmost despatch. These levies, however, were in such disorder, that he was obliged to leave detachments of troops of the line to guard them. Jourdan, therefore, fixed upon Guise as the rendezvous of all the recruits, and advanced in five columns to the relief of Maubeuge.

The enemy had already invested that place. Like Valenciennes and Lille, it was supported by an intrenched camp, situated on the right bank of the Sambre, on the very side upon which the French were advancing. Two divisions, those of Generals Desjardins and Mayer, guarded the course of the Sambre, one above, the other below, Maubeuge. The enemy, instead of advancing in two close masses, driving back Desjardins upon Maubeuge and Mayer beyond Charleroy, where he would have been lost, passed the Sambre in small masses, and allowed the two divisions of Desjardins and Mayer to unite in the intrenched camp of Maubeuge. It was judicious enough to separate Desjardins from Jourdan, and to have thus prevented him from strengthening the active army of the French; but in suffering Mayer to join Desjardins the allies had permitted those two generals to form under Maubeuge a corps of twenty thousand men, which could play something more than the part of a mere garrison, especially on the approach of the main army under Jourdan. The difficulty, however, of subsisting this numerous assemblage was a most serious inconvenience to Maubeuge, and might, in some measure, excuse the enemy's generals for having permitted the junction.

The Prince of Coburg placed the Dutch, to the number of twelve thousand, on the left bank of the Sambre, and endeavoured to set fire to the magazines of Maubeuge, in order to increase the dearth. He sent General Colloredo upon the right bank, and charged him to invest the intrenched camp. In advance of Colloredo, Clairfayt, with three divisions, formed the corps of observation, and was directed to oppose the march of Jourdan. The allies numbered nearly sixty-five thousand men.

The Prince of Coburg, had he possessed boldness and genius, would have left fifteen or twenty thousand men at most to overawe Maubeuge; he would then have marched with forty-five or fifty thousand upon General Jourdan, and would have infallibly beaten him, for, with the advantage of the offensive, and in equal number, his troops must have beaten ours which were still badly organized. Instead of this, however, the Prince of Coburg left about thirty-five thousand men around the place, and remained in observation with about thirty thousand, in the positions of Dourlers and Watignies.

In this state of things, it was not impossible for General Jourdan to break at one point through the line occupied by the corps of observation, to march upon Colloredo who was investing the intrenched camp, to place him between two fires, and, after overwhelming him, to unite the whole army of Maubeuge with himself, to form with it a mass of sixty thousand men, and to beat all the allies placed on the right bank of the Sambre. For this purpose he must have directed a single attack upon Watignies, the weakest point; but, by moving exclusively to that side, he would have left open the road of Avesnes, leading to Guise, where our base was, and the rendezvous of all our depots.

The French general preferred a more prudent though less brilliant plan, and attacked the corps of observation on four points, so as still to keep the

road to Avesnes and Guise. On his left he detached Fromentin's division upon St. West, with orders to march between the Sambre and the enemy's right. General Ballaud, with several batteries, was to place himself in the centre, facing Dourlers, and to keep Clairfayt in check by a heavy cannonade. General Duquesnoy was to advance with the right upon Watignies, which formed the left of the enemy, somewhat behind the central position of Dourlers. This point was occupied by only a weak corps. A fourth division, that of General Beauregard, placed beyond the right, was to second Duquesnoy in his attack on Watignies. These various movements were not very closely connected, nor did they bear upon the decisive points. They were executed on the morning of the 15th of October. General Fromentin made himself master of St. West; but, not having taken the precaution to keep close to the woods in order to shelter himself from the enemy's cavalry, he was attacked and thrown back into the ravine of St. Remi. At the centre, where Fromentin was supposed to be in possession of St. West, and where it was known that the right had succeeded in approaching Watignies, General Ballaud resolved to advance further, and instead of cannonading Dourlers he thought of taking it. It appears that this was the suggestion of Carnot, who decided the attack in spite of General Jourdan. Our infantry threw itself into the ravine which separated it from Dourlers, ascended the height under a destructive fire, and reached a *plateau* where it had formidable batteries in front, and in flank a numerous cavalry ready to charge. At the same moment, a fresh corps which had just contributed to put Fromentin to the rout, threatened to fall upon it on the left. General Jourdan exposed himself to the greatest danger in order to maintain it; but it gave way, threw itself in disorder into the ravine, and very fortunately resumed its positions without being pursued. We had lost nearly a thousand men in this attempt, and our left under Fromentin had lost its artillery. General Duquesnoy, on the right, had alone succeeded, and approached Watignies according to his instructions.

After this attempt, the French were better acquainted with the position. They had found that Dourlers was too strongly defended for the principal attack to be directed on that point; that Watignies, which was scarcely guarded by General Tercy, and situated behind Dourlers, might be easily carried, and that this place once occupied by our main force, the position of Dourlers must necessarily fall. Jourdan therefore detached six or seven thousand men towards his right, to reinforce General Duquesnoy; he ordered General Beauregard, too far off with his fourth column, to fall back from Eule upon Obrechies, so as to make a concentric effort upon Watignies conjointly with General Duquesnoy; but he persisted in continuing his demonstration on the centre, and making Fromentin march towards the left, in order still to embrace the whole front of the enemy.

Next day, the 16th, the attack commenced. Our infantry, debouching by the three villages of Dinant, Demichaux, and Choisy, attacked Watignies. The Austrian grenadiers, who connected Watignies with Dourlers, were driven into the woods. The enemy's cavalry was kept in check by the light artillery placed for the purpose, and Watignies was carried. General Beauregard, less fortunate, was surprised by a brigade which the Austrians had detached against him. His troops, exaggerating the force of the enemy, dispersed, and gave up part of the ground. At Dourlers and St. West, the two armies had kept each other in check; but Watignies was occupied, and that was an essential point. Jourdan, in order to insure the possession of it, reinforced his right there with five or six thousand more men. Coburg,

too ready to give way to danger, retired, notwithstanding the success obtained over Beauregard, and the arrival of the Duke of York, who came by a forced march from the other side of the Sambre. It is probable that the fear of seeing the French unite with the twenty thousand men in the intrenched camp, prevented him from persisting to occupy the left bank of the Sambre. It is certain that, if the army of Maubeuge, on hearing the cannon at Watignies, had attacked the weak investing corps, and endeavoured to march towards Jourdan, the allies might have been overwhelmed. The soldiers demanded this with loud cries, but General Ferrand opposed the measure; and General Chancel, to whom this refusal was erroneously attributed, was sent before the revolutionary tribunal. The successful attack of Watignies decided the raising of the siege of Maubeuge, as that of Hondtschoote had decided the raising of the siege of Dunkirk. It was called the victory of Watignies, and produced the strongest impression on the public mind.*

The allies were thus concentrated between the Scheldt and the Sambre. The committee of public welfare, anxious to profit without loss of time by the victory of Watignies, by the discouragement which it had produced in the enemy, and by the energy which it had infused into our army, resolved to try a last effort for driving the allies before winter out of the French territory, and leaving them with the disheartening conviction of a campaign entirely lost. The opinion of Jourdan and Carnot was against that of the committee. They thought that the rains, already very abundant, the bad state of the roads, and the fatigue of the troops, were sufficient reasons for entering into winter quarters, and they conceived that the unfavourable season should be employed in training the troops and organizing the army. The committee, nevertheless, insisted that the territory should be cleared, alleging that at this season a defeat could not have any great results. Agreeably to the idea recently suggested of acting upon the wings, the committee gave orders for marching by Maubeuge and Charleroy, on the one hand, and by Cysaing, Maulde, and Tournay, on the other, and thus enveloping the enemy on the territory which he had invaded. The ordinance (*arrêté*) was signed on the 22d of October. Orders were issued in consequence; the army of the Ardennes was to join Jourdan; the garrisons of the fortresses were to march out, and to be replaced by the new requisitions.

The war in La Vendée had just been resumed with new activity. We have seen that Canclaux had fallen back to Nantes, and that the columns of Upper Vendée had returned to Angers and Saumur. Before the decrees which united the two armies of La Rochelle and Brest into one, and conferred the command of it on General Lechelle, were known, Canclaux was preparing a new offensive movement. The garrison of Mayence was already reduced by war and disease to nine or ten thousand men. The division of Brest, beaten under Beysser, was almost disorganized. Canclaux, nevertheless, resolved upon a very bold march into the heart of La Vendée, and at the same time he solicited Rossignol to second him with his army. Rossignol immediately summoned a council of war at Saumur, on the 2d of

* "At daybreak, Jourdan assailed the village of Watignies with three columns, while a concentric fire of artillery scattered the troops who defended it. In the midst of the roar of cannon, which were discharged with uncommon vigour, the republican songs which rose from the French lines could be distinctly heard by the Austrians. The village was speedily carried, while, at the same time, the appearance of the reserve of Jourdan on the left flank of the allies, completed the discouragement of Coburg, and induced a general retreat, with a loss of six thousand men. This victory allayed a dangerous ferment which was commencing in the French capital."—*Alison*. E.

October, and prevailed on it to decide that the columns of Saumur, Thouars, and Châtaigneraye, should join on the 7th at Bressuire, and thence march to Chatillon to make their attack concurrently with that of Canclaux. At the same time he directed the two columns of Luçon and Les Sables to keep the defensive, on account of their late reverses and the dangers which threatened them from the side of Lower Vendée.

Meanwhile Canclaux had advanced on the 1st of October to Montaigu, pushing reconnoitring parties as far as St. Fulgent, with a view to connect himself by his right with the column of Luçon, if it were capable of resuming the offensive. Emboldened by the success of his march, he ordered the advanced guard, still commanded by Kleber, to proceed to Tiffauges. Four thousand Mayençais fell in with the army of D'Elbée and Bonchamps at St. Symphorien, put it to the rout after a sanguinary action, and drove it back to a great distance. The same evening the decree arrived which dismissed Canclaux, Aubert-Dubayet, and Grouchy. It produced very great discontent in the column of Mayence; and Phillippeaux, Gillet, Merlin, and Rewbel, who saw the army deprived of an excellent general at the moment when it was exposed in the heart of Vendée, were indignant at it. It was no doubt an excellent measure to confer the general command of the West upon a single person, but some other individual ought to have been selected to bear the burden. Lechelle was ignorant and cowardly, says Kleber, in his memoirs, and never once showed himself in the fire. A mere officer in the army of La Rochelle, he was suddenly advanced, like Rossignol, on account of his reputation for patriotism; but it was not known that, possessing neither the natural talent of Rossignol, nor his bravery, he was as bad a soldier as he was a general. Till he should arrive, Kleber assumed the command. The army remained in the same positions between Montaigu and Tiffauges.

At length, on the 8th of October, Lechelle arrived, and a council was held in his presence. Intelligence had just been received of the march of the columns of Saumur, Thouars, and Châtaigneraye, upon Bressuire; it was then agreed that the army should continue its march upon Cholet, where it should form a junction with the three columns united at Bressuire; and at the same time orders were given to the rest of the Luçon division to advance towards the general rendezvous. Lechelle comprehended none of the reasoning of the generals, and approved every thing, saying, *We must march majestically and en masse*. Kleber folded up his map contemptuously. Merlin declared that the most ignorant of men had been selected to command the most critically-situated army. From that moment Kleber was authorised by the representatives to direct the operations alone, merely, for form's sake, reporting them to Lechelle. The latter profited by this arrangement to keep at a great distance from the field of battle. Aloof from danger, he hated the brave men who were fighting for him, but at least he allowed them to fight when and as much as they pleased.

At this moment Charette, perceiving the dangers which threatened the chiefs of Upper Vendée, separated himself from them, assigning false reasons of dissatisfaction, and repaired to the coast with the intention of seizing the island of Noirmoutiers. He actually made himself master of it on the 12th by a surprise and by the treachery of the officer who had the command there. He was thus sure of saving his division and being able to enter into communication with the English; but he left the party in Upper Vendée exposed to almost inevitable destruction. He might have acted in a manner much more beneficial to the common cause. He might have attacked the column of Mayence in the rear, and perhaps have destroyed it. The chiefs

of the grand army sent him letters upon letters soliciting him to do so, but they never received any answer.

Those unfortunate chiefs of Upper Vendée were pressed on all sides. The republican columns which were to meet at Bressuire were there by the specified time, and marched on the 9th from Bressuire for Chatillon. By the way they fell in with the army of M. de Lescure, and threw it into disorder. Westermann, reinstated in his command, was always with the advanced guard, at the head of a few hundred men. He was the first to enter Chatillon on the evening of the 9th. The whole army arrived there on the 10th. Meanwhile, Lescure and Laroche-Jacquelin had called to their aid the grand army which was not far from them; for, being already cooped up in the centre of the country, they were fighting at no great distance from one another. All the generals resolved to proceed to Chatillon. They marched on the 11th. Westermann was already advancing from Chatillon upon Mortagne, with five hundred men of the advanced guard. At first, not supposing that he had to do with a whole army, he did not apply for any great succours to his general, but, being suddenly enveloped, he was obliged to make a hasty retreat, and returned to Chatillon with his troops. The town was in an uproar, and the republican army precipitately quitted it. Westermann joined Chalbos, the general-in-chief, and collecting around him a few brave men, put a stop to the flight, and even advanced again very nearly to Chatillon. At nightfall he said to some of the soldiers who had fled, "You lost your honour to-day; you must try to recover it." He then took a hundred horse, made a hundred grenadiers mount behind them, and at night, while the Vendéans, crowded together in Chatillon, were asleep or intoxicated, he had the hardihood to enter the town and to throw himself amidst a whole army. The utmost confusion and a frightful carnage ensued. The Vendéans, in mistake, fought one another, and, amidst horrible disorder, women, children, and old men were slaughtered. Westermann retired at daybreak with the thirty or forty men whom he had left, and rejoined the main body of the army, a league from the city. On the 12th, a tremendous sight struck the Vendéans; they themselves quitted Chatillon, drenched with blood and a prey to flames,* and proceeded towards Cholet, whither the Mayençais were marching. Chalbos, after he had restored order in his division, returned the day after the next, the 14th,

* "Our victory at Chatillon was complete, and the enemy was pursued in all directions. General Westermann had fled; but, seeing himself pursued by only a small detachment, he stopped, repulsed vigorously our dragoons, and conceived the bold project of returning to Chatillon. He ordered a hundred hussars to take each of them a grenadier behind and follow him, reaching thus in the night the gates of the town, where there were neither guards nor sentinels. The peasants, having found brandy, were for the most part drunk. The dragoons who had at first pursued Westermann, endeavoured to stop him, and fought courageously. But Westermann had already entered Chatillon, and was fighting in the streets where a horrible slaughter began. The hussars were almost all as drunk as our people, and the darkness of the night added to the horror and confusion. The republicans massacred women and children in the houses, and set fire to everything. The Vendean officers despatched numbers of them who were so intent on killing as not to think of their own defence. The Prince of Talmont, coming out of a house, was thrown down by some hussars, who did him no other injury, but went in and slaughtered his landlady and her daughter, who were in reality democrats. Many wives of the republican soldiers were involved in the promiscuous massacre. In four or five hours, Westermann withdrew, but darkness prevented his being pursued. The chiefs who were without the town waited for day to re-enter it. Then it was that the horrors of the night were displayed. Houses on fire—streets strewn with dead bodies—wounded men, women, and children—in short, with wrecks of everything!"—*Memoirs of the Marchioness de Larochejacquelein*. E.

to Chatillon, and prepared to march forward again, to form a junction with the army of Nantes.

All the Vendean chiefs, d'Elbée, Bonchamps, Lescure, Laroche-Jacquelin, were assembled with their forces in the environs of Cholet. The Mayençais, who had marched on the 14th, approached them; the column of Chatillon was now not far distant; and the Luçon division, which had been sent for, was also advancing, and was to place itself between the columns of Mayence and Chatillon. The moment of the general junction was, therefore, near at hand. On the 15th, the army of Mayence marched in two masses towards Mortagne, which had just been evacuated. Kleber, with the main body formed the left, and Beaupuy the right. At the same moment, the Luçon column drew near Mortagne, hoping to find a battalion of direction, which Lechelle was to have placed on its route. But that general, who did nothing, had not even acquitted himself of this accessory duty. The column was immediately surprised by Lescure, and was attacked on all sides. Luckily, Beaupuy, who was very near it from his position towards Mortagne, hastened to its succour, disposed his troops with judgment, and succeeded in extricating it. The Vendean were repulsed. The unfortunate Lescure received a ball above the eyebrow, and fell into the arms of his men who bore him away, and betook themselves to flight.* The Luçon column then joined that of Beaupuy. Young Marceau had just assumed the command of it. On the left, at the same moment, Kleber had sustained a combat towards St. Christophe, and had repulsed the enemy. On the evening of the 15th, all the republican troops bivouacked in the fields before Cholet, whither the Vendean had retreated. The Luçon division consisted of about three thousand men, and formed, with the Mayence column, a force of nearly twelve or thirteen thousand men.

Next morning, the 15th, the Vendean, after a few cannon-shot, evacuated Cholet and fell back upon Beaupréau. Kleber entered the place immediately, and prohibiting pillage upon pain of death, enforced the strictest order. The Luçon column had done the same at Mortagne; so that all the historians who have asserted that Cholet and Mortagne were burned have committed an error or advanced a falsehood.

Kleber immediately made all the necessary dispositions, for Lechelle was two leagues behind. The river Moine runs before Cholet; beyond it is an unequal, hilly ground, forming a semicircle of heights. On the left of this semicircle is the wood of Cholet, in the centre Cholet itself, and on the right an elevated *château*. Kleber placed Beaupuy, with the advanced guard before the wood, Haxo with the reserve of the Mayençais behind the advanced guard and in such a manner as to support it; he posted the Luçon column, commanded by Marceau, in the centre, and Vimeux with the rest of the Mayençais on the right, upon the heights. The column of Chatillon arrived in the night between the 16th and 17th. It consisted of about nine or ten thousand men, which made the total force of the republicans amount to about

* "Lescure was some way before the troops, when, on reaching the top of a rising ground, he discovered at twenty paces from him a republican post. 'Forward!' he called out to his troops; but at that moment a ball struck him above the left eye, and came out behind his ear. He instantly dropped lifeless. The peasants having rushed forward, passed over the body of their general without seeing him, and repulsed the republicans. Young Beauvilliers, however, throwing away his sword, called out, weeping, 'He is dead—he is dead!' This alarm diffusing itself among the Vendean, a reserve of Mayençais returned upon them, and put them to flight. Meantime, Lescure's servant had found his master bathed in blood, but still breathing. He placed him on a horse, supported by two soldiers, and in this manner he was conveyed to Beaupréau."—*Memoirs of the Marchioness de Larochejacquelein*. E

twenty-two thousand. On the morning of the 17th, a council was held. Kleber did not like his position in advance of Cholet, because it had only one retreat, namely, the bridge over the river Moine, which led to the town. He proposed, therefore, to march forward, in order to turn Beaupréau and to separate the Vendéans from the Loire. The representatives opposed his opinion, because the column which had come from Chatillon needed a day's rest.

Meanwhile the Vendean chiefs were deliberating at Beaupréau, amidst horrible confusion. The peasants, taking with them their wives, their children, and their cattle, formed an emigration of more than one hundred thousand souls. Laroche-Jacquelein and d'Elbée proposed that they should fight to the last extremity on the left bank; but Talmont and d'Autichamp, who had great influence in Bretagne, impatiently desired that the insurgent force should be transferred to the right bank. Bonchamps, who saw in an excursion to the north coast an opportunity for a great enterprise, and who, it is said, entertained some scheme connected with England, was for crossing the Loire. He was nevertheless willing enough to attempt a last effort, and to try the issue of a general engagement before Cholet. Before commencing the action he sent off a detachment of four thousand men to Varades, to secure a passage over the Loire in case of defeat.

The battle was resolved upon. The Vendéans advanced to the number of forty thousand men upon Cholet, at one in the afternoon of the 15th of October. The republican general, not expecting to be attacked, had granted a day of rest. The Vendéans formed in three columns: one directed upon the left, under Beaupuy and Haxo; the second on the centre, commanded by Marceau; the third on the right, entrusted to Vimeux. The Vendéans marched in line, and in ranks like regular troops. All the wounded chiefs who could sit their horses were amidst their peasants, and encouraged them on that day, which was to decide their existence and the possession of their homes. Between Beaupréau and the Loire, in every commune that was yet left them, mass was celebrated, and prayers were offered up to Heaven for that cause, so hapless and so imminently endangered.

The Vendéans advanced and came up with Beaupuy's advanced guard, which, as we have said, was placed in a plain in advance of the wood of Cholet. One portion of them moved forward in a close mass, and charged in the same manner as troops of the line; another was scattered as riflemen, to turn the advanced guard and even the left wing, by penetrating into the wood of Cholet. The republicans, overwhelmed, were forced to fall back. Beaupuy had two horses killed under him. He fell, entangled by his spurs, and had very nearly been taken, when he threw himself behind a baggage-wagon, seized a third horse, and rejoined his column. At this moment Kleber hastened towards the threatened wing. He ordered the centre and the right not to stir, and sent to desire Chabos to despatch one of his columns from Cholet to the assistance of the left. Placing himself near Haxo, he infused new confidence into his battalions, and led back into the fire those which had given way to overpowering numbers. The Vendéans, repulsed in their turn, again charged with fury, and were again repulsed. Meanwhile, the centre and the right were attacked with the same impetuosity. On the right Vimeux was so advantageously posted, that all the efforts of the enemy against him proved unavailing.

At the centre, however, the Vendéans advanced more prosperously than on the two wings, and penetrated to the hollow where young Marceau was placed. Kleber flew thither to support the column of Luçon. Just at

this moment, one of the divisions of Chalbos, for which Kleber had applied, left Cholet to the number of four thousand men. This reinforcement would have been of great importance at a moment when the fight was most obstinate; but, at sight of the plain enveloped in fire, that division, ill-organized, like all those of the army of La Rochelle, dispersed, and returned in disorder to Cholet. Kleber and Marceau remained in the centre with the Luçon column alone. Young Marceau, who commanded it, was not daunted. He suffered the enemy to approach within musket-shot, then, suddenly unmasking his artillery, he stopped and overwhelmed the Vendéans by his unexpected fire. They resisted for a time, rallied, and closed their ranks under a shower of grape-shot; but they soon gave way, and fled in disorder. At this moment, their rout became general in the centre, on the right, and on the left. Beaupuy, moreover, having rallied his advanced guard, closely pursued them.

The columns of Mayence and Luçon alone had taken any share in the battle. Thus thirteen thousand men had beaten forty thousand. On both sides the greatest valour had been displayed; but regularity and discipline had decided the advantage in favour of the republicans. Marceau, Beaupuy, Merlin who pointed the pieces himself, had displayed the greatest heroism. Kleber had shown his usual skill and energy on the field of battle. On the part of the Vendéans, d'Elbée and Bonchamps, after performing prodigies of valour, were mortally wounded; Laroche-Jacquelein alone was left out of all their chiefs, and he had omitted nothing to be a partaker of their glorious wounds. The battle lasted from two o'clock till six.*

It was by this time dark. The Vendéans fled in the utmost haste, throwing away their wooden shoes upon the roads. Beaupuy followed close at their heels. He had been joined by Westermann, who, unwilling to share the inaction of the troops under Chalbos, had taken a corps of cavalry, and followed the fugitives at full gallop. After pursuing the enemy for a very long time, Beaupuy and Westermann halted, and thought of allowing their troops some rest. But, said they, we are more more likely to find bread at Beaupréau than at Cholet; and they had the boldness to march upon Beaupréau, whither it was supposed that the Vendéans must have retired *en masse*. So rapid, however, had been their flight, that one part of them was already at St. Florent, on the banks of the Loire. The rest, on the approach of the republicans, evacuated Beaupréau in disorder, and gave up to them a post where they might have defended themselves.

Next morning, the 18th, the whole army marched from Cholet to Beaupréau. The advanced guards of Beaupuy, placed on the road to St. Florent, perceived a great number of people approaching, with shouts of *The Republic forever! Bonchamps forever!* On being questioned, they replied by

* "On the morning of the 17th, all the Vendean chiefs marched upon Cholet, at the head of forty thousand men. The republicans had formed a junction with the divisions of Bressuire, and were forty-five thousand strong. It was upon the ground before Cholet that the armies met. De Larochejacquelein and Stofflet led on a furious attack. For the first time, the Vendéans marched in close columns, like troops of the line. They broke in furiously upon the centre of the enemy; General Beaupuy, who commanded the republicans, was twice thrown from his horse in endeavouring to rally his soldiers, and nearly taken. Disorder was spreading among the Blues, when a reserve of Mayençais arrived. The Vendéans supported the first shock, and repulsed them; but, by repeated attacks, they were at last thrown into disorder. All our chiefs performed prodigies of valour; but Messrs. D'Elbée and Bonchamp were mortally wounded, and the rout became general. The republicans returned to Cholet, set fire to the town, and abandoned themselves during the night to all their accustomed atrocities."—*Memoirs of the Marchioness de Larochejacquelein*. E.

proclaiming Bonchamps their deliverer. That young hero, extended on a mattress, and ready to expire from the effect of a musket-shot in the abdomen, had demanded the lives of four thousand prisoners, whom the Vendéans had hitherto dragged along with them, and whom they threatened to shoot. He had obtained their release, and they were going to rejoin the republican army.

At this moment, eighty thousand persons, women and children, aged men and armed men, were on the banks of the Loire, with the wrecks of their property, disputing the possession of about a score of vessels to cross to the other side. The superior council, composed of the chiefs who were still capable of giving an opinion, deliberated whether they ought to separate, or to carry the war into Bretagne. Some of them proposed that they should disperse in La Vendée, and there conceal themselves and wait for better times. Laroche-Jacquelein was of this number, and he would have preferred dying on the left bank to crossing over to the right. The contrary opinion, however, prevailed, and it was decided to keep together and to pass the river. But Bonchamps had just expired, and there was no one capable of executing the plans which he had formed relative to Bretagne. D'Elbée was sent, dying, to Noirmoutiers. Lescure, mortally wounded, was carried on a hand-barrow.* Eighty thousand persons quitted their homes, and went to ravage the neighbouring country, and to seek extermination there—and, gracious God! for what object?—for an absurd cause, a cause deserted on all sides, or hypocritically defended! While these unfortunate people were thus generously exposing themselves to so many calamities, the coalition bestowed scarcely

* “By the last great battle fought near Cholet, the Vendean insurgents were driven down into the low country on the banks of the Loire. Not only the whole wreck of the army, but a great proportion of the men, women, and children of the country, flying in consternation from the burnings and butchery of the government forces, flocked down in agony and despair to the banks of this great river. On gaining the heights of St. Florent, one of the most mournful, and, at the same time, most magnificent spectacles, burst upon the eye. These heights form a vast semicircle, at the bottom of which a broad, bare plain, extends to the water's edge. Near a hundred thousand unhappy souls now blackened over that dreary expanse! Old men, infants, and women, were mingled with the half-armed soldiery, caravans, crowded baggage-wagons, and teams of oxen—all full of despair, impatience, anxiety, and terror. Behind, were the smoke of the burning villages, and the thunder of the hostile artillery. Before, was the broad stream of the Loire, divided by a long, low island, also covered with the fugitives. Twenty frail barks were plying in the stream; and on the far banks were seen the disorderly movements of those who had effected their passage, and were waiting to be rejoined by their companions. Such was the tumult and terror of the scene, and so awful were the recollections it inspired, that many of its awe-struck spectators have concurred in stating that it brought forcibly to their imaginations the unspeakable terrors of the great Day of Judgment! Through this bewildered multitude Lescure's family made their way silently to the shore; the general himself, stretched almost insensible on a litter; his wife, three months gone with child, walked by his side; and, behind her, the nurse, with an infant in her arms. When they arrived on the beach they with difficulty got a crazy boat to carry them to the island; but the aged monk who steered it would not venture to cross the larger branch of the stream; and the poor wounded man was obliged to submit to the agony of another removal. At length they were landed on the opposite bank, where wretchedness and desolation appeared still more conspicuous. Thousands of helpless creatures were lying on the grassy shore, or roaming about in search of the friends from whom they had been divided. There was a general complaint of cold and hunger, yet no one was in a condition to give directions, or administer relief. Lescure suffered excruciating pain from the piercing air which blew upon his feverish frame; the poor infant screamed for food, and the helpless mother was left to minister to both; while the nurse went among the burnt and ruined villages to seek a drop of milk for the baby! At length they got again in motion for the adjoining village of Varades, and with great difficulty procured a little room in a cottage swarming with soldiers.”—*Edinburgh Review* E.

a thought upon them, the emigrants were intriguing in courts, some only were fighting bravely on the Rhine, but in foreign armies; and nobody had yet thought of sending either a soldier or a livre to that hapless La Vendée, already distinguished by twenty heroic battles, and now vanquished, fugitive, and laid waste.

The republican generals collected their forces at Beaupréau, and there they resolved to separate, and to proceed partly to Nantes and partly to Angers, to prevent a *coup de main* on those two towns. The notion of the representatives, not that of Kleber, immediately was, that La Vendée was destroyed. *La Vendée is no more*, wrote they to the Convention. The army had been allowed time till the 20th to finish the business, and they had brought it to a close on the 18th. That of the North had, on the same day, won the battle of Watignies, and closed the campaign by raising the blockade of Maubeuge. Thus the Convention seemed to have nothing to do but to decree victory, in order to insure it in all quarters. Enthusiasm was at its height in Paris, and in all France, and people began to believe that, before the end of the season, the republic would be victorious over all the thrones that were leagued against it.

There was but one event that tended to disturb this joy, namely, the loss of the lines of Weissenburg on the Rhine, which had been forced on the 13th and 14th of October. After the check at Pirmasens, we left the Prussians and the Austrians in presence of the lines of the Sarre and the Lauter, and threatening them every moment with an attack.

The Prussians, having annoyed the French on the banks of the Sarre, obliged them to fall back. The corps of the Vosges, driven beyond Hornbach, retired to a great distance behind Bitche, in the heart of the mountains; the army of the Moselle, thrown back to Sarreguemines, was separated from the corps of the Vosges and the army of the Rhine. In this position, it became easy for the Prussians, who had on the western slope passed beyond the general line of the Sarre and the Lauter, to turn the lines of Weissenburg by their extreme left. These lines must then necessarily fall. This was what actually happened on the 13th of October. Prussia and Austria, which we have seen disagreeing, had at length come to a better understanding. The King of Prussia had set out for Poland, and left the command to Brunswick, with orders to concert operations with Wurmser. From the 13th to the 14th of October, while the Prussians marched along the line of the Vosges to Bitche, considerably beyond the height of Weissenburg, Wurmser was to attack the lines of the Lauter in seven columns. The first, under the Prince of Waldeck, encountered insurmountable obstacles in the nature of the ground, and the courage of a demi-battalion of the Pyrenees; the second, after passing the lines below Lauterburg, was repulsed; the others, after gaining, above and around Weissenburg, advantages balanced by the vigorous resistance of the French, nevertheless made themselves masters of Weissenburg. Our troops fell back on the post of the Geisberg, situated a little in rear of Weissenburg, and much more difficult to carry. Still the lines of Weissenburg could not be considered as lost; but the tidings of the march of the Prussians on the western slope obliged the French general to fall back upon Haguenau and the lines of the Lauter, and thus to yield a portion of the territory to the allies. On this point, then, the frontier was invaded, but the successes in the North and in La Vendée counteracted the effect of this unpleasant intelligence. St. Just and Lebas were sent to Alsace, to repress the movement which the Alsatian nobility and the emigrants were exciting at burg. Numerous levies were directed towards that quarter, and the

government consoled itself with the resolution to conquer on that point as on every other.

The fearful apprehensions which had been conceived in the month of August, before the battles of Hondtschoote and Watignies, before the reduction of Lyons and the retreat of the Piedmontese beyond the Alps, and before the successes in La Vendée, were now dispelled. At this moment, the country saw the northern frontier, the most important and the most threatened, delivered from the enemy; Lyons restored to the republic; La Vendée subdued; all rebellion stifled in the interior, excepting on the Italian frontier, where Toulon still resisted, it is true, but resisted singly. One more success at the Pyrenees, at Toulon, on the Rhine, and the republic would be completely victorious, and this triple success would not be more difficult than those which had just been gained. The task, to be sure, was not yet finished, but it might be by a continuance of the same efforts and of the same means. The government had not yet wholly recovered its assurance, but it no longer considered itself in danger of speedy death.

THE NATIONAL CONVENTION.

EFFECTS OF THE REVOLUTIONARY LAWS—PROSCRIPTION AT LYONS, MARSEILLES, AND BORDEAUX—INTERIOR OF THE PRISONS OF PARIS—TRIAL AND DEATH OF MARIE ANTOINETTE AND THE GIRONDINS—GENERAL TERROR—SECOND LAW OF THE MAXIMUM—IMPRISONMENT OF FOUR DEPUTIES FOR FORGING A DECREE—ESTABLISHMENT OF THE NEW METRICAL SYSTEM AND OF THE REPUBLICAN CALENDAR—ABOLITION OF THE FORMER RELIGIOUS WORSHIP—ESTABLISHMENT OF THE NEW WORSHIP OF REASON.

THE revolutionary measures decreed for the welfare of France were executed throughout its whole extent with the utmost rigour. Conceived by the most enthusiastic minds, they were violent in their principle; executed at a distance from the chiefs who had devised them, in a lower region where the passions, less enlightened, were more brutal, they became still more violent in their application. The government obliged one part of the citizens to leave their homes, imprisoned another part of them as suspected persons, caused provisions and commodities to be seized for the supply of the armies, imposed services for their accelerated transport, and gave, in exchange for the articles or services required, nothing but assignats, or a credit upon the state which inspired no confidence. The assessment of the forced loan was rapidly prosecuted, and the assessors of the commune said to one, "You have an income of ten thousand livres;" to another, "you have twenty thousand;" and all, without being permitted to reply, were obliged to furnish the sum required. Great vexations were the result of this most arbitrary system: but the armies were filled with men, provisions were conveyed in abundance towards the depots, and the thousand millions in assignats which were to be

withdrawn from circulation, began to come in. It is not without great oppression that such rapid operations can be executed, and that a state which is threatened can be saved.

In all those places where more imminent danger had required the presence of the commissioners of the Convention, the revolutionary measures had become more severe. Near the frontiers, and in all the departments suspected of royalism or federalism, those commissioners had levied the population *en masse*. They had put everything in requisition; they had raised revolutionary taxes on the rich, besides the general tax resulting from the forced loan; they had accelerated the imprisonment of suspected persons; and lastly, they had sometimes caused them to be tried by revolutionary commissioners instituted by themselves. Laplanche, sent into the department of the Cher, said, on the 29th of Vendémiaire to the Jacobins, "I have everywhere made terror the order of the day; I have everywhere imposed contributions on the wealthy and on the aristocrats. Orleans furnished me with fifty thousand livres; and at Bourges, it took me but two days to raise two millions. As I could not be everywhere, my deputies supplied my place: a person named Mamin, worth seven millions, and taxed by one of the two at forty thousand livres, complained to the Convention, which applauded my conduct; and, had the tax been imposed by myself, he should have paid two millions. At Orleans, I made my deputies render a public account. It was in the bosom of the popular society that they rendered it, and this account was sanctioned by the people. I have everywhere caused the bells to be melted, and have united several parishes. I have removed all federalists from office, imprisoned suspected persons, put the *sans-culottes* in power. Priests had all sorts of conveniences in the houses of detention; the *sans-culottes* were lying upon straw in the prisons; the former furnished me with mattresses for the latter. I have everywhere caused the priests to be married. I have everywhere electrified the hearts and minds of men. I have organized manufactories of arms, visited the workshops, the hospitals, and the prisons. I have sent off several battalions of the levy *en masse*. I have reviewed a great number of the national guards, in order to republicanize them; and I have caused several royalists to be guillotined. In short, I have fulfilled my imperative commission. I have everywhere acted like a warm Mountaineer, like a revolutionary representative."

It was in the three principal federalist cities, Lyons, Marseilles, and Bordeaux, that the representatives struck especial terror. The formidable decree issued against Lyons enacted that the rebels and their accomplices should be tried by a military commission; that the *sans-culottes* should be maintained at the expense of the aristocrats; that the houses of the wealthy should be destroyed, and that the name of the city should be changed. The execution of this decree was intrusted to Collot-d'Herbois, Maribon-Montaut, and Fouché of Nantes.* They had repaired to Commune-Affranchie, taking

* "Joseph Fouché, born at Nantes in 1763, was intended for his father's profession—a sea-captain: but, not being strong enough, was sent to prosecute his studies at Paris. He then taught mathematics and metaphysics at Arras and elsewhere; and, at twenty-five years of age, was placed at the head of the college of Nantes. In 1792 he was chosen member of the Convention, where he voted for the King's death: and was soon after sent with Collot-d'Herbois on a mission to Lyons. On the fall of Robespierre, Fouché, having been denounced as a Terrorist, withdrew into obscurity until 1798, when the Directory appointed him French minister to the Cisalpine republic. In the following year he was made minister of police, and joined Bonaparte on his return from Egypt, who continued him in his post, in order that he might detect Royalist and Jacobin conspiracies. In 1809, Fouché was intrusted with the

with them forty Jacobins, to organize a new club, and to propagate the principles of the mother society. Ronsin had followed them with two thousand men of the revolutionary army, and they had immediately let loose their fury. The representatives had struck the first stroke of a pickaxe upon one of the houses destined to be demolished, and eight hundred labourers had instantly fallen to work to destroy the finest streets. The proscriptions had begun at the same time. The Lyonnese suspected of having borne arms were guillotined or shot to the number of fifty or sixty a day. Terror reigned in that unfortunate city. The commissioners sent to punish it, intoxicated with the blood which they spilt, fancying at every shriek of anguish, that they beheld rebellion springing again into life, wrote to the Convention that the aristocrats were not yet reduced, that they were only awaiting an opportunity to rebel again, and that, to remove all further ground for apprehension, it was necessary to displace one part of the population and to destroy the other. As the means employed did not appear to be sufficiently expeditious, Collot-d'Herbois conceived the idea of resorting to mining for the purpose of destroying the buildings, and to grape-shot for sacrificing the proscribed; and he wrote to the Convention that he should soon adopt more speedy and more efficacious means for punishing the rebel city.*

portfolio of the Interior, as well as of the police, and created Duke of Otranto. In the ensuing year, having given umbrage to Napoleon by entering into negotiations for peace with the Marquis Wellesley, he was sent into honourable exile as governor of Rome. He was soon recalled to France, and banished to Aix, where he lived a whole year retired. In 1813, he was again employed by Napoleon, was sent on a mission to Murat, and returned to Paris a few days after the declaration of the senate that the Emperor had lost his throne. During the first restoration Fouché lived partly retired; but, on Napoleon's return from Elba, the King sent for him; he preferred, however, to join the Emperor, who a third time made him minister of police. After the battle of Waterloo, the French chamber placed Fouché at the head of a provisional government, and he was afterwards reinstated in the police by the King. He was soon, however, displaced; and, having been compromised in the law against regicides in 1816, retired to Trieste, where he died in 1820. Fouché's countenance was expressive of penetration and decision. He was of the middle size, rather thin, of firm health and strong nerves. The tones of his voice were somewhat hollow and harsh; in speech he was vehement and lively; in his appearance plain and simple."—*Encyclopædia Americana*. E.

"'Fouché is a miscreant of all colours, a priest, a terrorist, and one who took an active part in many bloody scenes of the Revolution. He is a man,' continued Bonaparte, 'who can worm all your secrets out of you with an air of calmness and unconcern. He is very rich, but his riches have been badly acquired. He never was my confidant. Never did he approach me without bending to the ground; but I never had esteem for him. I employed him merely as an instrument.'"—*A Voice from St. Helena*. E.

"Fouché never regarded a benefit in any other light than as a means of injuring his benefactor. He had opinions, but he belonged to no party, and his political success is explained by the readiness with which he always served the party he knew must triumph, and which he himself overthrew in its turn. It might be said that his ruling passion was the desire of continual change. No man was ever characterized by greater levity or inconstancy of mind."—*Bourrienne*. E.

* "Attended by a crowd of satellites, Couthon traversed the finest quarters of Lyons with a silver hammer, and, striking at the door of the devoted houses, exclaimed, 'Rebellious house, I strike you in the name of the law.' Instantly the agents of destruction, of whom twenty thousand were in the pay of the Convention, levelled the dwelling to the ground. But this was only a prelude to a more bloody vengeance. Collot-d'Herbois was animated with a secret hatred towards the Lyonnese; for, ten years before, when an obscure actor, he had been hissed off their stage. He now resolved at leisure to gratify his revenge. Fouché, his worthy associate, published, before his arrival, a proclamation in which he declared that the French people could acknowledge no other worship than that of universal morality; that all religious emblems should be destroyed: and that over the gates of the church-yards should be written—*Death is an eternal Sleep!* Proceeding on these atheistical principles,

At Marseilles, several victims had already fallen. But the utmost wrath of the representatives was directed against Toulon, the siege of which they were carrying on.

In the Gironde, vengeance was exercised with the greatest fury. Isabeau and Tallien had stationed themselves at La Reole; there they were engaged in forming the nucleus of a revolutionary army, for the purpose of penetrating into Bordeaux; meanwhile they endeavoured to disorganize the sections of that city. To this end they made use of one section, which was

the first step of Collot-d'Herbois and Fouché was to institute a fete in honour of Chalier, the republican governor of Lyons, who had been put to death on the first insurrection. His bust was carried through the streets, followed by an immense crowd of assassins and prostitutes. After them came an ass bearing the Gospel, the Cross, and the communion vases, which were soon committed to the flames, while the ass was compelled to drink out of the communion-cup the consecrated wine! The executions meantime continued without the slightest relaxation. Many women watched for the hour when their husbands were to pass to the scaffold, precipitated themselves upon the chariot, and voluntarily suffered death by their side. Daughters surrendered their honour to save their parent's lives; but the monsters who violated them, adding treachery to crime, led them out to behold the execution of their relatives! Deeming the daily execution of fifteen or twenty persons too tardy a display of republican vengeance, Collot-d'Herbois prepared a new and simultaneous mode of punishment. Sixty captives of both sexes were led out together, tightly bound in a file, to the Place du Brotteaux, they were arranged in two files with a deep ditch on each side, which was to be their place of sepulture, while gendarmes with uplifted sabres threatened with instant death whoever moved from their position. At the extremity of the file, two cannon, loaded with grape, were so placed as to enfilade the whole. The signal was then given, and the guns were fired. Broken limbs, torn off by the shot, were scattered in every direction; while the blood flowed in torrents into the ditches on either side the line. A second and third discharge were insufficient to complete the work of destruction, till, at length, the gendarmes, unable to witness such protracted sufferings, rushed in, and despatched the survivors with their sabres. On the following day, this bloody scene was renewed on a still greater scale. Two hundred and nine captives were brought before the revolutionary judges, and, with scarcely a hearing, condemned to be executed together. With such precipitance was the affair conducted, that two commissaries of the prison were led out along with their captives; their cries, their protestations, were alike disregarded. In passing the bridge Morand, the error was discovered on the captives being counted; and it was intimated to Collot-d'Herbois that there were too many. 'What signifies it,' said he, 'that there are too many? If they die to-day, they cannot die to-morrow.' The whole were brought to the place of execution, where they were attached to one cord made fast to trees at stated intervals, with their hands tied behind their backs, and numerous pickets of soldiers disposed so as to one discharge to destroy them all. At a given signal the fusillade commenced; but few were killed; the greater part had only a jaw or a limb broken; and uttering the most piercing cries, they broke loose in their agony from the rope, and were cut down by the gendarmes. The great numbers who survived the discharge, rendered the work of destruction a most laborious operation, and several were still breathing on the following day, when their bodies were mingled with quicklime, and cast into a common grave. Collot-d'Herbois and Fouché were witnesses of this butchery from a distance, by means of telescopes which they directed to the spot. All the other fusillades were conducted in the same manner. One of them was executed under the windows of an hotel on the Quay, where Fouché, with thirty Jacobins and twenty courtizans, was engaged at dinner. They rose from table to enjoy the bloody spectacle. The bodies of the slain were floated in such numbers down the Rhone that the waters were poisoned. During the course of five months, upwards of six thousand persons suffered death, and more than double that number were driven into exile."—*Alison*. E.

"One day, during the bloody executions which took place at Lyons, a young girl rushed into the hall where the revolutionary tribunal was held, and throwing herself at the feet of the judges, said, 'There remain to me of all my family, only my brothers! Mother—father—sisters—uncles—you have butchered all; and now you are going to condemn my brothers. Ah, in mercy, ordain that I may ascend the scaffold with them!' Her prayer, accompanied as it was with all the marks of frantic despair, was refused. She then threw herself into the Rhone, where she perished."—*Du Broca*. E.

wholly Mountaineer, and which, contriving to frighten others, had successively caused the federalist club to be shut up, and the departmental authorities to be displaced. They had then entered Bordeaux in triumph, and re-established the municipality and the Mountaineer authorities. Immediately afterwards, they had passed an ordinance purporting that the government of Bordeaux should be military, that all the inhabitants should be disarmed, that a commission should be established to try the aristocrats and the federalists, and that an extraordinary tax should be immediately levied upon the rich, to defray the expenses of the revolutionary army. This ordinance was forthwith put in execution; the citizens were disarmed; and a great number perished on the scaffold.*

It was precisely at this time that the fugitive deputies who had embarked in Bretagne for the Gironde arrived at Bordeaux. They all went and sought an asylum with a female relative of Guadet in the caverns of St. Emilion. There was a vague rumour that they were concealed in that quarter, and Tallien made all possible efforts to discover them.† He had not yet succeeded, but he had unfortunately seized Biroteau, who had come from Lyons to embark at Bordeaux. This latter had been outlawed. Tallien immediately caused his identity to be verified and his execution to be consummated. Duchâtel was also discovered. As he had not been outlawed, he was sent to Paris to be tried by the revolutionary tribunal. He was accompanied by the three young friends, Riouffe, Giray-Dupré, and Marchenna, who were, as we have seen, attached to the fortune of the Girondins.

Thus all the great cities of France experienced the vengeance of the Mountain. But Paris, full of illustrious victims, was soon to become the theatre of much greater cruelties.

* "The greatest atrocities were committed at Bordeaux.—A woman was charged with the heinous crime of having cried at the execution of her husband; she was condemned in consequence to sit several hours under the suspended blade, which shed upon her, drop by drop, the blood of the deceased, whose corpse was above her on the scaffold, before she was released by death from her agony."—*Louvet's Memoirs*. E.

† "Guadet found a place of safety for some of his Girondin friends in the house of one of his female relations, whose name was Bouquet. The news of this unexpected relief being carried to three companions of those proscribed deputies, they determined to beg this courageous woman to permit them to share the retreat of their friends. She consented, and they reached her house at midnight, where they found their companions lodged thirty feet under ground, in a large, well-concealed vault. A few days after, Buzot and Petion informed Guadet by letter, that, having within fifteen days changed their place of retreat seven times, they were now reduced to the greatest distress. 'Let them come too,' said Madame Bouquet, and they came accordingly. The difficulty to provide for them all was now great, for provisions were extremely scarce in the department. Madame Bouquet's house was allowed by the municipality only one pound of bread daily; but, fortunately, she had a stock of potatoes and dried kidney-beans. To save breakfast, it was agreed that her guests should not rise till noon. Vegetable soup was their sole dinner. Sometimes, a morsel of beef, procured with great difficulty, an egg or two, some vegetables, and a little milk, formed their supper, of which the generous hostess ate but little, the better to support her guests. One of the circumstances which adds infinite value to this extraordinary event was, that Madame Bouquet concealed as long as she could from her guests the uneasiness which consumed her, occasioned by one of her relations, formerly the friend of Guadet. This man, having learned what passed in Madame Bouquet's house, put in action every means his mind could suggest to induce her to banish the fugitives. Every day he came to her with stories more terrible one than the other. At length, fearing that he would take some desperate measure, she was compelled to lay her situation before her guests, who, resolved not to be outdone in generosity, instantly quitted her house. Shortly after, Madame Bouquet and the whole family of Guadet were arrested, and perished on the scaffold."—*Anecdotes of the Revolution*. E.

While preparations were making for the trial of Marie Antoinette, of the Girondins, of the Duke of Orleans, of Bailly, and of a great number of generals and ministers, the prisons were being filled with suspected persons. The commune of Paris had arrogated to itself, as we have said, a sort of legislative authority over all matters of police, provisions, commerce, and religion; and with every decree it issued an explanatory ordinance to extend or limit the enactments of the Convention. On the requisition of Chaumette, it had singularly extended the definition of suspected persons given by the law of the 17th of September. Chaumette had, in a municipal instruction, enumerated the characters by which they were to be recognised. This instruction, addressed to the sections of Paris, and soon afterwards to all those of the republic, was couched in these terms:

"The following are to be considered as suspected persons—1, Those who, in the assemblies of the people, check their energy by crafty addresses, turbulent cries, and threats; 2, those who, more prudent, talk mysteriously of the disasters of the republic, deplore the lot of the people, and are always ready to propagate bad news with affected grief; 3, those who have changed their conduct and language according to events; who, silent respecting the crimes of the royalists and the federalists, disclaim with emphasis against the slight faults of the patriots, and, in order to appear republicans, affect a studied austerity and severity, and who are all indulgence in whatever concerns a moderate or an aristocrat; 4, those who pity the farmers and the greedy shopkeepers, against whom the law is obliged to take measures; 5, those who, though they have the words *liberty*, *republic*, and *country*, continually in their mouths, associate with *ci-devant* nobles, priests, counter-revolutionists, aristocrats, Feuillans, and moderates, and take an interest in their fate; 6, those who have not taken an active part in anything connected with the Revolution, and who, to excuse themselves from doing so, plead the payment of their contributions, their patriotic donations, their services in the national guard by substitute or otherwise; 7, those who have received the republican constitution with indifference, and have expressed false fears concerning its establishment and its duration; 8, those who, though they have done nothing against liberty, have done nothing for it; 9, those who do not attend their sections, and allege in excuse that they are no speakers, or that they are prevented by business; 10, those who speak contemptuously of the constituted authorities, of the signs of the law, of the popular societies, of the defenders of liberty; 11, those who have signed counter-revolutionary petitions or frequented anti-civic societies and clubs; 12, those who are known to have been insincere, partisans of Lafayette, and of those who marched to the charge in the Champ de Mars."

With such a definition, the number of suspected could not fail to be unlimited, and it soon rose in the prisons of Paris from a few hundred to three thousand. They had at first been confined in the Mairie, in La Force, in the Conciergerie, in the Abbaye, at St. Pelagie, at the Madelonnettes, in all the ordinary prisons of the state; but, these vast depots proving insufficient, it became necessary to provide new places of confinement, specially appropriated to political prisoners. As these prisoners were required to pay all the expenses of their maintenance, houses were hired at their cost. One was selected in the Rue d'Enfer, which was known by the name of Maison de Port-Libre, and another in the Rue de Sèvres, called Maison Lazare. The college of Duplessis was converted into a place of confinement; lastly, the palace of the Luxembourg, at first destined to receive the twenty-two

Girondins, was filled with a great number of prisoners,* and there were huddled together pell-mell all that were left of the brilliant society of the fauxbourg St. Germain. These sudden arrests having caused the prisons to be exceedingly crowded, the prisoners were at first badly lodged. Mingled with malefactors, and having to lie upon straw, they suffered most cruelly during the first moments of their detention.† Time soon brought better order and more indulgence. They were allowed to have communication with persons outside the prisons; they had the consolation to embrace their relatives; and liberty to procure money for themselves. They then hired or had beds brought to them; they no longer slept upon straw, and they were separated from the criminals. All the accommodations which could render their condition more endurable were granted to them, for the decree permitted them to have anything they wanted brought into the houses of confinement. Those who inhabited the houses recently established were treated still better. At Porte-Libre, in the Maison Lazare, and at the Luxembourg, where wealthy prisoners were confined, cleanliness and abundance prevailed. The tables were supplied with delicacies, upon payment of certain fees demanded by the gaolers. As, however, the concourse of visitors became too considerable, and the intercourse with persons outside appeared to be too great a favour, this consolation was prohibited, the prisoners could only communicate by writing, and they were obliged to have recourse to the same method for procuring such things as they needed. From that moment the unfortunate persons doomed to associate exclusively together seemed to be bound to each other by much closer ties than before. Each sought intimates of corresponding character and tastes, and little societies were formed. Regulations were established; the domestic duties were divided among them, and each performed them in his turn. A subscription was opened for the expenses of lodging and board, and thus the rich contributed for the poor.

After attending to their household affairs, the inmates of the different

* "At this period the gardens of the Luxembourg every day offered a scene as interesting as it is possible to imagine. A multitude of married women from the various quarters of Paris crowded together, in the hope of seeing their husbands for a moment at the windows of the prison, to offer, or receive from them, a look, a gesture, or some other testimony of their affection. No weather banished these women from the gardens—neither the excess of heat or cold, nor tempests of wind or rain. Some almost appeared to be changed into statues; others, worn out with fatigue, have been seen, when their husbands at length appeared, to fall senseless to the ground. One would present herself with an infant in her arms, bathing it with tears in her husband's sight; another would disguise herself in the dress of a beggar, and sit the whole day at the foot of a tree, where she could be seen by her husband. The miseries of these wretched women were greatly enhanced when a high fence was thrown round the prison, and they were forbidden to remain stationary in any spot. Then were they seen wandering like shades through the dark and melancholy avenues of the garden, and casting the most anxious looks at the impenetrable walls of the palace."—*Du Broca*. E.

† "Hardly ever does daylight penetrate into some of these gloomy prisons. The straw which composes the litter of the captives soon becomes rotten, from want of air and the ordure with which it is covered. The dungeons in the worst of the prisons are seldom opened but for inspection, or to give food to the tenants. The superior class of chambers, called the straw apartments, differ little from the dungeons, except that their inhabitants are permitted to go out at eight in the morning, and to remain out till an hour before sunset. During the intervening period they are allowed to walk in the court, or huddle together in the galleries which surround it, where they are suffocated by infectious odours. The cells for the women are as horrid as those for the men, equally dark—damp—filthy—crowded—and it was there that all the rank and beauty of Paris was assembled."—*History of the Convention*. E.

rooms assembled in the common halls. Groups were formed around a table, a stove, or a fireplace. Some employed themselves in writing, others in reading or conversation. Poets, thrown into prison with all those who excited distrust by any superiority whatever, recited verses. Musicians gave concerts, and admirable music was daily heard in these places of proscription. Luxury soon became the companion of pleasure. The females indulged in dress, ties of friendship and of love were formed,* and all the scenes of ordinary life were reproduced here till the very day that the scaffold was to put an end to them—singular example of the French character, of its thoughtlessness, its gaiety, its aptitude to pleasure, in all the situations of life!

Delightful poems, romantic adventures, acts of beneficence, a singular confusion of ranks, fortune, and opinion, marked these first three months of the detention of the suspected. A sort of voluntary equality realized in these places that chimerical equality which its heated votaries wished to introduce everywhere, and which they succeeded in establishing nowhere but in the prisons. It is true that the pride of certain prisoners withstood this equality of misfortune. While men very unequal in regard to fortune and education were seen living on the best terms together, and rejoicing with admirable disinterestedness in the victories of that republic which persecuted them, some *ci-devant* nobles and their wives, found by chance in the deserted mansions of the fauxbourg St. Germain, lived apart, still called themselves by the proscribed titles of count and marquis, and manifested their mortification when the Austrians had fled at Watignies, or when the Prussians had not crossed the Vosges. Affliction, however, brings back all hearts to nature and to humanity; and soon, when Fouquier-Tinville, knocking daily at these abodes of anguish, continually demanded more lives,† when friends, relatives, were every day parted by death, those who were left mourned and took comfort together, and learned to entertain one and the same feeling amidst the same misfortunes.

All the prisons, however, did not exhibit the same scenes. The Conciergerie, adjoining the Palace of Justice, and for this reason containing the prisoners destined for the revolutionary tribunal, presented the painful spectacle of some hundreds of unfortunate beings who never had more than three or four days to live.‡ They were removed thither the day before their trial, and they remained there only during the interval between their trial and execution. There were confined the Girondins, who had been taken from their

* "The affections continually called forth flowed with uncommon warmth; their mutual fate excited among the prisoners the strongest feelings of commiseration; and nothing astonished the few who escaped from confinement so much as the want of sympathy for the sufferings of mankind which generally prevailed in the world."—*Alison*. E.

† "On one occasion the committee of public safety ordered me to increase the executions to one hundred and fifty a day; but the proposal filled my mind with such horror, that, as I returned from the Seine, the river appeared to run red with blood."—*Fouquier-Tinville's Speech on his Trial*. E.

‡ "In the prison of the Conciergerie, among a multitude that hourly expected their trial, was a young man who was accompanied by his wife, a young and beautiful woman. One day, while they were walking in the court with the other prisoners, the wife heard her husband called to the outer gate of the prison. Comprehending that it was the signal of his death, she ran after him, resolved to share his fate. The gaoler refused to let her pass. With unusual strength, derived from despair, she made her way, threw herself into her husband's arms, and besought them to suffer her to die with him. She was torn away by the guards, and at the same moment dashed her head violently against the prison gate, and in a few minutes expired."—*Du Broca*. E.

first prison, the Luxembourg; Madame Roland, who, after assisting her husband to escape, had suffered herself to be apprehended without thinking of flight; the young Riouffe, Girey-Dupré, and Bois-Guion, attached to the cause of the proscribed deputies, and transferred from Bordeaux to Paris, to be tried conjointly with them; Bailly, who had been arrested at Melun; Clavières, ex-minister of the finances, who had not succeeded in escaping, like Lebrun; the Duke of Orleans, transferred from the prisons of Marseilles to those of Paris; the Generals Houchard and Brunet, all reserved for the same fate; and, lastly, the unfortunate Marie Antoinette, who was destined to precede all these illustrious victims to the scaffold. There the inmates never thought of procuring for themselves those conveniences which soothed the lot of the persons confined in the other prisons. They dwelt in dull, dreary cells, to which neither light, nor consolation, nor pleasure, ever penetrated. Scarcely were the prisoners allowed the privilege of sleeping on beds instead of straw. Unable to avoid the sight of death, like the merely suspected, who imagined that they should only be detained till the peace, they strove to amuse themselves, and produced the most extraordinary parodies of the revolutionary tribunal and of the guillotine. The Girondins, in their prisons, made extempore, and performed, singular and terrible dramas, of which their destiny and the Revolution was the subject. It was at midnight, when all the gaolers had retired to rest, that they commenced these doleful amusements. One of those which they devised was as follows: Seated each upon a bed, they personated the judges and the jury of the revolutionary tribunal, and Fouquier-Tinville, himself. Two of them, placed face to face, represented the accused and his defender. According to the custom of that sanguinary tribunal, the accused was always condemned. Extended immediately on a bedstead turned upside down, he underwent the semblance of the punishment even to its minutest details. After many executions, the accuser became the accused, and fell in his turn. Returning then covered with a sheet, he described the torments which he was enduring in hell, foretold their destiny to all these unjust judges, and, seizing them with frightful cries, dragged them with him to the infernal regions. "It was thus," said Riouffe,* "that we sported with death, and told the truth in our prophetic diversions amidst spies and executioners."

Since the death of Custine, the public began to be accustomed to those political trials, in which mere errors in judgment were crimes worthy of death. People began to be accustomed by a sanguinary practice to dismiss all scruples, and to consider it as natural to send every member of an adverse party to the scaffold. The Cordeliers and the Jacobins had obtained a decree for bringing to trial the Queen, the Girondins, several generals, and the Duke of Orleans. They peremptorily insisted that the promise should be fulfilled, and it was with the Queen that they were particularly anxious to commence this long series of immolations. One would think that a woman ought to have disarmed political fury, but Marie Antoinette was hated more cordially than Louis XVI. himself. To her were attributed the treasons of the court, the waste of the public money, and, above all, the inveterate hostility of Austria. Louis XVI., it was said, had suffered everything

* "H. Riouffe, a man of letters, escaped from Paris in 1793, and went to Bordeaux. Talien had him arrested in that town, and sent him to the prisons in the capital, where he remained till after the fall of Robespierre. In 1799 he was appointed a member of the tribunate, and in 1806 obtained the prefecture of the Côte-d'Or. Riouffe published an account of the prisons in Paris during the Reign of Terror, which was read with great eagerness."—*Biographie Moderne*. E.

to be done; but it was Marie Antoinette who had done everything, and it was upon her that punishment for it ought to fall.

We have already seen what reforms had been made in the Temple. Marie Antoinette had been separated from her sister, her daughter, and her son,* by virtue of a decree which ordered the trial or exile of the last members of the family of the Bourbons. She had been removed to the Conciergerie; and there, alone, in a narrow prison, she was reduced to what was strictly necessary, like the other prisoners. The imprudence of a devoted friend had rendered her situation still more irksome. Michonnis, a member of the municipality, in whom she had excited a warm interest, was desirous of introducing to her a person who, he said, wished to see her out of curiosity. This man, a courageous emigrant, threw to her a carnation, in which was enclosed a slip of very fine paper, with these words: *Your friends are ready*—false hope, and equally dangerous for her who received, and for him who gave it! Michonnis and the emigrant were detected, and forthwith apprehended; and the vigilance exercised in regard to the unfortunate prisoner became from that day more rigorous than ever.† Gendarmes were to mount guard incessantly at the door of her prison, and they were expressly forbidden to answer anything that she might say to them.

That wretch Hebert, the deputy of Chaumette, and editor of the disgusting paper of *Père Duchêne*, a writer of the party of which Vincent, Ron-sin, Varlet, and Leclerc, were the leaders—Hebert had made it his particular business to torment the unfortunate remnant of the dethroned family. He asserted that the family of the tyrant ought not to be better treated than any *sans-culotte* family; and he had caused a resolution to be passed by which the sort of luxury in which the prisoners in the Temple were maintained was to be suppressed. They were no longer to be allowed either poultry or pastry; they were reduced to one sort of aliment for breakfast, and to soup, or broth, and a single dish, for dinner, to two dishes for supper, and half-a-bottle of wine apiece. Tallow candles were to be furnished instead of wax, pewter instead of silver plate, and delft ware instead of porcelain. The wood and water carriers alone were permitted to enter their room, and that only accompanied by two commissioners. Their food was to be introduced to them by means of a turning box. The numerous establishment was reduced to a cook and an assistant, two men-servants and a woman-servant to attend to the linen.

As soon as this resolution was passed, Hebert had repaired to the Temple, and inhumanly taken away from the unfortunate prisoners even the most trifling articles to which they attached a high value. Eighty louis which

* "The Queen's separation from her son, for whose sake alone she had consented to endure the burden of existence, was so touching, so heart-rending, that the very gaolers who witnessed the scene confessed, when giving an account of it to the authorities, that they could not refrain from tears."—*Weber's Memoirs of Marie Antoinette*. E.

† "The Queen was lodged in a room called the council-chamber, which was considered as the most unwholesome apartment in the Conciergerie, on account of its dampness, and the bad smells by which it was continually affected. Under pretence of giving her a person to wait upon her, they placed near her a spy—a man of a horrible countenance, and hollow, sepulchral voice. This wretch, whose name was Barassin, was a robber, and murderer by profession. Such was the chosen attendant on the Queen of France! A few days before her trial, this wretch was removed, and a gendarme placed in her chamber who watched over her night and day, and from whom she was not separated, even when in bed, but by a ragged curtain. In this melancholy abode Marie Antoinette had no other dress than an old black gown, stockings with holes, which she was forced to mend every day; and she was entirely destitute of shoes."—*Du Broca*. E.

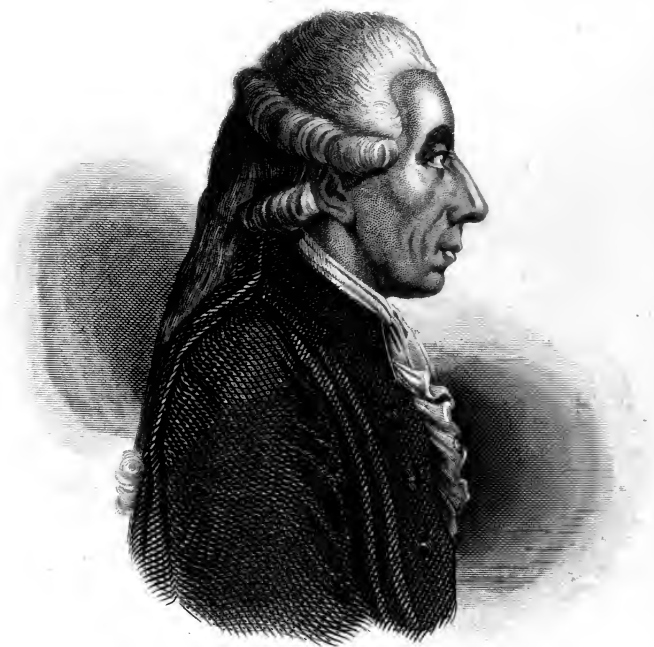
Madame Elizabeth had in reserve, and which she had received from Madame de Lamballe were also taken away. No one is more dangerous, more cruel, than the man without acquirements, without education, clothed with a recent authority. If, above all, he possesses a base nature, if, like Hebert, who was check-taker at the door of a theatre and embezzled money out of the receipts, he be destitute of natural morality, and if he leap all at once from the mud of his condition into power, he is as mean as he is atrocious. Such was Hebert in his conduct at the Temple. He did not confine himself to the annoyances which we have mentioned. He and some others conceived the idea of separating the young prince from his aunt and sister. A shoemaker, named Simon, and his wife, were the instructors to whom it was deemed right to consign him, for the purpose of giving him a *sans-culotte* education. Simon and his wife were shut up in the Temple, and, becoming prisoners with the unfortunate child, were directed to bring him up in their own way.* Their food was better than that of the princesses, and they shared the table of the municipal commissioners who were on duty. Simon was permitted to go down, accompanied by two commissioners, to the court of the Temple, for the purpose of giving him a little exercise.

Hebert conceived the infamous idea of wringing from this boy revelations to criminate his unhappy mother. Whether this wretch imputed to the child false revelations, or abused his tender age and his condition to extort from him what admissions soever he pleased, he obtained a revolting deposition; and, as the youth of the prince did not admit of his being brought before the tribunal, Hebert appeared and detailed the infamous particulars which he had himself either dictated or invented.

It was on the 14th of October that Marie Antoinette appeared before her judges. Dragged before the sanguinary tribunal by inexorable revolutionary vengeance, she appeared there without any chance of acquittal, for it was not to obtain her acquittal that the Jacobins had brought her before it. It was necessary, however, to make some charges. Fouquier therefore collected the rumours current among the populace ever since the arrival of the princess in France, and, in the act of accusation, he charged her with having plundered the exchequer, first for her pleasures, and afterwards in order to transmit money to her brother the emperor. He insisted on the scenes of the 5th and 6th of October, and on the dinners of the life-guards, alleging that she had at that period framed a plot, which obliged the people to go to Versailles to frustrate it. He afterwards accused her of having governed her husband, interfered in the choice of ministers, conducted the intrigues with the deputies gained by the court, prepared the journey to Varennes, provoked the war, and transmitted to the enemy's generals all our plans of campaign. He further accused her of having prepared a new conspiracy on the 10th of

* "Simon, who was intrusted with the bringing up of the dauphin, had had the cruelty to leave the poor child absolutely alone. Unexampled barbarity, to leave an unhappy and sickly infant eight years old, in a great room, locked and bolted in, with no other resource than a broken bell which he never rang, so greatly did he dread the people whom its sound would have brought to him! He preferred wanting everything to the sight of his persecutors. His bed had not been touched for six months, and he had not strength to make it himself; it was alive with bugs, and vermin still more disgusting. His linen and his person were covered with them. For more than a year he had had no change of shirt or stockings; every kind of filth was allowed to accumulate in his room. His window was never opened, and the infectious smell of this horrid apartment was so dreadful that no one could bear it. He passed his days wholly without occupation. They did not even allow him light in the evening. This situation affected his mind as well as his body; and he fell into a frightful atrophy." *Duchess d'Angouleme.* E.





BAILLY.

MAYOR OF PARIS.

August, of having on that day caused the people to be fired upon, of having induced her husband to defend himself by taxing him with cowardice; lastly, of having never ceased to plot and correspond with foreigners since her captivity in the Temple, and of having there treated her young son as king. We here observe how, on the terrible day of long deferred vengeance, when subjects at length break forth and strike such of their princes as have not deserved the blow, everything is distorted and converted into crime. We see how the profusion and fondness for pleasure, so natural to a young princess, how her attachment to her native country, her influence over her husband, her regrets, always more indiscreet in a woman than in a man, nay, even her bolder courage, appeared to their inflamed or malignant imaginations.

It was necessary to produce witnesses. Lecointre, deputy of Versailles, who had seen what had passed on the 5th and 6th of October, Hebert, who had frequently visited the Temple, various clerks in the ministerial offices, and several domestic servants of the old court, were summoned. Admiral d'Estaing, formerly commandant of the guard of Versailles; Manuel, the ex-procureur of the commune; Latour-du-Pin, minister at war in 1789; the venerable Bailly, who, it was said, had been, with Lafayette, an accomplice in the journey to Varennes; lastly, Valazé, one of the Girondins destined to the scaffold; were taken from their prisons and compelled to give evidence.

No precise fact was elicited. Some had seen the Queen in high spirits when the life-guards testified their attachment; others had seen her vexed and dejected while being conducted to Paris, or brought back from Varennes; these had been present at splendid festivities which must have cost enormous sums; those had heard it said in the ministerial offices that the Queen was adverse to the sanction of the decrees. An ancient waiting-woman of the Queen had heard the Duke de Coigny say, in 1788, that the emperor had already received two hundred millions from France to make war upon the Turks.

The cynical Hebert, being brought before the unfortunate Queen, dared at length to prefer the charges wrung from the young prince. He said that Charles Capet had given Simon an account of the journey to Varennes and mentioned Lafayette and Bailly as having co-operated in it. He then added that this boy was addicted to odious and very premature vices for his age; that he had been surprised by Simon, who, on questioning him, learned that he derived from his mother the vices in which he indulged. Hebert said that it was no doubt the intention of Marie Antoinette, by weakening thus early the physical constitution of her son, to secure to herself the means of ruling him, in case he should ever ascend the throne.

The rumours which had been whispered for twenty years by a malicious court, had given the people a most unfavourable opinion of the morals of the Queen. That audience, however, though wholly Jacobin, was disgusted at the accusations of Hebert.* He nevertheless persisted in supporting them. The unhappy mother made no reply. Urged anew to explain herself, she said with extraordinary emotion, "I thought that human nature would excuse me from answering such an imputation, but I appeal from it to the heart of every mother here present." This noble and simple reply affected all who

* "Can there be a more infernal invention than that made against the Queen by Hebert—namely, that she had had an improper intimacy with her own son? He made use of this sublime idea of which he boasted, in order to prejudice the women against the Queen, and to prevent her execution from exciting pity. It had, however, no other effect than that of disgusting all parties."—*Prudhomme*. E.

heard it. In the depositions of the witnesses, however, all was not so bitter for Marie Antoinette. The brave d'Estaing, whose enemy she had been, would not say anything to inculcate her, and spoke only of the courage which she had shown on the 5th and 6th of October, and of the noble resolution which she had expressed, to die beside her husband rather than fly. Manuel, in spite of his enmity to the court during the time of the Legislative Assembly, declared that he could not say anything against the accused. When the venerable Bailly was brought forward, who formerly had so often predicted to the court the calamities which its imprudence must produce, he appeared painfully affected; and when he was asked if he knew the wife of Capet, "Yes," said he, bowing respectfully, "I have known *Madame*." He declared that he knew nothing, and maintained that the declarations extorted from the young prince relative to the journey to Varennes were false. In recompense for his deposition, he was assailed with outrageous reproaches, from which he might judge what fate would soon be awarded to himself.

In the whole of the evidence there appeared but two serious facts, attested by Latour-du-Pin and Valazé, who deposed to them because they could not help it. Latour-du-Pin declared that Marie Antoinette had applied to him for an accurate statement of the armies while he was minister at war. Valazé, always cold, but respectful towards misfortune, would not say anything to criminate the accused; yet he could not help declaring that, as a member of the commission of twenty-four, being charged with his colleagues to examine the papers found at the house of Septeuil, treasurer of the civil list, he had seen bonds for various sums signed Antoinette, which was very natural; but he added that he had also seen a letter in which the minister requested the King to transmit to the Queen the copy of the plan of campaign which he had in his hands. The most unfavourable construction was immediately put upon these two facts, the application for a statement of the armies, and the communication of the plan of campaign; and it was concluded that they could not be wanted for any other purpose than to be sent to the enemy; for it was not supposed that a young princess should turn her attention merely for her own satisfaction, to matters of administration and military plans. After these depositions, several others were received respecting the expenses of the court, the influence of the Queen in public affairs, the scene of the 10th of August, and what had passed in the Temple; and the most vague rumours, and most trivial circumstances, were eagerly caught as proofs.

Marie Antoinette frequently repeated with presence of mind and firmness that there was no precise fact against her;* that, besides, though the wife of Louis XVI., she was not answerable for any of the acts of his reign. Fouquier, nevertheless, declared her to be sufficiently convicted; Chaveau-Lagarde made unavailing efforts to defend her; and the unfortunate Queen was condemned to suffer the same fate of her husband.

Conveyed back to the Conciergerie, she there passed in tolerable composure the night preceding her execution, and, on the morning of the following day, the 16th of October,† she was conducted, amidst a great concourse

* "At first the Queen consulting only her own sense of dignity had resolved, on her trial, to make no other reply to the question of her judges than, 'Assassinate me, as you have already assassinated my husband!' Afterwards, however, she determined to follow the example of the King, exert herself in her defence, and leave her judges without any excuse or pretext for putting her to death."—*Weber's Memoirs of Marie Antoinette*. E.

† "At four o'clock in the morning of the day of her execution, the Queen wrote a letter to the Princess Elizabeth. 'To you, my sister,' said she, 'I address myself for the last time.



MARIE ANTOINETTE .



of the populace, to the fatal spot, where, ten months before, Louis XVI. had perished. She listened with calmness to the exhortations of the ecclesiastic who accompanied her, and cast an indifferent look at the people who had so often applauded her beauty and her grace, and who now as warmly applauded her execution. On reaching the foot of the scaffold, she perceived the Tuileries, and appeared to be moved: but she hastened to ascend the fatal ladder, and gave herself up with courage to the executioner.* The infamous wretch exhibited her head to the people, as he was accustomed to do when he had sacrificed an illustrious victim.

The Jacobins were overjoyed. "Let these tidings be carried to Austria," said they; "the Romans sold the ground occupied by Annibal; we strike off the heads that are dearest to the sovereigns who have invaded our territory."

But this was only the commencement of vengeance. Immediately after the trial of Marie Antoinette, the tribunal was to proceed to that of the Girondins confined in the Conciergerie.

Before the revolt of the South, nothing could be laid to their charge but opinions. It was said, to be sure, that they were accomplices of Dumouriez, of La Vendée, of Orleans; but this connexion, which it was easy to impute in the tribune, it was impossible to prove, even before the revolutionary tribunal. On the contrary, ever since the day that they raised the standard of civil war, and when positive facts could be adduced against them, it was easy to condemn them. The imprisoned deputies, it is true, were not those who had excited the insurrection of Calvados and of the South, but they were members of the same party, supporters of the same cause. People were thoroughly convinced that they had corresponded with one another, and though the letters which had been intercepted did not sufficiently prove intrigues, they proved enough for a tribunal instituted for the purpose of contenting itself with probability. All the moderation of the Girondins was, therefore, transformed into a vast conspiracy, of which civil war had been the upshot. Their tardiness in the time of the Legislative Assembly to rise against the throne, their opposition to the project of the 10th of August, their struggle with the commune from the 10th of August to the 20th of September, their energetic protestations against the massacres, their pity for Louis XVI., their resistance to the inquisitorial system which disgusted the generals, their opposition to the extraordinary tribunal, to the *maximum*, to the forced loan; in short, to all the revolutionary measures; lastly, their efforts to create a repressive authority by instituting the commission of twelve, their despair after their defeat in Paris—a despair which caused

I have been condemned, not to an ignominious death—it is so only to the guilty—but to rejoin your brother. I weep only for my children; I hope that one day, when they have regained their rank, they may be reunited to you, and feel the blessing of your tender care. May my son never forget the last words of his father, which I now repeat from myself—Never attempt to revenge our death. I die true to the Catholic religion. Deprived of all spiritual consolation, I can only seek for pardon from Heaven. I ask forgiveness of all who know me. I pray for forgiveness to all my enemies."—*Alison*. E.

* "Sorrow had blanched the Queen's once beautiful hair; but her features and air still commanded the admiration of all who beheld her. Her cheeks, pale and emaciated, were occasionally tinged with a vivid colour at the mention of those she had lost. When led out to execution, she was dressed in white; she had cut off her hair with her own hands. Placed in a tumbrel, with her arms tied behind her, she was taken by a circuitous route to the Place de la Révolution; and she ascended the scaffold with a firm and dignified step, as if she had been about to take her place on a throne by the side of her husband."—*Lacretelle*. E.

them to have recourse to the provinces—all this was constructed in a conspiracy in which every fact was inseparable. The opinions which had been uttered in the tribune were merely the symptoms, the preparations for the civil war which had ensued; and whoever had expressed, in the Legislative and the Convention, the same sentiments as the deputies who had assembled at Caen, Bordeaux, Lyons, and Marseilles, was as guilty as they. Though there was no proof of concert, yet it was found in their community of opinion, in the friendship which had united most of them together, and in their habitual meetings at Roland's and at Valazé's.

The Girondins, on the contrary, conceived that, if people would but discuss the point with them, it would be impossible to condemn them. Their opinions, they said, had been free. They might have differed from the Mountaineers respecting the choice of revolutionary means, without being culpable. Their opinions proved neither personal ambition, nor premeditated plot. They attested, on the contrary, that on a great number of points they had differed from one another. Lastly, their connexion with the revolted deputies was but supposed; and their letters, their friendship, their habit of sitting on the same benches, were by no means sufficient to demonstrate that. "If we are only suffered to speak," said the Girondins, "we shall be saved." Fatal idea, which, without insuring their salvation, caused them to lose a portion of that dignity which is the only compensation for an unjust death!

If parties had more frankness, they would at least be much more noble. The victorious party might have said to the vanquished party, "You have carried attachment to your system of moderate means so far as to make war upon us, as to bring the republic to the brink of destruction by a disastrous diversion; you are conquered—you must die." The Girondins, on their part, would have had a fine speech to make to their conquerors. They might have said to them, "We look upon you as villains who convulse the republic, who dishonour while pretending to defend it, and we were determined to fight and to destroy you. Yes, we are all equally guilty. We are all accomplices of Buzot, Barbaroux, Petion, and Guadet. They are great and virtuous citizens, whose virtues we proclaim to your face. While they went to avenge the republic, we have remained here to proclaim it in presence of the executioners. You are conquerors—put us to death."

But the mind of man is not so constituted as to seek to simplify everything by frankness. The conquering party wishes to convince, and it uses deception. A shadow of hope induces the vanquished party to defend itself, and by the same means; and in civil dissensions we see those shameful trials, at which the stronger party listens predetermined not to believe, at which the weaker speaks without the chance of persuading. It is not till sentence is pronounced, not till all hope is lost, that human dignity recovers itself, and it is at the sight of the fatal axe that we see it burst forth again in all its force.

The Girondins were resolved therefore to defend themselves, and they were then obliged to have recourse to concessions, to concealments. Their adversaries determined to prove their crimes, and, in order to convict them, sent to the revolutionary tribunal all their enemies—Pache, Hebert, Chaumette, Chabot, and many others, either equally false or equally base. The concourse was considerable, for it was still a new sight to see so many republicans condemned on account of the republic. The accused were twenty-one, in the flower of their age, in the prime of their talents, some in all the bril-

liancy of youth and manly beauty. The mere recapitulation of their names and ages had something touching.

Brissot, Gardien, and Lasource were thirty-nine; Vergniaud, Gensonné, and Lehardy, thirty-five; Mainvielle and Ducos, twenty-eight; Boyer-Fonfrède and Duchastel, twenty-seven; Duperret, forty-six; Carra, fifty; Valazé and Lacase, forty-two; Duprat, thirty-three; Sillery, fifty-seven; Fauchet, forty-nine; Lesterpt-Beauvais, forty-three; Boileau, forty-one; Attiboul, forty; Vigée, thirty-six. Gensonné was calm and cold; Valazé, indignant and contemptuous; Vergniaud more agitated than usual. Young Ducos was merry, and Fonfrède, who had been spared on the 2d of June, because he had not voted for the arrests ordered by the committee of twelve, but who, by his reiterated remonstrances in favour of his friends, had since deserved to share their fate—Fonfrède seemed, for so noble a cause, to relinquish cheerfully both his young wife, his large fortune, and his life.

Amar* had drawn up the act of accusation in the name of the committee of general safety. Pache was the first witness heard in support of it. Cautious and prudent as he always was, he said that he had long perceived a faction adverse to the revolution, but he adduced no fact proving a premeditated plot. He merely said that, when the Convention was threatened by Dumouriez, he went to the committee of finance to obtain funds and to provision Paris, and that the committee refused them. He added that he had been maltreated in the committee of general safety, and that Gaudet had threatened him to demand the arrest of the municipal authorities. Chaumette recounted all the struggles of the commune with the right side, just as they had been related in the newspapers. He added only one particular fact, namely, that Brissot had obtained the appointment of Santonax as commissioner of the colonies, and that Brissot was consequently the author of all the calamities of the New World. The wretch, Hebert, detailed the circumstances of his apprehension by the commission of twelve, and said that Roland bribed all the public writers, for Madame Roland had wished to buy his paper of Père Duchesne. Destournelles, minister of justice, and formerly clerk to the commune, gave his deposition in an extremely vague manner, and repeated what everybody knew, namely, that the accused had opposed the commune, inveighed against the massacres, proposed the institution of a departmental guard, &c. The witness whose deposition was the longest, as well as the most hostile, for it lasted several hours, was Chabot, the ex-Capuchin, a hot-headed, weak, and base-minded man. Chabot had always been treated by the Girondins as an extravagant person, and he never forgave their disdain. He was proud of having contributed to the 10th of August, contrary to their advice; he declared that, if they had consented to send him to the prisons, he would have saved the prisoners, as he had saved the Swiss: he was desirous therefore of revenging himself on the Girondins, and above all to recover, by calumniating them, his popularity which was on the wane at the Jacobins, because he was accused of having a hand in stockjobbing transactions. He invented a long and malicious accusation in which he represented the Girondins seeking first to make a tool of Narbonne, the minister, then, after ejecting Narbonne, occu

* "Amar was a barrister in the court of Grenoble. In 1792 he was appointed deputy to the Convention, where he voted for the King's death. He was connected with the most violent chiefs of the Mountain, and in 1793, drew up the act of accusation against the Girondins. In 1795 he was appointed president of the Convention, and soon afterwards retired into obscurity. Amar was a man of a gloomy and melancholy temperament."—*Biographie Moderne*. E.

pying three ministerial departments at once, bringing about the 20th of June to encourage their creatures, opposing the 10th of August, because they were hostile to the republic; lastly, pursuing invariably a preconcerted plan of ambition, and, what was more atrocious than all the rest, suffering the massacres of September, and the robbery of the Garde Meuble, for the purpose of ruining the reputation of the patriots. "If they had consented," said Chabot, "I would have saved the prisoners. Petion gave the murderers money for drink, and Brissot would not suffer them to be stopped, because in one of the prisons there was an enemy of his, Morande."

Such are the vile wretches who calumniate good men, as soon as power has given them the signal to do so. The moment the leaders have cast the first stone, all the reptiles that crawl in the mud, rise and overwhelm the victim. Fabre d'Eglantine, who, like Chabot, had become suspected of stockjobbing,* and was anxious to regain his popularity, made a more cautious but likewise a more perfidious deposition, in which he insinuated that the intention of suffering the massacres and the robbery of the Garde Meuble to be perpetrated had most probably entered into the policy of the Girondins. Vergniaud, ceasing to defend himself, exclaimed with indignation, "I am not bound to justify myself against the charge of being the accomplice of robbers and murderers."

No precise fact, however, was alleged against the accused. They were charged with nothing but opinions publicly maintained, and they replied that these opinions might have been erroneous, but that they had a right to think as they pleased. It was objected to them that their doctrines were not the result of an involuntary, and therefore an excusable, error, but of a plot hatched at Roland's and at Valazé's. Again they replied, that, so far were these doctrines from being the effect of any concert among, that they were not even agreed upon every point. One said, I did not vote for the appeal to the people; another, I did not vote for the departmental guard; a third, I was against the course pursued by the commission of twelve; I disapproved the arrest of Hebert and Chaumette. All this was true enough; but then the defence was no longer common. The accused seemed almost to abandon one another, and to condemn those measures in which they had taken no part. Boileau carried his anxiety to clear himself to extreme weakness. He even covered himself with disgrace. He admitted that there had existed a conspiracy against the unity and the indivisibility of the republic; that he was now convinced of this, and declared it to justice; that he could not point out the guilty persons, but that he wished for their punishment; and he proclaimed himself a stanch Mountaineer. Gardien had also the weakness to disavow completely the commission of twelve. However, Gensonné, Brissot, Vergniaud, and more especially Valazé, corrected the bad effect of the conduct of their two colleagues. They admitted indeed that they had not always thought alike, and that consequently their opinions were not preconcerted; but they disavowed neither their friendship nor their doctrines. Valazé frankly confessed that meetings had been held at his house; and maintained that they had a right to meet and to enlighten each other with their ideas, like any other citizens. When, lastly, their connivance with

* "Fabre d'Eglantine was an ardent promoter and panegyrist of the revolutionary system, and the friend, the companion, the adviser of the proconsuls, who carried throughout France, fire and sword, devastation and death. I do not know whether his hands were stained by the lavishing of money not his own, but I know that he was a promoter of assassinations. Poor before the 2d of September, 1792, he had afterwards an hotel and carriages and servants and women; his friend Lacroix assisted him to procure this retinue."—*Mercier*. E.

the fugitives was objected to them, they denied it. "What!" exclaimed Hebert; "the accused deny the conspiracy! When the senate of Rome had to pronounce upon the conspiracy of Catiline, if it had questioned each conspirator and been content with a denial, they would all have escaped the punishment which awaited them; but the meetings at Catiline's, the flight of the latter, and the arms found at Lecca's, were material proofs, and they were sufficient to determine the judgment of the senate."—"Very well," replied Brissot, "I accept the comparison made between us and Catiline. Cicero said to him, 'Arms have been found at thy house; the ambassadors of the Allobroges accuse thee; the signatures of Lentulus, of Cathegus, and of Statilius, thy accomplices, prove thy infamous projects.' Here the senate accuses us, it is true, but have arms been found upon us? Are there signatures to produce against us?"

Unfortunately there had been discovered letters sent to Bordeaux by Vergniaud, which expressed the strongest indignation. A letter from a cousin of Lacaze had also been found, in which the preparations for the insurrection were mentioned; and, lastly, a letter from Duperret to Madame Roland had been intercepted, in which he stated that he had heard from Buzot and Barbaroux, and that they were preparing to punish the outrages committed in Paris. Vergniaud, on being questioned, replied, "Were I to acquaint you with the motives which induced me to write, perhaps I should appear to you more to be pitied than censured. Judging from the plots of the 10th of March, I could not help thinking that a design to murder us was connected with the plan for dissolving the national representation. Marat wrote to this effect on the 11th of March. The petitions since drawn up against us with such acrimony have confirmed me in this opinion. It was under these circumstances that my soul was wrung with anguish, and that I wrote to my fellow-citizens that I was under the knife. I exclaimed against the tyranny of Marat. He was the only person whom I mentioned. I respect the opinion of the people concerning Marat, but to me Marat was a tyrant." At these words one of the jury rose and said, "Vergniaud complains of having been persecuted by Marat. I shall observe that Marat has been assassinated, and that Vergniaud is still here." This silly observation was applauded by part of the auditory, and all the frankness, all the sound reasoning of Vergniaud were thrown away upon the blind multitude.

Vergniaud, however, had succeeded in gaining attention, and recovered all his eloquence in expatiating on the conduct of his friends, on their devotedness, and on their sacrifices to the republic. The whole audience had been moved; and this condemnation, though commanded, no longer seemed to be irrevocable. The trial had lasted several days. The Jacobins, enraged at the tardiness of the tribunal, addressed to the Convention a fresh petition, praying it to accelerate the proceedings. Robespierre caused a decree to be passed, authorizing the jury, after three days' discussion, to declare themselves sufficiently enlightened, and to proceed to judgment without hearing anything further. And to render the title more conformable with the thing, it was moreover decided on his motion, that the name of extraordinary tribunal should be changed to that of **REVOLUTIONARY TRIBUNAL**.

Though this decree was passed, the jury durst not avail themselves of it immediately, and declared that they were not satisfied. But on the following day they made use of their new power to cut short the discussions, and insisted that they should be closed. The accused had already lost all hope, and were resolved to die nobly. They repaired with serene aspect to the last sitting of the tribunal. While they were being searched at the door of

the Conciergerie, to ascertain that they had about them no implements of destruction with which they might put an end to their lives, Valazé, giving a pair of scissors to Riouffe, in the presence of the gendarmes, said, "Here, my friend, is a prohibited weapon. We must not make any attempts on our lives."

On the 30th of October, at midnight, the jury entered to pronounce their verdict. The countenance of Antonelle, their foreman, bespoke the violence of his feelings. Camille-Desmoulins, on hearing the verdict pronounced, cried out, "Ah! 'tis I who am the death of them; 'tis my *Brissot dévoilé!** Let me be gone!" he added, and rushed out in despair. The accused were brought in. On hearing the fatal word pronounced, Brissot dropped his arms, and his head suddenly drooped upon his breast. Gensonné would have said a few words on the application of the law, but could not obtain a hearing. Sillery, letting fall his crutches, exclaimed, "This is the most glorious day of my life!" Some hopes had been conceived for the two young brothers, Ducos and Fonfrède, who had appeared to be less compromised, and who had attached themselves to the Girondins, not so much from conformity of opinion, as from admiration of their character and their talents. They were nevertheless condemned like the others. Fonfrède embraced Ducos, saying, "Brother, it is I who am the cause of your death."—"Be of good cheer," replied Ducos, "we shall die together." The Abbé Fauchet, with downcast look, seemed to pray; Carra retained his unfeeling air; Vergniaud's whole figure wore an expression of pride and disdain; Lasource repeated the saying of one of the ancients: "I die on the day when the people have lost their reason. You will die on that when they shall have recovered it." The weak Boileau and the weak Gardien were not spared. The former, throwing his hat into the air, exclaimed, "I am innocent."—"We are innocent," repeated all the accused; "people, they are deceiving you!" Some of them had the imprudence to throw some assignats about, as if to induce the multitude to take their part, but it remained unmoved. The gendarmes then surrounded them for the purpose of conducting them back to their prison. One of the condemned suddenly fell at their feet. They lifted him up streaming with blood. It was Valazé, who, when giving his scissors to Riouffe, had kept a dagger, with which he had stabbed himself. The tribunal immediately decided that his body should be carried in a cart after the condemned.† As they left the court, they struck up all together, by a spontaneous movement, the hymn of the Marseillais,

Contre nous de la tyrannie
Le couteau sanglant est levé.

Their last night was sublime. Vergniaud was provided with poison. He threw it away, that he might die with his friends. They took a last meal together, at which they were by turns merry, serious, and eloquent. Brissot and Gensonné were grave and pensive; Vergniaud spoke of expiring liberty in the noblest terms of regret, and of the destination of man with persuasive eloquence. Ducos repeated verses which he had composed in prison, and they all joined in singing hymns to France and liberty.

Next day, the 31st of October, an immense crowd collected to see them pass. On their way to the scaffold, they repeated that hymn of the Mar-

* The title of a pamphlet which he wrote against the Girondins.

† "The court ordered that the bloody corpse of the suicide Valazé should be borne on a tumbrel to the place of execution, and beheaded with the other prisoners."—*Lacretelle*. E.

seillais which our soldiers sung when marching against the enemy. On reaching the Place de la Révolution, having alighted from their carts, they embraced one another, shouting *Vive la République!* Sillery first mounted the scaffold, and, after gravely bowing to the people, in whom he still respected frail and misguided humanity, he received the fatal stroke. All of them followed Sillery's example, and died with the same dignity. In thirty-one minutes the executioner had despatched these illustrious victims, and thus destroyed in a few moments youth, beauty, virtue, talents!

Such was the end of those noble and courageous citizens, who fell a sacrifice to their generous Utopia. Comprehending neither human nature, nor its vices, nor the means of guiding it in a revolution, they were indignant because it would not be better, and, in persisting to thwart it, they caused it to devour themselves. Respect to their memory! Never were such virtues, such talents displayed in the civil wars; and, to their glory be it said, if they did not comprehend the necessity of violent means for saving the cause of France, most of their adversaries who preferred those means, decided from passion rather than from genius. Above them could be placed only such of the Mountaineers as had decided in favour of revolutionary means out of policy alone, and not from the impulse of hatred.

No sooner had the Girondins expired, than fresh victims were sacrificed. The sword rested not for a moment. On the 2d of November the unfortunate Olympe de Gouges was executed for writings called counter-revolutionary, and Adam Luxe, deputy of Mayence, accused of the same crime. On the 6th, the hapless Duke of Orleans, transferred from Marseilles to Paris, was brought before the revolutionary tribunal, and condemned on account of the suspicions which he had excited in all the parties. Odious to the emigrants, suspected by the Girondins and the Jacobins, he inspired none of those regrets which afford some consolation for an unjust death. More hostile to the court than enthusiastic in favour of the republic, he felt not that conviction which gives support at the critical moment; and of all the victims he was the one least compensated and most to be pitied. A universal disgust, an absolute scepticism, were his last sentiments, and he went to the scaffold with extraordinary composure and indifference. As he was drawn along the Rue St. Honoré, he beheld his palace with a dry eye, and never belied for a moment his disgust of men and of life.* Coustard, his aide-de-camp, a deputy like himself, shared his fate.

Two days afterwards, Roland's interesting and courageous wife followed them to the scaffold. Combining the heroism of a Roman matron with the graces of a Frenchwoman, this female had to endure all sorts of afflictions. She loved and revered her husband as a father. She felt for one of the proscribed Girondins a vehement passion, which she had always repressed. She left a young and orphan daughter to the care of friends. Trembling for

* "The Duke of Orleans demanded only one favour, which was granted; namely, that his execution should be postponed for twenty-four hours. In the interval he had a repast prepared with care, on which he feasted with more than usual avidity. When led out to execution, he gazed for a time, with a smile on his countenance, on the Palais Royal, the scene of his former orgies; he was detained above a quarter of an hour in front of that palace, by order of Robespierre, who had in vain asked his daughter's hand in marriage; and had promised, if he would relent in that extremity, to excite a tumult which should save his life. Depraved as he was, he had too much honourable feeling left to consent to such a sacrifice; and remained in expectation of death, without giving the expected signal of acquiescence, for twenty minutes, when he was permitted to continue his journey to the scaffold. He met his death with stoical fortitude. The multitude applauded his execution."

—*Alison*. E.

so many and such dear objects, she considered the cause of liberty to which she was enthusiastically attached, and for which she had made such great sacrifices, as for ever ruined. Thus she suffered in all her affections at once. Condemned as an accomplice of the Girondins, she heard her sentence with a sort of enthusiasm, seemed to be inspired from the moment of her condemnation to that of her execution, and excited a kind of religious admiration in all who saw her.* She went to the scaffold dressed in white. She exerted herself the whole way to cheer the spirits of a companion in misfortune who was to perish with her, and who had not the same courage; and she even succeeded so far as twice to draw from him a smile. On reaching the place of execution, she bowed to the statue of liberty, exclaiming, "O Liberty, what crimes are they committing in thy name!" She then underwent her fate with indomitable courage.† Thus perished that charming and spirited woman, who deserved to share the destiny of her friends, but who, more modest and more resigned to the passive part allotted to her sex, wished not to avoid the death due to her talents and her virtues, but to spare her husband and herself ridicule and calumnies.

Her husband had fled towards Rouen. On receiving intelligence of her tragic end, he resolved not to survive her. He quitted the hospitable house which had afforded him an asylum, and, to avoid compromising any friend, put an end to his life on the high road. He was found pierced to the heart by a sword, and lying against the foot of the tree against which he had placed the hilt of the destructive weapon. In his pocket was a paper relative to his life and to his conduct as a minister.

Thus, in that frightful delirium which had rendered genius, and virtue, and courage suspected, all that was most noble and most generous in

* "When Madame Roland arrived at the Conciergerie, the blood of the twenty-two deputies still flowed on the spot. Though she well knew the fate which awaited her, her firmness did not forsake her. Although past the prime of life, she was a fine woman, tall, and of an elegant form; an expression infinitely superior to what is usually found in women was seen in her large black eyes, at once forcible and mild. She frequently spoke from her window to those without, with the magnanimity of a man of the first order of talent. Sometimes, however, the susceptibility of her sex gained the ascendant, and it was seen that she had been weeping, no doubt at the remembrance of her daughter and husband. As she passed to the examination, we saw her with that firmness of deportment which usually marked her character; as she returned, her eyes were moistened with tears, but they were tears of indignation. She had been treated with the grossest rudeness, and questions had been put insulting to her honour. The day on which she was condemned, she had dressed herself in white, and with peculiar care; her long black hair hung down loose to her waist. After her condemnation, she returned to her prison with an alacrity which was little short of pleasure. By a sign, that was not mistaken, she gave us all to understand she was to die."—*Memoirs of a Prisoner*. E.

† "Madame Roland's defence, composed by herself the night before her trial, is one of the most eloquent and touching monuments of the Revolution. Her answers to the interrogatories of her judges, the dignity of her manner, and the beauty of her figure, melted even the revolutionary audience. She was conveyed to the scaffold in the same car with a man whose firmness was not equal to her own. While passing along the streets, her whole anxiety appeared to be, to support his courage. She did this with so much simplicity and effect, that she frequently brought a smile on the lips that were about to perish. When they arrived at the foot of the scaffold, she had the generosity to renounce, in favour of her companion, the privilege of being first executed. 'Ascend first,' said she, 'let me at least spare you the pain of seeing my blood flow.' Turning to the executioner, she asked if he would consent to that arrangement. He replied that his orders were, that she should die the first. 'You cannot,' said she with a smile, 'you cannot, I am sure, refuse a woman her last request.' Undismayed by the spectacle which immediately ensued, she calmly bent her head under the guillotine, and perished with the serenity she had evinced ever since her imprisonment." *Alien*.

France was perishing either by suicide or by the blade of the executioner.*

Among so many illustrious and courageous deaths, there was one still more lamentable and more sublime than any of the others; it was that of Bailly. From the manner in which he had been treated during the Queen's trial, it might easily be inferred how he was likely to be received before the revolutionary tribunal. The scene in the Champ de Mars, the proclamation of martial law, and the fusillade which followed, were the events with which the constituent party was most frequently and most bitterly reproached. Bailly, the friend of Lafayette, and the magistrate who had ordered the red flag to be unfurled, was the victim selected to atone for all the alleged offences of the Constituent Assembly. He was condemned, and was to be executed in the Champ de Mars, the theatre of what was termed his crime. His execution took place on the 11th of November. The weather was cold and rainy. Conducted on foot, he manifested the utmost composure and serenity, amidst the insults of a barbarous populace, which he had fed while he was mayor. During the long walk from the Conciergerie to the Champ de Mars, the red flag, which had been found at the *mairie*, enclosed in a mahogany box, was shaken in his face. On reaching the foot of the scaffold, it might be supposed that his sufferings were nearly over: but one of the wretches who had persecuted him so assiduously, cried out that the field of the federation ought not to be polluted by his blood. The people instantly rushed upon the guillotine, took it down, bore it off with the same enthusiasm as they had formerly shown in labouring in that same field of the federation, and erected it again upon a dunghill on the bank of the Seine, and opposite to the quarter of Chaillot, where Bailly had passed his life, and composed his works. This operation lasted some hours. Meanwhile he was obliged to walk several times round the Champ de Mars. Bareheaded and with his hands pinioned behind him, he could scarcely drag himself along. Some pelted him with mud, others kicked and struck him with sticks. He fell exhausted. They lifted him up again. Rain and cold had communicated to his limbs an involuntary shivering. "Thou tremblest!" said a soldier to him. "My friend," replied the old man, "it is cold." After he had been thus tormented for several hours, the red flag was burned under his nose; at length he was delivered over to the executioner, and another illustrious scholar, and one of the most virtuous men who ever honoured our country, was then taken from it.†

* "The whole country seemed one vast conflagration of revolt and vengeance. The shrieks of death were blended with the yell of the assassin, and the laughter of buffoons. Never were the finest affections more warmly excited, or pierced with more cruel wounds. Whole families were led to the scaffold for no other crime than their relationship; sisters for shedding tears over the death of their brothers in the emigrant armies; wives for lamenting the fate of their husbands; innocent peasant-girls for dancing with the Prussian soldiers; and a woman giving suck, and whose milk spouted in the face of her executioner at the fatal stroke, for merely saying, as a group were being conducted to slaughter, 'Here is much blood shed for a trifling cause!'"—*Hazlitt's Life of Napoleon*. E.

† "Among the virtuous members of the first Assembly, there was no one who stood higher than Bailly. As a scholar and a man of science, he had long been in the very first rank of celebrity; his private morals were not only irreproachable, but exemplary; and his character and disposition had always been remarkable for gentleness, moderation, and philanthropy. His popularity was at one time equal to that of any of the idols of the day; and if it was gained by some degree of culpable indulgence and unjustifiable zeal, it was forfeited at least by a resolute opposition to disorder, and a meritorious perseverance in the discharge of his duty. There is not perhaps a name in the whole annals of the Revolution, with which the praise of unaffected philanthropy may be more safely associated."—*Edinburgh Review*. F.

Since the time that Tacitus saw the vile populace applaud the crimes of emperors, it has not changed. Always sudden in its movements, at one time it erects an altar to the country, at another scaffolds, and it exhibits a beautiful and a noble spectacle only when, incorporated with the armies, it rushes upon the hostile battalions. Let not despotism impute its crimes to liberty for under despotism it was always as guilty as under the republic; but let us continually invoke enlightenment and instruction* for those barbarians swarming in the lowest classes of society, and always ready to stain it with any crime, to obey the call of any power, and to disgrace any cause.

On the 25th of November, the unfortunate Manuel was also put to death. From being *procureur* of the commune, he had become deputy to the Convention, and had resigned his seat at the time of the trial of Louis XVI., because he had been accused of having purloined the list of votes. He was charged before the tribunal with having favoured the massacres of September, for the purpose of raising the departments against Paris. It was Fouquier-Tinville who was commissioned to devise these atrocious calumnies more atrocious even than the condemnation. On the same day was condemned the unfortunate General Brunet, because he had not sent off part of his army from Nice to Toulon; and, on the following day, the 26th, sentence of death was pronounced upon the victorious Houchard, because he had not understood the plan laid down for him, and had not moved rapidly upon the causeway of Furnes so as to take the whole English army. His was an egregious fault, but not deserving of death.

These executions began to spread general terror, and to render the supreme authority formidable. Dismay pervaded not only the prisons, the hall of the revolutionary tribunal, and the Place de la Révolution; it prevailed everywhere, in the markets, in the shops, where the *maximum* and the laws against forestalling had recently been enforced. We have already seen how the discredit of the assignats and the increased price of commodities had led to the decree of the *maximum* for the purpose of restoring the balance between merchandise and money. The first effects of this *maximum* had been most disastrous, and had occasioned the shutting up of a great number of shops. By establishing a tariff for articles of primary necessity, the government had reached only those goods which had been delivered to the retail dealer, and were ready to pass from the hands of the latter into those of the consumer. But the retailer, who had bought them of the wholesale trader before the *maximum*, and at a higher price than that of the new tariff, suffered enormous losses and complained bitterly. Even when he had bought after the *maximum*, the loss sustained by him was not the less. In fact, in the tariff of commodities, called goods of primary necessity, they were not specified till wrought and ready to be consumed, and it was not till they had arrived at this latter state that their price was fixed. But it was not said what price they should bear in their raw form, what price should be paid to the workman who wrought them, to the carrier, or the navigator, who transported them; consequently the retailer, who was obliged to sell to the consumer according to the tariff, and who could not treat with the workman, the manufacturer, the wholesale dealer, according to that same tariff, could not possibly continue so advantageous a trade. Most of the tradesmen shut up their

* "To inform a people of their rights, before instructing them and making them familiar with their duties, leads naturally to the abuse of liberty and the usurpation of individuals. It is like opening a passage for the torrent, before a channel has been prepared to receive, or banks to direct it.—*Baillie's Memoirs*. E.

shops or evaded the law by fraud. They sold only goods of the worst quality at the *maximum*, and reserved the best for those who came secretly to pay for them at their proper value.

The populace perceiving these frauds, and seeing a great number of shops shut up, was seized with fury, and assailed the commune with complaints. It insisted that all the dealers should be obliged to keep their shops open and to continue their trade, whether they wished to do so or not. The butchers and porkmen, who bought diseased animals, or such as had died accidentally, were denounced, and so were those who, in order that the meat might weigh heavier, did not bleed the carcasses sufficiently. The bakers, who reserved the best flour for the rich, sold the worst to the poor, and did not bake their bread enough that it might weigh the more; the wine-merchants, who mixed the most deleterious drugs with their wines; the dealers in salt, who, to increase the weight of that commodity, deteriorated the quality; the grocers, and in short all the retail dealers who adulterated commodities in a thousand ways were also unsparingly accused.

Of these abuses, some were perpetual, others peculiar to the actual crisis: but when the impatience of wrong seizes the minds of the people, they complain of everything, they endeavour to reform everything, to punish everything.

On this subject Chaumette, the *procureur-general*, made a flaming speech against the traders. "It will be recollected," said he, "that in '89 all these men carried on a great trade, but with whom? with foreigners. It is well known that it was they who caused the fall of the assignats, and that it was by jobbing-in paper-money that they enriched themselves. What have they done since they made their fortune? They have retired from business; they have threatened the people with a dearth of commodities; but if they have gold and assignats, the republic has something still more valuable—it has arms. Arms, not gold, are wanted to move our fabrics and manufactures. If then these individuals relinquish fabrics and manufactures, the republic will take them in hand, and put in requisition all the raw materials. Let them remember that it depends on the republic to reduce, whenever it pleases, to dust and ashes, the gold and the assignats which are in their hands. That giant, the people, must crush the mercantile speculators.

"We feel the hardships of the people, because we belong ourselves to the people. The entire council is composed of *sans-culottes*. This is the legislating people. It is of little consequence if our heads fall, provided posterity takes the trouble to pick up our skulls. I shall quote, not the Gospel, but Plato. 'He who shall strike with the sword,' says that philosopher, 'shall perish by the sword; he who shall destroy by poison, shall perish by poison; famine shall put an end to him who would famish the people.' If commodities and provisions run short, whom shall the people call to account for it? The constituted authorities? No. The Convention? No. It will call to account the merchants and the contractors. Rousseau, who was also one of the people, said, *When the people shall have nothing more to eat, they will eat the rich.*"*

Forced means lead to forced means, as we have elsewhere observed. In the first laws attention had been paid only to wrought goods. It was now necessary to consider the subject of the raw material; nay, the idea of seizing the raw material and the workmen for the account of the government began to float in some minds. It is a formidable obligation, that of doing violence

* Speech at the commune on the 14th of October.

to nature, and attempting to regulate all her movements. The commune and the Convention were obliged to take new measures, each according to its respective competence.

The commune of Paris obliged every dealer to declare the quantity of goods in hand, the orders which he had given to procure more, and the expectations which he had of their arrival. Every shopkeeper who had been in business for a year, and either relinquished it or suffered it to languish, was declared suspected, and imprisoned as such. To prevent the confusion and the accumulation arising from an anxiety to lay in a stock, the commune also decided that the consumer should apply only to the retailer, and the retailer only to the wholesale dealer: and it fixed the quantities which each should be allowed to order. Thus the retail grocer could not order more than twenty-five pounds of sugar at a time of the wholesale dealer, and the tavern-keeper not more than twelve. It was the revolutionary committees that delivered the tickets for purchasing, and fixed the quantities.* The commune did not confine itself to these regulations. As the throng about the doors of the bakers still continued the same, as there was still the same tumult there, and many people were waiting part of the night to be served, it was decided, at the suggestion of Chaumette, that those who had come last should be first served, but this regulation diminished neither the tumult nor eagerness of the customers. As the people complained that the worst flour was reserved for them, it was resolved that, in the city of Paris, there should be made in future but one sort of bread, composed of three-fourths wheaten flour and one-fourth rye. Lastly, a commission of inspection for provisions was instituted, to ascertain the state of commodities, to take cognizance of frauds, and to punish them. These measures, imitated by the other communes, and frequently even converted into decrees, immediately became general laws; and thus, as we have already observed, the commune exercised an immense influence in everything connected with the internal administration and the police.

The Convention, urged to reform the law of the *maximum*, devised a new one, which went back to the raw material. It required that a statement should be made out of the cost price of goods in 1790, on the spot where they were produced. To this price were to be added, in the first place, one-third on account of circumstances; secondly, a fixed sum for carriage from the place of production to the place of consumption; thirdly, and lastly, five per cent. for the profit of the wholesale dealer, and ten for the retailer. Out of all these elements was to be composed, for the future, the price of articles of the first necessity. The local administrations were directed to take this tax upon themselves, each directing that which was produced and consumed within it. An indemnity was granted to every retail dealer, who possessing a capital of less than ten thousand francs, could prove that he had lost that capital by the *maximum*. The communes were to judge of the case by *actual inspection*, a method always adopted in times of dictatorship. Thus this law, without yet going back to the production, to the raw material, to

* "The state of France is perfectly simple. It consists of two classes—the oppressors and the oppressed. The first have the whole authority of state in their hands, the direction of trade, the revenues of the public, the confiscations of individuals and corporations. The other description—the oppressed—are people of some property; they are the small relics of the persecuted landed interest; the burghers, the farmers, the small tradesmen. The revolutionary committees exercise over these a most severe and scrutinizing inquisition. At Paris, and in most other towns, the bread the people buy, is a daily dole, which they cannot obtain without a daily ticket delivered to them by their masters."—*Burke on the Policy of the Allies*. E.

workmanship, fixed the price of merchandise on leaving the manufactory, the price of carriage, and the profit of the wholesale and retail dealer, and by absolute rules, made compensation for the fickleness of nature in at least half of the social operations. But all this, we repeat, proceeded inevitably from the first *maximum*, the first *maximum* from the assignats, and the assignats from the imperative wants of the Revolution.

To superintend this system of government introduced into commerce, a commission of provisions and articles of subsistence was appointed, whose authority extended over the whole republic. This was composed of three members appointed by the Convention, enjoying nearly the importance of the ministers themselves, and having voices in the council. The commission thus formed was charged to carry the tariffs into execution, to superintend the conduct of the communes on this point, to cause the statement of the articles of provision and subsistence throughout all France to be forthwith completed, to order their transfer from one department to another, and to fix the requisitions for the armies, agreeably to the celebrated decree which instituted the revolutionary government.

The financial situation of the country was not less extraordinary than all the rest. The two loans, the one forced, the other voluntary, filled with rapidity. People were particularly eager to contribute to the second, because the advantages which it held out rendered it far preferable, and thus the moment approached when one thousand millions of assignats would be withdrawn from circulation. There were in the exchequer for current expenses nearly four hundred millions remaining from the former creations, and five hundred millions of royal assignats, called in by the decree which divested them of the character of money, and converted into a like sum in republican assignats. These made, therefore, a sum of about nine hundred millions for the public service.

It will appear extraordinary that the assignat, which had fallen three-fourths, and even four-fifths, had risen to a par with specie. In this rise there was something real and something fictitious. The gradual suppression of a floating thousand millions, the success of the first levy, which had produced six hundred thousand men in the space of a month, and the recent victories of the republic, which almost insured its existence, had accelerated the sale of the national possessions, and restored some confidence to the assignats, but still not sufficient to place them on an equality with money. The causes which put them apparently on a par with specie were the following. It will be recollected that a law forbade, under very heavy penalties, the traffic in specie, that is, the exchange at a loss of the assignat against money; that another law decreed very severe penalties against those who, in purchases, should bargain for different prices according as payment was to be made in paper or in cash. In this manner specie could not maintain its real value either against the assignat or against merchandise, and people had no other resource but to hoard it. But, by a last law, it was enacted that hidden gold, silver or jewels, should belong partly to the state, partly to the informer. Thenceforth people could neither employ specie in trade nor conceal it; it became troublesome; it exposed the holders to the risk of being considered as suspected persons; they began to be afraid of it, and to find the assignat preferable for daily use. This it was that had re-established the par, which had never really existed, for paper, even on the first day of its creation. Many communes, adding their laws to those of the Convention, had even prohibited the circulation of specie, and ordered that it should be brought in chests to be exchanged for assignats. The Convention, it is

true, had abolished all these particular decisions of the communes; but the general laws which it had passed had nevertheless rendered specie useless and dangerous. Many people paid it away in taxes, or to the loan, or to foreigners, who carried on a great traffic in it, and came to the frontier-towns to receive it in exchange for merchandise. The Italians and the Genoese, in particular, who brought us great quantities of corn, frequented the southern ports, and bought up gold and silver at low prices. Specie, had, therefore, made its appearance again, owing to the effect of these terrible laws; and the party of ardent revolutionists, fearing lest its appearance should again prove prejudicial to the paper-money, were desirous that specie, which hitherto had not been excluded from circulation, and had only been condemned to pass for the same as the assignat, should be absolutely prohibited; they proposed that its circulation should be forbidden, and that all who possessed it should be ordered to bring it to the public coffers to be exchanged for assignats.

Terror had almost put a stop to stockjobbing. Speculations upon specie had, as we have just seen, become impossible. Foreign paper, branded with reprobation, no longer circulated as it did two months before: and the bankers accused on all sides of being agents of the emigrants and addicting themselves to stockjobbing, were in the utmost consternation. For a moment, seals had been put upon their effects; but government had soon become aware of the danger of interrupting banking operations and thus checking the circulation of all capitals, and the seals were removed. The alarm was nevertheless so great that nobody thought of engaging in any kind of speculation.

The India Company was at length abolished. We have seen what an intrigue had been formed by certain deputies to speculate in the shares of that company. The Baron de Batz, in concert with Julien of Toulouse, Delaunay of Angers, and Chabot, proposed by alarming motions to make shares fall, then to buy them up, and afterwards by milder motions to produce a rise, when they would sell again, and thus make a profit by this fraudulent fluctuation. The Abbé d'Espagnac, whom Julien favoured with the committee of contracts, was to furnish the funds for these speculations. These wretches actually succeeded in sinking the shares from four thousand five hundred to six hundred and fifty livres, and made considerable profits. The suppression of the company, however, could not be prevented. They then began to treat with it for a mitigation of the decree of suppression. Delaunay and Julien discussed the matter with the directors. "If," said they, "you will give us such a sum, we will move for such a decree; if not, we will bring forward such a one." It was agreed that they should be paid the sum of five hundred thousand francs, for which they were, when proposing the suppression of the company, which was inevitable, to cause the business of its liquidation to be assigned to itself, which might prolong its duration for a considerable time. This sum was to be divided among Delaunay, Julien, Chabot, and Bazire, whom his friend Chabot had acquainted with the intrigue, but who refused to take any part in it.

Delaunay presented the decree of suppression on the 17th of Vendémiaire. He proposed to suppress the company, to oblige it to refund the sums which it owed to the state, and, above all, to make it pay the duty on transfers, which it had evaded by changing its shares into inscriptions in its books. Finally, he proposed to leave the business of winding up its affairs to itself. Fabre d'Eglantine, who was not yet in the secret, and who speculated, as it appeared, in a contrary sense, immediately opposed this motion, saying that,

to permit the company to wind up its affairs itself was perpetuating it, and that upon this pretext it might continue to exist for an indefinite period. He proposed, therefore, to transfer to the government the business of this liquidation. Cambon moved, as a sub-amendment, that the state, in undertaking the liquidation, should not be charged with the debts of the company if they exceeded its assets. The decree and the two amendments were adopted, and referred to the commission to be definitively drawn up. The members in the plot immediately agreed that they ought to gain Fabre, in order to obtain, in the drawing up, some modifications to the decree. Chabot was despatched to Fabre with one hundred thousand francs, and secured his assistance. They then proceeded in this manner. The decree was drawn up as it had been adopted by the Convention, and submitted for signature to Cambon and the members of the commission who were not accomplices in the scheme. To this authentic copy were then added certain words, which totally altered the sense. On the subject of the transfers which had evaded the duty, but which were to pay it, were added these words, *excepting those fraudulently made*, which tended to revive all the pretensions of the company in regard to the exemption from the duty. On the subject of the liquidation these words were added: *Agreeably to the statutes and regulations of the company*, which gave to the latter an intervention in the liquidation. These interpolations materially changed the nature of the decree. Chabot, Fabre, Delaunay, and Julien of Toulouse, afterwards signed it, and delivered the falsified copy to the commission for the circulation of the laws, which caused it to be printed and promulgated as an authentic decree. They hoped that the members who had signed before these slight alterations were made, would either not recollect or not perceive them, and they divided among themselves the sum of five hundred thousand francs. Bazire alone refused his share, saying that he would have no hand in such disgraceful transactions.

Meanwhile Chabot, whose luxurious style of living began to be denounced, was sorely afraid lest he should find himself compromised. He had expended the hundred thousand francs, which he had received as his share, in private expenses; and as his accomplices saw that he was ready to betray them, they threatened to be beforehand with him, and to denounce the whole affair if he abandoned them. Such had been the issue of this scandalous intrigue between the Baron de Batz and three or four deputies.* The general terror, which threatened every life, however innocent, had seized them, and they were apprehensive of being detected and punished. For the moment, therefore, all speculations were suspended, and nobody now thought of engaging in stockjobbing.

It was precisely at this time, when the government was not afraid to do violence to all received ideas, to all established customs, that the plan for introducing a new system of weights and measures, and changing the calendar, was carried into execution. A fondness for regularity, and a contempt for obstacles, could scarcely fail to mark a revolution which was at once philosophical and political. It had divided the country into eighty-three equal portions; it had given uniformity to the civil, religious, and military administration; it had equalized all the parts of the public debt; it could not avoid regulating weights and measures, and the division of time. It is true that this fondness for uniformity, degenerating into a spirit of system, nay, even

* "Some writings found among Robespierre's papers after his death, fully justify these charges against Chabot and his colleagues, for which they were afterwards arrested and brought to the scaffold."—*Biographie Moderne*. E.

into a mania, caused the necessary and attractive varieties of nature to be too often forgotten; but it is only in paroxysms of this kind that the human mind effects great and difficult regenerations. The new system of weights and measures, one of the most admirable creations of the age, was the result of this audacious spirit of innovation. The idea was conceived of taking for the unit of weights, and for the unit of measures, natural and invariable quantities in every country. Thus, distilled water was taken for the unit of weight, and a part of the meridian for the unit of measure. These units, multiplied or divided by ten, *ad infinitum*, formed that beautiful system, known by the name of the decimal system.

The same regularity was to be applied to the division of time; and the difficulty of changing the habits of a people in those points where they are most invincible was not capable of deterring men so determined as those who then presided over the destinies of France. They had already changed the Gregorian era into a republican era, and dated the latter from the first year of liberty. They made the year and the new era begin with the 22d of September, 1792, a day which, by a fortunate coincidence, was that of the institution of the republic and of the autumnal equinox. The year would have been divided into ten parts, conformably with the decimal system, but, in taking for the division of the months the twelve revolutions of the moon round the earth, it became absolutely necessary to admit twelve months. Nature here commanded the infraction of the decimal system. The month consisted of thirty days; it was divided into three portions of ten days each, called decades, instead of the four weeks. The tenth day of each decade was dedicated to rest, and superseded the former Sunday. Thus there was one day of rest less in the month. The Catholic religion had multiplied holidays to infinity. The Revolution, preaching up industry, deemed it right to reduce them as much as possible. The months were named after the seasons to which they belonged. As the year commenced with autumn, the first three belonged to that season, and were called Vendémiaire, Brumaire, Frimaire; the three following were those of winter, and were called Nivose, Pluviose, Ventose; the next three, answering to spring, were named Germinal, Floreal, Grairial; and the last three, comprising summer, were denominated Messidor, Thermidor, Fructidor. These twelve months, of thirty days each, formed a total of only three hundred and sixty days. There remained five days for completing the year. These were called complementary days, and, by a happy idea, they were to be set apart for national festivals by the name of *Sans-culottides*—a name which must be granted to the time, and which is not more absurd than many others adopted by nations. The first was to be that of *genius*; the second that of *labour*; the third that of *noble actions*; the fourth that of *rewards*; the fifth and last, that of *opinion*. This last festival, absolutely original, and perfectly adapted to the French character, was to be a sort of political carnival of twenty-four hours, during which people should be allowed to say or to write, with impunity, whatever they pleased concerning every public man. It was for opinion to do justice upon opinion itself; and it behoved all magistrates to defend themselves by their virtues against the truths and the calumnies of that day. Nothing could be more grand or more moral than this idea. If a more mighty destiny has swept away the thoughts and the institutions of that period, its vast and bold conceptions ought not to be made the butt of ridicule. The Romans have not been held ridiculous, because, on the day of triumph, the soldier, placed behind the car of the triumpher, was at liberty to utter whatever his hatred or his mirth suggested. As in every four years, the leap-year brought six complementary

lays instead of five: this sixth *Sans-culottide* was to be called the festival of the *Revolution*, and to be dedicated to a grand solemnity, in which the French should celebrate the period of their enfranchisement, and the institution of the republic.

The day was divided according to the decimal system into ten parts or hours, these into ten others, and so on. New dials were ordered for the purpose of putting into practice this new method of calculating time; but, not to attempt too much at once, this latter reform was postponed for one year.

The last revolution, the most difficult, the most accused of tyranny, was that attempted in regard to religion. The revolutionary laws relative to religion had been left just as they were framed by the Constitutional Assembly. It will be recollected that this first assembly, desirous of introducing into the ecclesiastical administration a uniformity with the civil administration, determined that the extent of every diocese should be the same as that of the departments, that the bishop should be elective like all the other functionaries, and that, in short, without touching the doctrines of the church, its discipline should be regulated as all the parts of the political organization had just been. Such was the civil constitution of the clergy, to which the ecclesiastics were obliged to bind themselves by oath. From that day, it will be recollected, a schism had taken place. Those who adhered to the new institution were called constitutional or sworn priests, and those who refused to do so, refractory priests. The latter were merely deprived of their functions, and had a pension allowed them. The Legislative Assembly, seeing that they were taking great pains to excite opinion against the new system, placed them under the *surveillance* of the authorities of the departments, and even decreed that, upon the decision of those authorities, they might be banished from the territory of France. Lastly, the Convention, more severe in proportion as their conduct became more seditious, condemned all the refractory priests to exile.

As minds became daily more and more excited, people began to ask, why, when all the old monarchical superstitions were abolished, there should yet be retained a phantom of religion, in which scarcely any one continued to believe, and which formed a most striking contrast with the new institutions and the new manners of republican France. Laws had already been demanded for favouring married priests, and for protecting them against certain local administrations, which wanted to deprive them of their functions. The Convention, extremely reserved on this point, would not make any new enactments relative to them, and by this course it had authorized them to retain their functions and their salaries. It had been solicited, moreover, in certain petitions, to cease to allot salaries to any religion, to leave each sect to pay its own ministers, to forbid outward ceremonies, and to oblige all the religions to confine themselves to their own places of worship. All that the Convention did was to reduce the bishops to the *maximum* of six thousand francs, since there were some of them whose income amounted to seventy thousand. On every other point it refused to interfere, and kept silence, leaving France to take the initiative in the abolition of religious worship. It was fearful lest, by meddling itself with creeds, it should alienate part of the population, still attached to the Catholic religion. The commune of Paris, less reserved, seized this important occasion for a reform, and was anxious to set the first example for the abjuration of Catholicism.

While the patriots of the Convention and of the Jacobins, while Robespierre, St. Just, and the other revolutionary leaders, stopped short at deism.

Chaumette, Hebert, all the notables of the commune and of the Cordeliers, placed lower by their functions and their knowledge, could not fail, agreeably to the ordinary law, to overstep that limit, and to proceed to atheism. They did not openly profess that doctrine, but there were grounds for imputing it to them. In their speeches and in their writings the name of God was never mentioned, and they were incessantly repeating that a nation ought to be governed by reason alone, and to allow no other worship but that of reason. Chaumette was neither vulgar, nor malignant, nor ambitious, like Hebert. He did not seek, by exaggerating the prevailing opinions, to supplant the actual leaders of the Revolution, but, destitute of political views, full of a commonplace philosophy, possessed with an extraordinary propensity for declamation, he preached up, with the zeal and devout pride of a missionary, good morals, industry, the patriotic virtues, and lastly, reason, always abstaining from the mention of the name of God. He had inveighed with vehemence against the plunder of the shops; he had severely reprimanded the women who had neglected their household concerns to take a part in political commotions, and he had had the courage to order their club to be shut up; he had provoked the abolition of mendicity and the establishment of public workshops for the purpose of giving employment to the poor; he had thundered against prostitution, and prevailed on the commune to prohibit the profession of women of the town, usually tolerated as inevitable. These unfortunate creatures were forbidden to appear in public, or even to carry on their deplorable trade in the interior of houses. Chaumette said that they belonged to monarchical and Catholic countries, where there were idle citizens and unmarried priests, and that industry and marriage ought to expel them from republics.

Chaumette, taking therefore the initiative in the name of that system of reason, launched out at the commune against the publicity of the Catholic worship.* He insisted that this was a privilege which that communion ought no more to enjoy than any other, and that, if each sect had that faculty, the streets and public places would soon become the theatre of the most ridiculous farces. As the commune was invested with the local police, he obtained a resolution, on the 23d of Vendemiaire (October the 14th) that the ministers of no religion should be allowed to exercise their worship out of the temples appropriated to it. He caused new funeral ceremonies for the purpose of paying the last duties to the dead to be instituted. The friends and relatives alone were to accompany the coffin. All the religious signs were to be suppressed in cemeteries, and to be replaced by a statue of Sleep, after the example of what Fouché had done in the department of the Allier. Instead of cypress and doleful shrubs, the burial-grounds were to be planted with such as were more cheerful and more fragrant. "Let the beauty and the perfume of the flowers," said Chaumette, excite more soothing ideas. I would fain, if it were possible, be able to inhale in the scent of the rose the spirit of my father!" All the outward signs of religion were entirely abolished. It was also decided in the same resolution, and likewise at the instigation of Chaumette, that there should not be sold in the streets "any kinds of jugglery, such as holy napkins, St. Veronica's handkerchiefs, Ecce Homos, crosses, Agnus Deis, Virgins, bodies and rings of St. Hubert, or any powders, medicinal waters, or other adulterated drugs."

* "Pache, Hebert, and Chaumette, the leaders of the municipality, publicly expressed their determination to dethrone the King of heaven, as well as the kings of the earth."—*Lauretelle*. E.

The image of the Virgin was everywhere suppressed, and all the Madonnas in niches at the corners of streets were taken down to make room for busts of Marat and Lepelletier.

Anacharsis Clootz,* the same Prussian baron, who, possessing an income of one hundred thousand livres, had left his own country to come to Paris, as the representative, he said, of the human race; who had figured at the first federation in 1790, at the head of the self-styled envoys of all nations; and who had afterwards been elected deputy to the National Convention—Anacharsis Clootz incessantly preached up a universal republic and the worship of reason. Full of these two ideas, he was continually developing them in his writings, and holding them forth to all nations, sometimes in manifestoes, at others in addresses. To him deism appeared as culpable as Catholicism itself. He never ceased to propose the destruction of tyrants and of all sorts of gods, and insisted that, among mankind enfranchised and enlightened, nothing ought to be left but pure reason, and its beneficent and immortal worship. To the Convention he said, “I had no other way of escaping from all the tyrants, sacred and profane, but continual travel; I was in Rome when they would have imprisoned me in Paris, and in London when they would have burned me in Lisbon. It was by thus running hither and thither, from one extremity of Europe to the other, that I escaped the alguazils and the spies, all the masters and all the servants. My emigrations ceased, when the emigration of villains commenced. The metropolis of the globe, Paris, was the proper post for the orator of the human race. I have not quitted it since 1789. It was then that I redoubled my zeal against the pretended sovereigns of earth and heaven. I boldly preached that there is no other God but Nature, no other sovereign but the human race, the people-god. The people is sufficient for itself. It will subsist forever. Nature kneels not before herself. Judge of the majesty of the free human race by that of the French people, which is but a fraction of it. Judge of the infallibility of the whole by the sagacity of a portion, which singly makes the enslaved world tremble. The committee of *surveillance* of the universal republic will have less to do than the committee of the smallest section of Paris. A general confidence will succeed a universal distrust. In my commonwealth there will be few public offices, few taxes, and no executioner. Reason will unite all men into a single representative bundle, without any other tie than epistolary correspondence. Citizens, religion is the only obstacle to this Utopia. It is high time to destroy it. The human race has burned its swaddling-clothes. ‘The people have no vigour,’ said one of the ancients, ‘but on the day that follows a bad reign.’ Let us profit by this first day, which we will prolong till the morrow for the deliverance of the world.”

The requisitions of Chaumette revived all the hopes of Clootz. He called upon Gobel,† an intriguer of Porentruy, who had become constitutional

* “This personage, whose brain was none of the soundest by nature, disgusted with his baptismal name, had adopted that of the Scythian philosopher, and, uniting it with his own Teutonic family appellation, entitled himself—Anacharsis Clootz, Orator of the human race! He was, in point of absurdity, one of the most inimitable characters in the Revolution.”—*Scott's Life of Napoleon*. E.

† “J. B. Gobel, Bishop of Lydda, suffragan of the Bishop of Bâle, and deputy to the States-general, embraced the popular party, and became odious and often ridiculous during the Revolution. Though born with some abilities, his age and his weak character made him the mere tool of the conspirators. In 1791 he was appointed constitutional Bishop of Paris, and was the consecrator of the new bishops. Being admitted into the Jacobin club, he dis-

bishop of the department of Paris by that rapid movement which had elevated Chaumette, Hebert, and so many others, to the highest municipal functions. He persuaded him that the moment had arrived for abjuring, in the face of France, the Catholic religion, of which he was the chief pontiff; that his example would be followed by all the ministers of that communion; that it would enlighten the nation, produce a general abjuration, and thus oblige the Convention to decree the abolition of all religions. Gobel would not precisely abjure his creed, and thereby declare that he had been deceiving men all his life; but he consented to go and abdicate the episcopacy. Gobel then prevailed upon the majority of his vicars to follow his example. It was agreed with Chaumette and the members of the department that all the constituted authorities of Paris should accompany Gobel, and form part of the deputation, to give it the more solemnity.

On the 17th of Brumaire (November 7, 1793), Momoro, Pache, L'Huillier, Chaumette, Gobel, and all the vicars, repaired to the Convention. Chaumette and L'Huillier, both *procureurs*, one of the committee, the other of the department, informed it that the clergy of Paris had come to pay a signal and sincere homage to reason. They then introduced Gobel. With a red cap on his head, and holding in his hand his mitre, his crosier, his cross, and his ring, he thus addressed the assembly. "Born a plebeian, *curé* of Porentruy, sent by my clergy to the first assembly, then raised to the archbishopric of Paris, I have never ceased to obey the people. I accepted the functions which that people formerly bestowed on me, and now, in obedience to it, I am come to resign them. I suffered myself to be made a bishop when the people wanted bishops. I cease to be so now when the people no longer desire to have any." Gobel added that all his clergy, actuated by the same sentiments, charged him to make the like declaration for them. As he finished speaking, he laid down his mitre, his crosier, and his ring. His clergy ratified his declaration.* The president replied, with great tact, that the Convention had decreed freedom of religion, that it had left it unshackled to each sect, that it had never interfered in their creeds, but that it applauded those who, enlightened by reason, came to renounce their superstitions and their errors.

Gobel had not abjured either the priesthood or Catholicism. He had not dared to declare himself an impostor who had come to confess his lies, but others stretched this declaration for him. "Renouncing," said the *curé* of Vaugirard, "the prejudices which fanaticism had infused into my heart and my mind, I lay down my letters of ordination." Several bishops and *curés*, members of the Convention, followed this example, and laid down their letters of ordination, or abjured Catholicism. Julien of Toulouse abdicated also his quality of Protestant minister. These abdications were hailed with

tinguished himself by his violent motions, and was one of the first to assume the dress of a *sans-culotte*. He did not even fear, at the age of seventy, to declare at the bar of the Convention, that the religion which he had professed from his youth was founded on error and falsehood. He was one of the first who sacrificed to the goddess of Reason, and lent his church for this absurd festival. This farce soon became the pretext for his ruin. He was arrested as an accomplice of the faction of the atheists, and condemned to death in 1794. Gobel was born at Hanne, in the department of the Upper Rhine. During his confinement, he devoted himself again to his former religious exercises; and, on his road to the scaffold, earnestly recited the prayers of the dying."—*Biographie Moderne*. E.

* "Terrified by a night-scene, which David, Cloutz, and Peraud, ex-member for the department, and a professed atheist, had played off in his apartment, Gobel went to the Assembly at the head of his staff—that is to say, of his grand vicars—to abjure the Catholic worship. Gobel at heart was certainly nothing less than a freethinker."—*Prudhomme*. E.

tumultuous applause by the Assembly and the tribunes. At this moment, Gregoire,* Bishop of Blois, entered the hall. He was informed of what had passed, and was exhorted to follow the example of his colleagues. "Is it," said he, "the income attached to the episcopal functions that you wish me to resign? I resign it without regret. Is it my quality of priest and bishop? I cannot strip myself of that; my religion forbids me. I appeal to the freedom of religion." The words of Gregoire finished amidst tumult, but they did not check the explosion of joy which this scene had excited. The deputation quitted the Assembly attended by an immense concourse, and proceeded to the Hôtel de Ville, to receive the congratulations of the commune.

This example once given, it was no difficult matter to excite all the sections of Paris and all the communes of the republic to follow it. The sections soon met, and came one after another to declare that they renounced the errors of superstition, and that they acknowledged no other worship than that of reason. The section of L'Homme-Armé declared that it acknowledged no other worship than that of truth and reason, no other fanaticism than that of liberty and equality, no other doctrine than that of fraternity and of the republican laws decreed since the 31st of May, 1793. The section of La Réunion intimated that it would make a bonfire of all the confessionals and of all the books used by the Catholics, and that it would shut up the church of St. Mery. That of William Tell renounced for ever the worship of error and imposture. That of Mutius Scævola abjured the Catholic religion, and declared that next Décade it should celebrate at the high altar of St. Sulpice the inauguration of the busts of Marat, Lepelletier, and Mutius Scævola; that of Les Piques that it would adore no other God than the God of liberty and equality; and that of the Arsenal also renounced the Catholic religion.

Thus the sections, taking the initiative, abjured the Catholic faith as the established religion, and seized its edifices and its treasures, as pertaining to the communal domains. The deputies on mission in the departments had already incited a great number of communes to seize the moveable property of the churches, which, they said, was not necessary for religion, and which, moreover, like all public property, belonged to the state, and might, therefore, be applied to its wants. Fouché had sent several chests of plate from the department of the Allier. A greater quantity had arrived from other departments. This example, followed in Paris and the environs, soon brought piles of wealth to the bar of the Convention. All the churches were stripped, and the communes sent deputations with the gold and silver accumulated in the shrines of saints, or in places consecrated by ancient devotion. They went in procession to the Convention, and the rabble, indulging their fondness for the burlesque, caricatured in the most ludicrous manner the cere

* "H. Gregoire, was born in 1750, and was one of the first of his order who went to the hall of the *tiers-état*. He was also the first ecclesiastic who took the constitutional oath, and was elected Bishop of Blois. In 1792 he was appointed deputy to the Convention, and was soon afterwards chosen president. He voted for the King's death. When Gobel, the constitutional Bishop of Paris, came to the bar to abjure the Catholic religion and the episcopal functions, Gregoire withstood the example, and even ventured to blame his conduct. In 1794 he made several reports on the irreparable injury which Terrorism had done to the arts and to letters. In 1799 he entered into the newly-created legislative body, and in the following year was appointed president of it. Gregoire deserved well of the sciences by the energy with which he pleaded the cause of men of letters and of artists, during the revolutionary regime. He published several works, and in 1803 travelled into England, and afterwards into Germany."—*Biographie Moderne*. E.

monies of religion, and took as much delight in profaning, as they had formerly done in celebrating them. Men, wearing surplices and copes, came singing Hallelujahs, and dancing the Carmagnole, to the bar of the Convention; there they deposited the host, the boxes in which it was kept, and the statues of gold and silver; they made burlesque speeches, and sometimes addressed the most singular apostrophes to the saints themselves. "O you!" exclaimed a deputation from St. Denis, "O you, instruments of fanaticism, blessed saints of all kinds, be at length patriots, rise *en masse*, serve the country by going to the Mint to be melted, and give us in this world that felicity which you wanted to obtain for us in the other!" These scenes of merriment were followed all at once by scenes of reverence and devotion. The same persons who trampled under foot the saints of Christianity bore an awning; the curtains were thrown back, and, pointing to the busts of Marat and Lepelletier, "These," said they, "are not gods made by men, but the images of worthy citizens assassinated by the slaves of kings." They then filed off before the Convention, again singing Hallelujahs and dancing the Carmagnole; carried the rich spoils of the altars to the Mint, and placed the revered busts of Marat and Lepelletier in the churches, which thenceforth became the temples of a new worship.

At the requisition of Chaumette, it was resolved that the metropolitan church of Notre-Dame should be converted into a republican edifice, called the *Temple of Reason*. A festival was instituted for all the Décadis, to supersede the Catholic ceremonies of Sunday. The mayor, the municipal officers, the public functionaries, repaired to the Temple of Reason, where they read the declaration of the rights of man and the constitutional act, analyzed the news from the armies, and related the brilliant actions which had been performed during the decade. A *mouth of truth*, resembling the mouths of denunciation which formerly existed at Venice, was placed in the Temple of Reason, to receive *opinions, censures, advice*, that might be useful to the public. These letters were examined and read every Décadi; a moral discourse was delivered, after which pieces of music were performed, and the ceremonies concluded with the singing of republican hymns. There were in the temple two tribunes, one for aged men, the other for pregnant women, with these inscriptions: *Respect for old age—Respect and attention for pregnant women*.

The first festival of Reason was held with pomp on the 20th of Brumaire (the 10th of November). It was attended by all the sections, together with the constituted authorities. A young woman represented the goddess of Reason. She was the wife of Momoro, the printer, one of the friends of Vincent, Ronsin, Chaumette, Hebert, and the like. She was dressed in a white drapery; a mantle of azure blue hung from her shoulders; her flowing hair was covered with the cap of liberty. She sat upon an antique seat, intertwined with ivy and borne by four citizens. Young girls dressed in white, and crowned with roses, preceded and followed the goddess. Then came the busts of Lepelletier and Marat, musicians, troops, and all the armed sections. Speeches were delivered, and hymns sung in the Temple of Reason;* they then proceeded to the Convention, and Chaumette spoke in these terms:

"Legislators! Fanaticism has given way to reason. Its bleared eyes could not endure the brilliancy of the light. This day an immense concourse has assembled beneath those Gothic vaults, which, for the first time,

* "Beauty without modesty was seen usurping the place of the Holy of Holies."—*Guaregard. E.*

re-echoed the truth. There the French have celebrated the only true worship, that of liberty, that of reason. 'There we have formed wishes for the prosperity of the arms of the republic. There we have abandoned inanimate idols for reason, for that animated image, the master-piece of nature.'" As he uttered these words, Chaumette pointed to the living goddess of Reason. The young and beautiful woman descended from her seat and went up to the president, who gave her the fraternal kiss, amidst universal bravoos and shouts of *The Republic for ever! Reason for ever! Down with fanaticism!* The Convention, which had not yet taken any part in these representations, was hurried away, and obliged to follow the procession, which returned to the Temple of Reason, and there sang a patriotic hymn. An important piece of intelligence, that of the retaking of Noirmoutier from Charette,* increased the general joy, and furnished a more real motive for it than the abolition of fanaticism.

It is impossible to view with any other feeling than disgust these scenes without devotion, without sincerity, exhibited by a nation which changed its worship, without comprehending either the old system, or that which they substituted for it. When is the populace sincere? When is it capable of comprehending the dogmas which are given to it to believe? What does it in general want? Large assemblages, which gratify its fondness for public meetings, symbolic spectacles, which incessantly remind it of a power superior to its own; lastly, festivals in which homage is paid to those who have made the nearest approach to the good, the fair, the great—in short, temples, ceremonies, and saints. Here were temples, Reason, Marat, and Lepelletier!† It was assembled, it adored a mysterious power, it celebrated those two men. All its wants were satisfied, and it gave way to them on this occasion no otherwise than it always gives way.

If then we survey the state of France at this period, we shall see that never were more restraints imposed at once on that inert and patient part of the population on which political experiments are made. People dared no longer express any opinion. They were afraid to visit their friends, lest they might be compromised with them, and lose liberty and even life. A hundred thousand arrests and some hundreds of condemnations, rendered imprisonment and the scaffold ever present to the minds of twenty-five millions of French. They had to bear heavy taxes. If, by a perfectly arbitrary classification, they were placed on the list of the rich, they lost for

* "When the republicans retook Noirmoutier, they found M. d'Elbée at death's door from his wounds. His wife might have got away, but she would not leave him. When the republicans entered his chamber, they said, 'So, this is d'Elbée!'—'Yes,' replied he, 'you see your greatest enemy, and, had I strength to fight, you should not have taken Noirmoutier; or at least you should have purchased it dearly.' They kept him five days, and loaded him with insults. At length, exhausted by suffering, he said, 'Gentlemen, it is time to conclude your examination—let me die.' As he was unable to stand, they placed him in an arm-chair, where he was shot. His wife, on seeing him carried to execution, fainted away. A republican officer showing some pity, supported her, but he also was threatened to be shot if he did not leave her. She was put to death the next day. The republicans then filled a street with fugitives and suspected inhabitants, and massacred the whole."—*Memoirs of the Marchioness de Larochefoucauld*. E.

† "Every tenth day a revolutionary leader ascended the pulpit, and preached atheism to the bewildered audience. Marat was universally deified, and even the instrument of death was sanctified by the name of the Holy Guillotine! On all the public cemeteries this inscription was placed—Death is an eternal sleep. The comedian Monert, in the church of St. Roche, carried impiety to its height. 'God, if you exist,' said he, 'avenge your injured name! I bid you defiance. You remain silent. You dare not launch your thunders. Who after this will believe in your existence?'"—*Alison*. E.

that year a portion of their income. Sometimes, at the requisition of a representative or of some agent or other, they were obliged to give up their crops, or their most valuable effects in gold and silver. They durst no longer display any luxury, or indulge in noisy pleasures. They were no longer permitted to use metallic money, but obliged to take and give a depreciated paper, with which it was difficult to procure such things as they needed. They were forced, if shopkeepers, to sell at a fictitious price, if buyers, to put up with the worst commodities, because the best shunned the *maximum* and the assignats; sometimes, indeed, they had to do without either, because good and bad were alike concealed. They had but one sort of black bread, common to the rich as to the poor, for which they were obliged to contend at the doors of the bakers, after waiting for several hours. Lastly, the names of the weights and measures, the names of the months and days, were changed; there were but three Sundays instead of four; and the women and the aged men were deprived of those religious ceremonies which they had been accustomed to attend all their lives.*

Never had power overthrown with greater violence the habits of a people. To threaten all lives, to decimate all fortunes, to fix compulsorily the standard of the exchanges, to give new names to all things, to abolish the ceremonies of religion, is indisputably the most atrocious of tyrannies, if we do not take into account the danger of the state, the inevitable crisis of commerce, and the spirit of system inseparable from the spirit of innovation.

THE NATIONAL CONVENTION.

RETURN OF DANTON—PART OF THE MOUNTAINEERS TAKE PITY ON THE PROSCRIBED, AND DECLARE AGAINST THE NEW WORSHIP—DANTONISTS AND HEBERTISTS—POLICY OF THE COMMITTEE OF PUBLIC WELFARE—ROBESPIERRE DEFENDS DANTON, AND CARRIES A MOTION FOR THE ABOLITION OF THE NEW WORSHIP—LAST IMPROVEMENTS MADE IN THE DICTATORIAL GOVERNMENT—ENERGY OF THE COMMITTEE AGAINST ALL THE PARTIES—ARREST OF RONSIN, HEBERT, THE FOUR DEPUTIES WHO FABRICATED THE SPURIOUS DECREE, AND THE ALLEGED AGENTS OF THE FOREIGN POWERS.

SINCE the fall of the Girondins, the Mountaineer party, left alone and victorious, had begun to be disunited. The daily increasing excesses of the Revolution tended to complete this division, and an absolute rupture was near at hand. Many deputies had been moved by the fate of the Girondins, of Bailly, of Brunet, and of Houchard. Others censured the violence com-

* "The services of religion were now universally abandoned. The pulpits were deserted throughout the revolutionary districts; baptisms ceased; the burial service was no longer heard; the sick received no communion, the dying no consolation. The village bells were silent. Sunday was obliterated. Infancy entered the world without a blessing; age quitted it without a hope."—*Alison*. E.

mitted in regard to religion, and deemed it impolitic and dangerous. They said that new superstitions would start up in the place of those which people were anxious to destroy; that the pretended worship of reason was no better than atheism; that atheism could not be adapted to a nation; and that these extravagances must be instigated and rewarded by the foreign enemy. On the contrary, the party which held sway at the Cordeliers and at the commune, which had Hebert for its writer, Ronsin and Vincent for its leaders, Chaumette and Clootz for its apostles, insisted that its adversaries meant to resuscitate a moderate faction, and to produce fresh dissensions in the republic.

Danton had returned from his retirement. He did not express his sentiments, but the leader of a party would in vain attempt to conceal them. They pass from mouth to mouth, and soon become manifest to all minds. It was well known that he would fain have prevented the execution of the Girondins, and that he had been deeply moved by their tragic end. It was well known that, though a partisan and an inventor of revolutionary means, he began to condemn the blind and ferocious employment of them; that he was of opinion that violence ought not to be prolonged beyond the existence of danger; and that, at the close of the current campaign, and after the entire expulsion of the enemy, it was his intention to endeavour to re-establish the reign of mild and equitable laws. None dared yet attack him in the tribunes of the clubs. Hebert dared not insult him in his paper of *Père Duchesne*; but the most insidious rumours were orally circulated; insinuations were thrown out against his integrity; the peculations in Belgium were referred to with more boldness than ever; and some had even gone so far as to assert, during his seclusion at Arcis-sur-Aube, that he had emigrated and carried his wealth along with him. With him were associated, as no better than himself, his friend Camille-Desmoulins, who had participated in his pity for the Girondins, and defended Dillon and Philippeaux, who had just returned from La Vendée, enraged against the disorganizers, and quite ready to denounce Ronsin and Rossignol. In his party were likewise classed all those who had in any way displeased the ardent revolutionists, and their number began to be very considerable.

Julien of Toulouse, who was already strongly suspected on account of his connexion with d'Espagnac and the contractors, had completely committed himself by a report on the federalist administrations, in which he strove to palliate the faults of most of them. No sooner was it delivered, than the indignant Cordeliers and Jacobins obliged him to retract it. They made inquiries concerning his private life; they discovered that he lived with stockjobbers, and cohabited with a *ci-devant* countess, and they declared him to be at once dissolute and a moderate. Fabre d'Eglantine had all at once changed his situation, and lived in a higher style than he had ever before been known to do. The capuchin Chabot, who, on espousing the cause of the Revolution, had nothing but his ecclesiastical pension, had also lately begun to display expensive furniture, and married the young sister of the two Freys, with a dower of two hundred thousand livres. This sudden change of fortune excited suspicions against these recently enriched deputies, and it was not long before a proposition which they made to the Convention completed their ruin. Osselin, a deputy, had just been arrested, on charge of having concealed a female emigrant. Fabre, Chabot, Julien, and Delaunay, who were not easy on their own account; Bazire and Thuriot, who had nothing wherewith to reproach themselves, but who perceived with alarm that even members of the Convention were not spared, proposed a

decree purporting that no deputy could be arrested till he had been first heard at the bar. This decree was adopted; but all the clubs and the Jacobins inveighed against it, and alleged that it was an attempt to renew the *inviolability*. They caused a report to be made upon it, and commenced the strictest inquiry concerning those who had proposed it, their conduct, and the origin of their sudden wealth. Julien, Fabre, Chabot, Delaunay, Bazire, Thuriot, stripped of their popularity in a few days, were classed among the party of equivocal and moderate men. Hebert loaded them with the grossest abuse in his paper, and delivered them up to the lowest of the populace.

Four or five other persons shared the same fate, though hitherto acknowledged to be excellent patriots. They were Proly, Pereyra, Gusman, Dubuisson, and Desfieux. Natives almost all of them of foreign countries, they had come, like the two Freys and Clootz, and thrown themselves into the French Revolution, out of enthusiasm, and probably, also, from a desire to make their fortune. Nobody cared who or what they were, so long as they appeared to be zealous votaries of the Revolution. Proly, who was a native of Brussels, had been sent with Pereyra and Desfieux to Dumouriez, to discover his intentions. They drew from him an explanation of them, and then went, as we have related, and denounced him to the Convention and to the Jacobins. So far all was right; but they had also been employed by Lebrun, because, being foreigners and well-informed men, they were capable of rendering good service in the foreign department. In their intercourse with Lebrun they had learned to esteem him, and they had defended him. Proly had been well acquainted with Dumouriez, and, notwithstanding the defection of that general, he had persisted in extolling his talents, and asserting that he might have been retained for the republic. Lastly, almost all of them, possessing a better knowledge of the neighbouring countries, had censured the application of the Jacobin system to Belgium and to the provinces united with France. Their expressions were noted, and when a general distrust led to the notion of the secret interference of a foreign faction, people began to suspect them, and to call to mind the language which they had held. It was known that Proly was a natural son of Kaunitz; he was supposed to be the principal leader, and they were all metamorphosed into spies of Pitt and Coburg. Rage soon knew no bounds, and the very exaggeration of their patriotism, which they deemed likely to justify them, only served to compromise them still more. They were confounded with the party of the equivocal men, the moderates. Whenever Danton or his friends had any remark to make on the faults of the ministerial agents, or on the violence exercised against religion, the party of Hebert, Vincent, and Ronsin, replied by crying out against moderation, corruption, and the foreign faction.

As usual, the moderates flung back this accusation to their adversaries, saying, "It is you who are the accomplices of these foreigners; your connexion with them is proved, as well by the common violence of your language, as by the determination to overturn everything, and to carry matters to extremities. Look," added they, "at that commune, which arrogates to itself a legislative authority, and passes laws under the modest title of resolutions; which regulates everything, the police, the markets, and public worship; which, at its own good pleasure, substitutes one religion for another, supersedes ancient superstitions by new superstitions, preaches up atheism, and causes its example to be followed by all the municipalities of the republic; look at those offices of the war department, whence issue a

multitude of agents, who spread themselves over the provinces, to vie with the representatives, to practise the greatest oppressions, and to decry the Revolution by their conduct; look at that commune, at those offices—what do they mean but to usurp the legislative and executive authority, to dispossess the Convention and the committees, and to dissolve the government? Who can urge them on to this goal but the foreign enemy?"

Amidst these agitations and these quarrels, it behoved authority to pursue a vigorous course. Robespierre thought, with the whole committee, that these reciprocal accusations were extremely dangerous. His policy, as we have already seen, had consisted, ever since the 31st of May, in preventing a new revolutionary outbreak, in rallying opinion around the Convention, and the Convention around the committee, in order to create an energetic power; and, to this end, he had made use of the Jacobins, who were all-powerful upon public opinion. These new charges against accredited patriots, such as Danton and Camille-Desmoulins, appeared to him very dangerous. He was afraid that no reputation would be able to stand against men's imaginations when once let loose; he was apprehensive lest the violence done to religion might alienate part of France, and cause the Revolution to be regarded as atheistical; lastly, he fancied that he beheld the hand of the foreign foe in this vast confusion. He therefore took good care to seize the opportunity which Hebert soon afforded him, to explain his sentiments on this subject to the Jacobins.

The intentions of Robespierre had transpired. It was whispered about that he was going to attack Pache,* Hebert, Chaumette, and Cloutz, the author of the movement against religion. Proly, Desfieux, and Pereyra, already compromised and threatened, resolved to unite their cause with that of Pache, Chaumette, and Hebert. They called upon them, and told them that there was a conspiracy against the best patriots; that they were all equally in danger, that they ought to support and reciprocally defend each other. Hebert then went to the Jacobins, on the 1st of Frimaire (November 21, 1793), and complained of a plan of disunion tending to divide the patriots. "Wherever I go," said he, "I meet with people who congratulate me on not being yet arrested. It is reported that Robespierre intends to denounce me, Chaumette, and Pache. As for me, who put myself forward every day for the interests of the country, and say everything that comes into my head, the rumour may have some foundation; but Pache! . . . I know the high esteem which Robespierre has for him, and I fling far from me such an idea. It has been said, too, that Danton has emigrated, that he has gone to Switzerland, laden with the spoils of the people. . . . I met him this morning in the Tuileries, and, since he is in Paris, he ought to come to the Jacobins, and explain himself in a brotherly manner. It is a duty which all the patriots owe to themselves to contradict the injurious reports which are circulated respecting them." Hebert then stated that he had learned part of these reports from Dubuisson, who insisted on revealing to him a conspiracy against the patriots; and, according to the usual custom of throwing all blame upon the vanquished, he added that the cause of the troubles was in the accomplices of Brissot, who were still living, and in the Bourbons, who were still in the Temple. Robespierre immediately mounted the tribune. "Is it true," said he, "that our most dangerous enemies are the impure remnants of the race of our tyrants? I vote in my heart that the race of tyrants disappear from the earth; but can I shut my

* "Pache was a man who was more fatal to France than even a hostile army."—*Mercier*. E.

eyes to the state of my country so completely as to believe that this event would suffice to extinguish the flames of those conspiracies which are consuming us? Whom shall we persuade that the punishment of the despicable sister of Capet would awe our enemies, more than that of Capet himself and of his guilty partner?

"Is it true that another cause of our calamities is fanaticism? Fanaticism! it is dying; nay, I may say, it is dead. In directing, for some days past, all our energy against it, are not we diverting our attention from real dangers? You are afraid of the priests, and they are eagerly abdicating their titles, and exchanging them for those of municipals, of administrators, and even of presidents of popular societies. Formerly, they were strongly attached to their ministry, when it produced them an income of seventy thousand livres; they abdicated it when it yielded them no more than six thousand. Yes; fear not their fanaticism, but their ambition; not the dress which they did wear, but the new hide which they have put on. Fear not the old superstition, but the new and false superstition, which men feign to embrace in order to ruin us!"

Grappling at once the question of religion, Robespierre thus proceeded:

"Let citizens animated by a pure zeal, deposit on the altar of the country the useless and pompous monuments of superstition, that they may be rendered subservient to the triumphs of liberty: the country and reason smile at these offerings; but what right have aristocracy and hypocrisy to mingle their influence with that of civism? What right have men, hitherto unknown in the career of the Revolution, to seek amidst all these events the means of usurping a false popularity, of hurrying the very patriots into false measures, and of throwing disturbance and discord among us? What right have they to violate the liberty of religion in the name of liberty, and to attack fanaticism with a new fanaticism? What right have they to make the solemn homage paid to pure truth degenerate into wearisome and ridiculous farces?"

"It has been supposed that, in accepting the civic offerings, the Convention has proscribed the Catholic worship. No, the Convention has taken no such step, and never will take it. Its intention is to uphold the liberty of worship which it has proclaimed, and to repress at the same time all those who shall abuse it to disturb public order. It will not allow the peaceful ministers of the different religions to be persecuted, and it will punish them severely, whenever they shall dare to avail themselves of their functions to mislead the citizens, and to arm prejudice or royalism against the republic.

"There are men who would fain go further; who, upon the pretext of destroying superstition, would fain make a sort of religion of atheism itself. Every philosopher, every individual, is at liberty to adopt on that subject what opinion he pleases; whoever would make a crime of this is a madman; but the public man, the legislator, would be a hundred times more insane, who should adopt such a system. The National Convention abhors it. The Convention is not a maker of books and of systems. It is a political and popular body. Atheism is *aristocratic*. The idea of a great Being, who watches over oppressed innocence, and who punishes triumphant guilt, is quite popular. The people, the unfortunate, applaud me. If there are any who censure, they must belong to the rich and to the guilty. I have been from my college years a very indifferent Catholic; but I have never been a cold friend, or an unfaithful defender of humanity. I am on that account only the more attached to the moral and political ideas which I have here

expounded to you. *If God did not exist, it would behove man to invent him!*"*

Robespierre, after making this profession of faith, imputed to the foreign foe the persecutions exercised against religion, and the calumnies circulated against the best patriots. Robespierre, who was extremely distrustful, and who had supposed the Girondins to be royalists, was a firm believer in a foreign faction, which, as we have observed, consisted at most of a few spies sent to the armies, certain bankers who were the agents of stockjobbers, and correspondents of the emigrants. "The foreigners," said he, "have two sorts of armies: the one on our frontiers is powerless and nearly ruined; the other, the more dangerous of the two, is in the midst of us. It is an army of spies, of hireling knaves, who introduce themselves everywhere, even into the bosom of the popular societies. It is this faction which has persuaded Hebert that I meant to cause Pache, Chaumette, Hebert, the whole commune, to be arrested. I persecute Pache, whose simple and modest virtue I have always admired and defended!—I, who have fought for him against a Brissot and his accomplices!" Robespierre praised Pache, but took no notice of Hebert. He merely said that he had not forgotten the services of the commune in the days when liberty was in danger. Then, launching out against what he called the foreign faction, he hurled the bolts of the Jacobins at Proly, Dubuisson, Pereyra, and Desfieux. He related their history, he depicted them as the agents of Lebrun and of the foreign powers, employed to imbitter animosities, to divide the patriots, and to inflame them against one another. From the manner in which he expressed himself, it was obvious that the hatred which he felt for old friends of Lebrun, had no small share in producing his distrust. On his motion, all four were expelled from the society, amidst the most tumultuous applause, and he proposed a purifying scrutiny for all the Jacobins.

Thus Robespierre had hurled an anathema at the new worship, given a severe lesson to all the firebrands, said nothing very consolatory to Hebert, not committed himself so far as to praise that filthy writer, and directed the whole fury of the storm upon foreigners, who had the misfortune to be friends of Lebrun, to admire Dumouriez, and to censure our political system in the conquered countries. Lastly, he had arrogated to himself the recomposition of the society, by obtaining the adoption of his motion for a purifying scrutiny.

During the succeeding days, Robespierre followed up his system, and read letters to the Jacobins, some anonymous, others intercepted, proving that foreigners, if they did not produce, at least rejoiced at, the extravagances in regard to religion, and the calumnies in regard to the best patriots. Danton had received from Hebert a sort of challenge to explain himself. He would not do so at first, lest it should appear as though he were obeying a summons; but, a fortnight afterwards, he seized a favourable occasion for addressing the Assembly. A proposition had been brought forward that all the popular societies should be furnished with a place for meeting at the expense of the state. On this subject he made various observations, and thence took occasion to say that, if the constitution ought to be lulled to

* "Robespierre, with all his fanaticism in favour of democracy, felt the necessity as strongly as any man in France, both of some religious impressions to form a curb upon the passions of the people, and of a strong central government to check their excesses. He early felt a horror of the infidel atrocities of the municipality; and saw that such principles, if persisted in, would utterly disorganize society throughout France. With the sanguinary spirit of the times, he resolved to effect it by their extermination."—*Alison*. E.

sleep while the people strikes and terrifies the enemies of its revolutionary operations, it was nevertheless right to beware of those who would urge that same people beyond the bounds of the Revolution. Coupé of the Oise replied to Danton, and distorted, whilst opposing, his ideas. Danton immediately reascended the tribune, amidst some murmurs. He then challenged those who had anything to allege against him to bring forward their charges, that he might reply to them publicly. He complained of the disapprobation which was expressed in his presence. "Have I then lost," he exclaimed, "those features which characterize the face of a free man?" As he uttered these words, he shook that head which had been so often seen, so often encountered, amid the storms of the Revolution, and which had always encouraged the daring of the republicans, and struck terror into the aristocrats. "Am I no longer," he continued, "the same man who was at your side in every critical moment? Am I no longer that man so persecuted, so well known to you—that man whom you have so often embraced as your friend, and with whom you have sworn to die in the same dangers?" He then reminded the assembly that he was the defender of Marat, and was thus obliged to cover himself, as it were, with the shade of that creature whom he had formerly protected and disdained. "You will be surprised," said he, "when I shall make you acquainted with my private conduct, to see that the prodigious fortune which my enemies and yours have attributed to me is dwindled down to the very small portion of property which I have always possessed. I defy malice to furnish any proof against me. Its utmost efforts will not be able to shake me. I will take my stand in face of the people. You shall judge me in its presence. I will no more tear the leaf of my history, than you will tear yours." In conclusion, Danton demanded a commission to investigate the accusations preferred against him. Robespierre then rushed in the utmost haste to the tribune. "Danton," he exclaimed, "demands of you a commission to investigate his conduct. I consent to it, if he thinks that this measure will prove serviceable to him. He wishes the crimes with which he is charged to be specified. Well, I will specify them. Danton, thou art accused of having emigrated. It has been said that thou hadst gone to Switzerland; that thy indisposition was feigned to disguise thy flight from the people; it has been said that it was thy ambition to be regent under Louis XVII; that everything was prepared for proclaiming, at a fixed time, this shoot of the Capets; that thou wert at the head of the conspiracy; that neither Pitt, nor Coburg, nor England, nor Austria, nor Prussia, was our real enemy, but thyself alone; that the Mountain was composed of thine accomplices; that it was silly to bestow a thought on agents sent by the foreign powers; that their conspiracies were fables worthy only of contempt; in short, that it was thou, and thou alone, who oughtest to be put to death!"

Universal applause drowned the voice of Robespierre. He resumed: "Knowest thou not, Danton, that the more courage and patriotism a man possesses, the more intent are the enemies of the public weal upon his destruction? Knowest thou not, and know ye not all, citizens, that this method is infallible? Ah! if the defender of liberty were not slandered, this would be a proof that we had no more nobles or priests to combat!" Then alluding to Hebert's paper, in which he, Robespierre, was highly praised, he added: "The enemies of the country seem to overwhelm me exclusively with praises. But I spurn them. It is supposed that, besides these praises which are repeated in certain papers, I do not perceive the knife with which

they would fain slaughter the country.* The cause of the patriots is like that of the tyrants. They are all security for one another. I may be mistaken respecting Danton, but I have seen him in his family; he deserves nothing but praise. In his political relations, I have watched him; a difference of opinion led me to study him with attention, frequently with anger; he was slow, I admit, to suspect Dumouriez; he did not hate Brissot and his accomplices cordially enough; but, if he was not always of the same sentiments as myself, am I thence to conclude that he betrayed the country? No, I always saw him serve it with zeal. Danton wishes to be tried. He is right. Let me be tried, too! Let them produce men more patriotic than we are. I would wager that they are nobles, privileged persons, priests. You will there find a marquis, and you will have the exact measure of the patriotism of those who accuse us."

Robespierre then called upon all those who had anything to allege against Danton to come forward. No one durst speak. Momoro, himself a friend of Hebert's, was the first to remark that, as no person came forward, this was a proof that there was nothing to be alleged against Danton. A member then proposed that the president should give him the fraternal embrace. It was agreed to, and Danton, stepping up to the *bureau*, received the embrace amidst universal applause.

The conduct of Robespierre on this occasion was generous and clever. The danger common to all the old patriots, the ingratitude with which Danton's services were repaid, and, lastly, a decided superiority, had lifted Robespierre above his habitual egotism; and, for this time full of right sentiments, he was more eloquent than it was given to his nature to be. But the service which he had rendered Danton had been more useful to the cause of the government, and of the old patriots who composed it, than to Danton himself, whose popularity was gone. Extinct enthusiasm cannot easily be rekindled; and there was no reason to presume that there would again be public dangers great enough to afford Danton, by his courage, the means of retrieving his influence.

Robespierre, prosecuting his work, did not fail to attend every sitting of purification. When it came to Clootz's turn, he was accused of connexions with Vandeniver, the foreign banker. He attempted to justify himself, but Robespierre addressed the society. He reminded it of Clootz's connexions with the Girondins, his rupture with them, owing to a pamphlet entitled "*Neither Roland nor Marat*," a pamphlet in which he attacked the Mountain as strongly as the Gironde; his extravagant exaggeration, his perseverance in talking of a universal republic, in exciting a rage for conquests, and in compromising France with all Europe. "And how," continued Robespierre, "could M. Clootz interest himself in the welfare of France, when he took so deep an interest in the welfare of Persia and Monomotapa? There is a recent crisis, indeed, of which he may boast. I allude to the movement against the established worship—a movement which, conducted rationally and deliberately, might have produced excellent effects, but the violence of which was liable to do the greatest mischief. M. Clootz had a conference one night with Bishop Gobel. Gobel gave him a promise, and, next day, suddenly changing language and dress, he gave up his letters of ordination. M. Clootz imagined that we should be dupes of these masquerades. No, no,

* "Hebert's municipal faction contained many obscure foreigners, who were supposed, and not without some appearance of truth, to be the agents of England, for the purpose of destroying the republic, by driving it to excess and anarchy."—*Mignet*. E.

the Jacobins will never regard as a friend^e of the people this pretended *sans-culotte*, who is a Prussian and a baron, who possesses an income of one hundred thousand livres, who dines with conspirator bankers, and who is the orator, not of the French people, but of the human race."

Clootz was immediately excluded from the society, and, on the motion of Robespierre, it was decided that all nobles, priests, bankers, and foreigners, without distinction, should be excluded.

At the next sitting, it came to the turn of Camille-Desmoulins. He was reproached with his letter to Dillon, and feelings of compassion for the Girondins. "I thought Dillon a brave and a clever man," said Camille, "and I defended him. As for the Girondins, I was peculiarly situated in regard to them. I have always loved and served the republic, but I have frequently been wrong in my notions of those who served it. I adored Mirabeau, I loved Barnave and the Lameths, I admit; but I sacrificed my friendship and my admiration, as soon as I knew that they had ceased to be Jacobins. A most extraordinary fatality decreed that out of sixty revolutionists who signed my marriage contract, only two friends, Danton and Robespierre, are now left. All the others have emigrated or been guillotined. Of this number were seven of the twenty-two. An emotion of sympathy was therefore very pardonable on this occasion. I have said," added Desmoulins, "that they died as republicans, but as federalist republicans; for I assure you that I believe there were not many royalists among them."

Camille-Desmoulins was beloved for his easy disposition and his natural and original turn of mind. "Camille has made a bad choice of his friends," said a Jacobin; "let us prove to him that we know better how to choose ours, by receiving him with open arms." Robespierre, ever the protector of his old colleagues, but assuming at the same time a tone of superiority, defended Camille-Desmoulins.

"He is weak," said he, "and confiding, but he has always been a republican. He loved Mirabeau, Lameth, Dillon, but he has broken his idols as soon as he was undeceived. Let him pursue his career, and be more cautious in future." After this exhortation, Camille was admitted amidst applause. Danton was then admitted without any observation, and Fabre d'Eglantine in his turn, but he had to submit to some questions concerning his fortune, which he was allowed to attribute to his literary talents. This purification was continued, and occupied a long time. It was begun in November, 1793, and lasted several months.

The policy of Robespierre and the government was well known. The energy with which this policy had been manifested, intimidated the restless promoters of the new worship, and they began to think of retracting, and of retracing their steps.* Chaumette, who had the eloquence of a speaker at a club or at a commune, but who had neither the ambition nor the courage of

* The municipal faction of Chaumette and Hébert had not only struck at the root of religious worship, but they had attempted also to alter the whole existing social code. "The most sacred relations of life," says Mr. Alison, "were at the same period placed on a new footing, suited to the extravagant ideas of the times. Marriage was declared a civil contract, binding only during the pleasure of the contracting parties. Divorce immediately became general; and the corruption of manners reached a height unknown during the worst days of the monarchy. So indiscriminate did concubinage become, that, by a decree of the Convention, bastards were declared entitled to an equal share of the succession with legitimate children. The divorces in Paris in the first three months of 1792 were 562, while the marriages were only 1785—a proportion probably unexampled among mankind! The consequences soon became apparent. Before the era of the Consulate, one-half of the whole births in Paris were illegitimate." E.

a party-leader, did not by any means pretend to vie with the Convention, and to set himself up for the creator of a new worship. He was anxious, therefore, to seize an occasion for repairing his fault. He resolved to obtain an explanation of the resolution which shut up all the places of worship, and proposed to the commune to declare that it had no intention to cramp religious liberty, and meant not to deprive the professors of any religion of the right to meet in places paid for by them, and maintained at their cost. "Let it not be alleged," said he, "that it is weakness or policy that actuates me. I am equally incapable of the one and the other. It is the conviction that our enemies would fain abuse our zeal, to urge it beyond bounds, and to hurry us into false steps; it is the conviction that, if we prevent the Catholics from exercising their worship publicly, and with the permission of the law, bilious wretches will go and inflame their imaginations, or conspire in caverns. It is this conviction alone that inspires me and induces me to speak." The resolution proposed by Chaumette, and strongly seconded by Pache, the mayor, was at length adopted, with some murmurs, which were soon drowned by general applause. The Convention declared, on its part, that it had never intended by its decrees to shackle religious liberty, and it forbade the plate still remaining in the churches to be touched, since the exchequer had no further need of that kind of aid. From that day, the indecent farces performed by the people ceased in Paris, and the ceremonies of the worship of Reason, which had afforded them so much amusement, were abolished.

Amidst this great confusion, the committee of public welfare felt more keenly every day the necessity of giving increased vigour and promptness, and enforcing more ready obedience, to the supreme authority. From day to day, the experience of obstacles rendered it more skilful, and it kept adding fresh pieces to that revolutionary machine created for the duration of the war. It had already prevented the transfer of power to new and inexperienced hands, by proroguing the Convention, and by declaring the government revolutionary till the peace. At the same time, it had concentrated this power in its hands, by making the revolutionary tribunal, the police, the military operations, and the very distribution of the articles of consumption, dependent on itself. Two months' experience had made it acquainted with the obstacles by which the local authorities, either from excess or want of zeal, clogged the action of the superior authority. The transmission of the decrees was frequently interrupted or delayed, and their promulgation neglected in certain departments. There still remained many of those federalist administrations which had risen in insurrection, and the power of coalescing was not yet forbidden them. If, on the one hand, the departmental administrations exhibited some danger of federalism, the communes, on the other, acting in a contrary spirit, exercised, after the example of that of Paris, a vexatious authority, issued laws, and imposed taxes; the revolutionary committees wielded an arbitrary and inquisitorial power against persons; revolutionary armies, instituted in different localities, completed these particular, tyrannical, petty governments, disunited among themselves, and embarrassing to the superior government. Lastly, the authority of the representatives, added to all the others, increased the confusion of the sovereign powers, for they imposed taxes and issued penal laws, like the communes and the Convention itself.

Billaud-Varennes, in an ill-written but able report, detailed these inconveniences, and caused the decree of the 14th of Frimaire (Dec. 4), to be a model for a provisional, energetic, and absolute government. Anarchy, said the reporter, threatens republics at their birth and in their old age. Let us

endeavour to secure ourselves from it. This decree instituted the *Bulletin des Lois*, an admirable invention, the idea of which was perfectly new; for the laws, sent by the Assembly to the ministers, and by the ministers to the local authorities, without any fixed term, without minutes to guarantee their transmission or their arrival, were frequently issued a long time before they were either promulgated or known. According to the new decree, a commission, a printing-office, and a particular kind of paper, were exclusively devoted to the printing and circulation of the laws. The commission, composed of four persons, independent of all authority, free from all other duties, received the law, caused it to be printed, and sent it by post within fixed and invariable terms. The transmission and the delivery were ascertained by the ordinary means of the post; and these movements, thus reduced to a regular system, became infallible. The Convention was afterwards declared the *central point of the government*. Under these words was disguised the sovereignty of the committees, which did everything for the Convention. The departmental authorities were in some measure abolished; all their political privileges were taken from them, and the only duties left to them, as to the department of Paris on the occasion of the 10th of August, consisted in the assessment of the contributions, the maintenance of the roads, and the superintendence of purely economical matters. Thus these intermediate and too powerful agents between the people and the supreme authority were suppressed. The district and communal administrations alone were suffered to exist, with all their privileges. Every local administration was forbidden to unite itself with others; to remove to a new place; to send out agents, to issue ordinances extending or admitting decrees, or to levy taxes on men. All the revolutionary armies established in the departments were disbanded, and there was to be left only the single revolutionary army established at Paris for the service of the whole republic. The revolutionary committees were obliged to correspond with the districts charged to watch them, and with the committee of general safety. Those of Paris were allowed to correspond only with the committee of general safety, and not with the commune. Representatives were forbidden to levy taxes unless they were approved by the Convention; they were also forbidden to issue penal laws.

Thus all the authorities were brought back to their proper sphere. Any conflict or coalition between them was rendered impossible. They received the laws in an infallible manner. They could neither modify them nor defer their execution. The two committees still retained their sway. That of public welfare, besides its supremacy over that of general safety, continued to have the diplomatic and the war department, and the universal superintendence of all affairs. It alone could henceforward call itself *committee of public welfare*. No committee in the communes could assume that title.

This new decree concerning the institution of the revolutionary government, though restrictive of the authority of the communes, and even directed against their abuse of power, was received in the commune of Paris with great demonstration of obedience. Chaumette, who affected docility as well as patriotism, made a long speech in praise of the decree. By his awkward eagerness to enter into the system of the supreme authority, he even drew down a reprimand upon himself, and he had the art to disobey, in striving to be too obedient. The new decree placed the revolutionary committees of Paris in direct and exclusive communication with the committee of general safety. In their fiery zeal, they had ventured to arrest people of all sorts. It was alleged that a great number of patriots had been imprisoned by them, and they were said to be filled with what began to be called *ultra-revolu-*

tionists. Chaumette complained to the council-general of their conduct, and proposed to summon them before the commune, in order to give them a severe admonition. Chaumette's motion was adopted. But with his ostentation of obedience, he had forgotten that, according to the new decree, the revolutionary committees of Paris were to correspond with the committee of general safety alone. The committee of public welfare, no more desiring an exaggerated obedience than disobedience, not allowing, above all, the commune to presume to give lessons, even good ones, to committees placed under the superior authority, caused Chaumette's resolution to be annulled, and the committees to be forbidden to meet at the commune. Chaumette received this correction with perfect submission. "Every man," said he to the commune, "is liable to error. I candidly confess that I was wrong. The Convention has annulled my requisition and the resolution adopted on my motion; it has done justice upon the fault which I committed; it is our general mother; let us unite ourselves with it."

With such energy, the Committee was likely to succeed in putting a stop to all the disorderly movements either of zeal or of resistance,* and to produce the greatest possible precision in the action of the government. The *ultra-revolutionists*, compromised and repressed since the movement against religion, received a new check, more severe than any that had preceded it. Ronsin had returned from Lyons, whither he had accompanied Collot-d'Herbois with a detachment of the revolutionary army. He had arrived in Paris at the moment when the report of the sanguinary executions committed in Lyons had excited pity. Ronsin had caused a bill to be posted, which disgusted the Convention. He there stated that, out of the one hundred and forty thousand inhabitants of Lyons, fifteen hundred only were not implicated in the rebellion, that before the end of Frimaire all the guilty would have perished, and that the Rhone would have carried their bodies to Toulon. Other atrocious expressions of his were mentioned. People talked a great deal of the despotism of Vincent in the war-office, and of the conduct of his ministerial agents in the provinces, and their rivalry with the representatives. They repeated various expressions dropped by some of them, indicating a design to cause the executive power to be constitutionally organized.

The energy which Robespierre and the committee had recently displayed encouraged people to speak out against these agitators. In the sitting of the 27th of Frimaire, a beginning was made by complaints of certain revolutionary committees. Lecointre denounced the arrest of a courier of the committee of public welfare by one of the agents of the ministry; Boursault said that, in passing through Longjumeau, he had been stopped by the commune, that he had made known his quality of deputy, and that the commune nevertheless insisted that his passport should be legalized by the agent of the

* "In his well-known pamphlet entitled the 'Old Cordelier,' Camille-Desmoulins, under the pretence of describing the state of Rome under the emperors, gives the following accurate and spirited sketch of the despotism which subdued all France at this period:—'Everything under that terrible government was made the groundwork of suspicion. Does a citizen avoid society, and live retired by his fireside? That is to ruminate in private on sinister designs. Is he rich? That renders the danger the greater that he will corrupt the citizens by his largesses. Is he poor? None so dangerous as those who have nothing to lose. Is he thoughtful and melancholy? He is revolving what he calls the calamities of his country. Is he gay and dissipated? He is concealing, like Cæsar, ambition under the mask of pleasure. The natural death of a celebrated man is become so rare, that historians transmit it as a matter worthy of record, to future ages. Every day the accuser makes his triumphant entry into the palace of Death, and reaps the rich harvest which is presented to his hands. The tribunals, once the protectors of life and property, have become the mere organs of butchery'

executive council then on the spot. Fabre d'Eglantine denounced Maillard, the leader of the murderers of September, who had been sent to Bordeaux by the executive council, and who was charged with a mission whilst he ought to be expelled from every place; he denounced Ronsin and his placard, at which everybody had shuddered; lastly, he denounced Vincent, who had usurped the entire control of the war-office, and declared that he would blow up the Convention, or force it to organize the executive power, as he was determined not to be the valet of the committees. The Convention immediately placed in a state of arrest Vincent, secretary-general at war, Ronsin, general of the revolutionary army, Maillard, on a mission at Bordeaux, three agents of the executive power, whose conduct at St. Girons was complained of, and lastly, one Mazuel, adjutant in the revolutionary army, who had said that the Convention was conspiring, and that he would spit in the faces of the deputies. The Convention then decreed the penalty of death against the officers of the revolutionary armies illegally formed in the provinces, who should not separate immediately; and, lastly, it ordered the executive council to come the following day to justify itself.

This act of energy was a severe mortification to the Cordeliers, and provoked explanations at the Jacobins. The latter had not yet spoken out respecting Vincent and Ronsin, but they demanded an inquiry to ascertain the nature of their misdemeanors. The executive council justified itself most humbly to the Convention. It declared that it never intended to set itself up as a rival to the national representation, and that the arrest of the courier, and the difficulties experienced by Boursault, the deputy, were occasioned solely by an order of the committee of public welfare itself, an order which directed all passports and all despatches to be verified.

While Vincent and Ronsin were imprisoned as ultra-revolutionists, the committee pursued severe measures against the party of the equivocal and the stockjobbers. It placed under arrest Proly, Dubuisson, Desfieux, and Pereyra, accused of being agents of the foreign powers and accomplices of all the parties. Lastly, it ordered the four deputies, Bazire, Chabot, Delaunay of Angers, and Julien of Toulouse, accused of being moderates and of having made sudden fortunes, to be apprehended in the middle of the night.

We have already seen the history of their clandestine association, and of the forgery which had been the consequence of it. We have seen that Chabot, already shaken, was preparing to denounce his colleagues, and to throw the whole blame upon them. The reports circulated respecting his marriage, and the denunciations which Hebert was daily repeating, completely intimidated him, and he hastened to reveal the whole affair to Robespierre. He pretended that he had entered into the plot with no other intention than that of following and denouncing it. He attributed this plot to the foreign powers, which, he said, strove to corrupt the deputies in order to debase the national representation, and which then employed Hebert and his accomplices to defame them after they had corrupted them. Thus there were, according to him, two branches in the conspiracy, the corrupting branch and the defamatory branch, which concerted together with a view to dishonour and to dissolve the Convention. The participation of the foreign bankers in this intrigue; the language used by Julien and Delaunay, who said that the Convention would soon finish by devouring itself, and that it was right to make a fortune as speedily as possible; and some intercourse between Hebert's wife and the mistresses of Julien and Delaunay, served Chabot for the groundwork of this fable of a conspiracy with two branches, in which the corrupters and defamers were secretly leagued for the attainment of the same object. Chabot had, however, some scruples left, and justified Bazire. As

it was he himself, who had bribed Fabre, and should have incurred a denunciation from the latter had he accused him, pretended that his overtures had been rejected, and that the hundred thousand francs in assignats, suspended by a thread in the privy, were the sum destined for Fabre and refused by him. These fables of Chabot had no semblance of truth; for it would have been much more natural, had he entered into the conspiracy for the purpose of divulging it, to communicate it to some of the members of one or the other committee, and to deposit the money in their hands. Robespierre sent Chabot to the committee of general welfare, which gave orders in the night for the arrest of the deputies already mentioned. Julien contrived to escape. Bazire, Delaunay, and Chabot only were apprehended.

The discovery of this disgraceful intrigue caused a great sensation, and confirmed all the calumnies which the parties levelled at each other. People circulated, with more assurance than ever, the rumour of a foreign faction, which bribed the patriots, and excited them to obstruct the march of the Revolution, some by an unseasonable moderation, others by a wild exaggeration, by continued defamations, and by an odious profession of atheism. And yet what reality was there in all these suppositions? On the one hand, men less fanatic, more disposed to pity the vanquished, and for that very reason more susceptible to the allurements of pleasure and corruption; on the other, men more violent and more blind, taking the lowest of the people for their assistants, persecuting with their reproaches those who did not share their fanatical insensibility, and profaning the ancient rites of religion without reserve, without decency; between these two parties bankers, taking advantage of every crisis to engage in stockjobbing speculations; four deputies out of seven hundred and fifty, yielding to the influence of corruption, and becoming the accomplices of these stockjobbers; lastly, a few sincere revolutionists, but foreigners, and suspected as such, compromising themselves by that very exaggeration, by favour of which they hoped to cause their origin to be forgotten:—this it was that was real, and in this we find nothing but what was very ordinary, nothing that justified the supposition of a profound machination.

The committee of public welfare, anxious to place itself above the parties, resolved to strike and to brand them all, and to this end it sought to show that they were all accomplices of the foreign foe. Robespierre had already denounced a foreign faction, in the existence of which his mistrustful disposition led him to believe. The turbulent faction, thwarting the superior authority and disgracing the revolution, was immediately accused of being the accomplice of the foreign faction;* but it made no such charge against the moderate faction, nay it even defended the latter, as we have seen in the case of Danton. If it still spared it, this was because it had thus far done nothing that could obstruct the progress of the revolution, because it did not form a numerous and obstinate party, like the old Girondins, and because it consisted only of a few individuals who condemned the *ultra-revolutionary* extravagances.

Such was the state of parties and the policy of the committee of public welfare in regard to them in Frimaire, year 2 (December 1793). While it exercised the authority with such vigour, and was engaged in completing the interior of the machine of revolutionary power, it displayed not less energy abroad, and insured the prosperity of the revolution by signal victories.

* "Hebert, the head of this turbulent and atrocious faction, is a miserable intriguer—a caterer for the guillotine—a traitor paid by Pitt—a thief and robber who had been expelled from his office of check-taker at a theatre for theft."—*Le Vieux Cordelier*. E.

THE NATIONAL CONVENTION.

END OF THE CAMPAIGN OF 1793—MANŒUVRE OF HOCHÉ IN THE VOSGES—RETREAT OF THE AUSTRIANS AND PRUSSIANS—RAISING OF THE BLOCKADE OF LANDAU—OPERATIONS OF THE ARMY OF ITALY—SIEGE AND TAKING OF TOULON—LAST ENGAGEMENT AT THE PYRENEES—EXCURSION OF THE VENDEANS BEYOND THE LOIRE, AND THEIR DESTRUCTION AT SAVENAY.

THE campaign terminated on all the frontiers in the most brilliant and successful manner. In Belgium it had been at length deemed preferable to go into winter-quarters, in despite of the plan of the committee of public welfare, which had been anxious to profit by the victory of Watignies. to enclose the enemy between the Scheldt and the Sambre. Thus at this point the aspect of affairs had not changed, and the advantages of Watignies were still ours.

On the Rhine, the campaign had been greatly prolonged by the loss of the lines of Weissenburg on the 22d of Vendemiaire (Oct. 13). The committee of public welfare determined to recover them at any cost, and to raise the blockade of Landau, as it had done that of Dunkirk and Maubeuge. The state of our departments of the Rhine was a reason for losing no time in removing the enemy from that quarter. The Vosges were singularly imbued with the feudal spirit; the priests and the nobles had there retained a powerful influence; the French language being not much spoken, the new revolutionary ideas had scarcely penetrated thither; there were great numbers of communes where the decrees of the Convention were unknown, where there were no revolutionary committees, and in which the emigrants circulated opinions with impunity. The nobles of Alsace had followed the army of Wurmser in throngs, and were spread from Weissenburg to the environs of Strasburg. A plot had been formed in the latter city for delivering it up to Wurmser. The committee of public welfare immediately sent thither Lebas and St. Just, to exercise the ordinary dictatorship of commissioners of the Convention. It appointed young Hoche, who had so eminently distinguished himself at the siege of Dunkirk, to the command of the army of the Moselle; it detached a strong division from the idle army of the Ardennes, which was divided between the two armies of the Moselle and the Rhine; lastly, it caused levies *en masse* to be raised in all the contiguous departments, and directed upon Besançon. These new levies occupied the fortresses, and the garrisons were transferred to the line. At Strasburg, St. Just displayed the utmost energy and intelligence. He struck terror into the ill-disposed, sent those who were suspected of the design to betray Strasburg before a commission, and thence to the scaffold. He communicated new vigour to the generals and to the soldiers. He insisted on daily attacks along the whole line, in order to exercise our raw conscripts. Equally brave and pitiless, he exposed himself to the fire, and shared all the dangers of warfare. An extraordinary enthusiasm seized the army; and the shout of the soldiers

who were inflamed with the hope of recovering the lost ground, was, "Landau or death!"

The proper *mancœuvre* to execute on this part of the frontiers would still have been to unite the two armies of the Rhine and of the Moselle, and to operate *en masse* on one of the slopes of the Vosges. For this purpose, it would have been necessary to recover the passes which crossed the line of the mountains, and which we had lost when Brunswick advanced to the centre of the Vosges, and Wurmser to the walls of Strasburg. The plan of the committee was formed, and it resolved to seize the chain itself, with a view to separate the Austrians and the Prussians. Young Hoche, full of ardour and talent, was charged with the execution of this plan, and his first movements at the head of the army of the Moselle induced a hope of the most decided results.

The Prussians, to give security to their position, had attempted to take by surprise the castle of Bitche, situated in the very heart of the Vosges. This attempt was thwarted by the vigilance of the garrison, which hastened in time to the ramparts; and Brunswick, whether he was disconcerted by this failure, whether he dreaded the activity and energy of Hoche, or whether he was dissatisfied with Wurmser, with whom he was not on good terms, retired first to Bisingen, on the line of the Erbach, and then to Kaiserslautern in the centre of the Vosges. He had not given Wurmser notice of this retrograde movement; and, while the latter was upon the eastern slope, nearly as high as Strasburg, Brunswick, on the western, was beyond Weissenburg and nearly on a line with Landau. Hoche had followed Brunswick very closely in his retrograde movement; and, after he had in vain attempted to surround him at Bisingen and even to reach Kaiserslautern before him, he formed the plan of attacking him at Kaiserslautern itself, in spite of the difficulties presented by the position. Hoche had about thirty thousand men. He fought on the 28th, 29th, and 30th of November, but the country was imperfectly known and scarcely practicable. On the first day, General Ambert, who commanded on the left, was engaged, while Hoche, with the centre, was seeking his way. On the next, Hoche found himself alone opposed to the enemy, while Ambert had lost himself in the mountains. Owing to the nature of the ground, to his force, and to the advantage of his position, Brunswick was completely successful. He lost but about a dozen men: Hoche was obliged to retire with the loss of about three thousand; but he was not disheartened, and proceeded to rally his troops at Pirmasens, Hornbach, and Deux-Ponts. Hoche,* though unfortunate, had nevertheless displayed a boldness and a resolution which struck the representatives of the army. The committee of public welfare, which, since the accession of Carnot, was enlightened enough to be just, and which was severe towards want of zeal alone, wrote him the most encouraging letters, and for the first time bestowed praise on a beaten general. Hoche, without being for a moment daunted by his defeat, immediately formed the resolution of joining the army of the Rhine, with a view to overwhelm Wurmser. The latter, who had remained in Alsace, while Brunswick had retired to Kaiserslautern, had his right flank uncovered. Hoche directed General Taponnier with twelve thousand men upon Werdt, to cut the line of the Vosges, and to throw him

* "Hoche was a gallant man in every sense of the word; but, though he distinguished himself greatly in battle, he had not the good fortune to die there. He was deservedly esteemed among the first of France's earlier generals before Bonaparte monopolized her triumphs."—*Lord Byron*. E.

self on the flank of Wurmser, while the army of the Rhine should make a general attack upon the front of the latter.

Owing to the presence of St. Just, continual combats had taken place at the end of November and the beginning of December between the army of the Rhine and the Austrians. By going every day into the fire, it began to be familiarized with war. Pichegru commanded it.* The corps sent by Hoche into the Vosges had many difficulties to surmount in penetrating into them, but it at length succeeded, and seriously alarmed Wurmser's right by its presence. On the 22d of December (Nivose 2), Hoche marched across the mountains, and appeared at Werdt, on the summit of the eastern slope. He overwhelmed Wurmser's right, took many pieces of cannon, and a great number of prisoners. The Austrians were then obliged to quit the line of the Motter, and to move first to Sultz, and afterwards, on the 24th, to Weissenburg, on the very lines of the Lauter. The retreat was effected with disorder and confusion. The emigrants and the Alsacian nobles who had flocked to join Wurmser, fled with the utmost precipitation. The roads were covered by whole families seeking to escape. The two armies, Prussian and

* "Charles Pichegru, a French general, was born in 1761, of a respectable though poor family. In the year 1792 he was employed on the staff of the army of the Rhine, rose rapidly through the ranks of general of brigade and of division, and, in 1793, assumed the chief command of that same army. He was the inventor of the system of sharp-shooting, of flying artillery, and of attacks perpetually repeated, which rendered the enemy's cavalry almost useless. In 1794 the army of the North was committed to Pichegru, who made a most victorious campaign. In the following year the National Convention appointed him commandant of Paris against the Terrorists, whose projects he succeeded in overthrowing. He joined the army of the Rhine a short time after, when he testified a desire to re-establish the house of Bourbon on the throne, which, coming to the knowledge of the Directory, they recalled him, on which he retired to his native place, Arbois, where he spent several months in domestic retirement. In 1797 he was chosen president of the council of Five Hundred, and became the hope of the Clichyan party. He was, however, arrested by the troops of the directorial triumvirate, conveyed to the Temple, and condemned, together with fifty other deputies, to be transported to Guiana. After some months' captivity in the pestilential deserts of Sinnimari, Pichegru contrived to make his escape, and set sail for England, where he was most warmly received. He then went to live in obscurity in Germany, but, in 1804, came secretly to Paris with Georges and a great number of conspirators, to try to overturn the consular government. The plot being discovered, Pichegru was arrested and conducted to the Temple, where he was one morning found dead in his bed. Several physicians who met on the occasion asserted that he had strangled himself with his cravat."—*Biographie Moderne*. E.

"Pichegru," observed Napoleon, "instructed me in mathematics at Brienne, when I was about ten years old. He possessed considerable knowledge in that science. As a general, he was a man of no ordinary talent, far superior to Moreau, though he had never done anything extraordinary, as the success of his campaigns in Holland was in a great measure owing to the battle of Fluers. Pichegru, after he had united himself to the Bourbons, sacrificed the lives of upwards of twenty thousand of his soldiers, by throwing them purposely into the enemy's hands, whom he had informed beforehand of his intentions."—*A Voice from St. Helena*. E.

"Nature had made Pichegru a soldier. She had given him that eagle eye which fixes victory on the field of battle, but she had denied him the qualities of a statesman. He was a mere child in politics, and took it into his head to conspire openly, before the face of the Directory, without once thinking that the Directors had it in their power to stop him. I know, for certain, that among the conditions which he had made with the royal house was this, that a statue should be erected to him in his lifetime as the restorer of the monarchy. Louis XVIII. has faithfully executed this clause of the contract, not, it is true, during the general's life, but since his death. I have seen in the court of the Louvre this bronze without glory. The legitimacy of a cause never removes the stain of treason."—*Memoirs of a Peer of France*. E.

Austrian, were dissatisfied with one another, and lent each other little assistance against a foe full of ardour and enthusiasm.

The two armies of the Rhine and the Moselle had joined. The representatives gave the chief command to Hoche, and he immediately made dispositions for retaking Weissenburg. The Prussians and the Austrians, now concentrated by their retrograde movement, were better able to support one another if they pleased. They resolved therefore to take the offensive on the 26th of December (6 Nivose), the very day on which the French general was preparing to rush upon them. The Prussians were in the Vosges and around Weissenburg. The Austrians were spread, in advance of the Lauter, from Weissenburg to the Rhine. Had they not been determined to take the offensive, they would most assuredly not have received the attack in advance of the lines and having the Lauter at their back; but they had resolved to attack first; and the French, in advancing upon them, found their advanced guards in march. General Dessaix, who commanded the right of the army of the Rhine, marched upon Lauterburg; General Michaud was directed upon Schleithal; the centre attacked the Austrians, drawn up on the Geisberg; and the left penetrated into the Vosges to turn the Prussians. Dessaix carried Lauterburg; Michaud occupied Schleithal; and the centre driving in the Austrians, made them fall back from the Geisberg to Weissenburg itself. The occupation of Weissenburg was likely to prove disastrous to the allies, and it was in imminent danger; but Brunswick, who was at Pigeonnier, hastened to this point, and kept the French in check with great firmness. The retreat of the Austrians was then effected with less disorder; but next day the French occupied the lines of Weissenburg. The Austrians fell back upon Germersheim, the Prussians upon Bergzabern. The French soldiers still advanced shouting, "Landau or death!" The Austrians hastened to recross the Rhine, without attempting to remain another day on the left bank, and without giving the Prussians time to arrive from Mayence. The blockade of Landau was raised, and the French took up their winter quarters in the Palatinate. Immediately afterwards, the two allied generals attacked one another in contradictory statements, and Brunswick sent his resignation to Frederick William. Thus, on this part of the theatre of the war, we had gloriously recovered our frontiers, in spite of the united forces of Prussia and Austria.

The army of Italy had undertaken nothing of importance, and, since its defeat in the month of June, it had remained upon the defensive. In the month of September, the Piedmontese, seeing Toulon attacked by the English, thought at length of profiting by this circumstance, which might occasion the loss of the French army. The King of Sardinia repaired in person to the theatre of war, and a general attack of the French camp was resolved upon for the 8th of September. The surest way of operating against the French would have been to occupy the line of the Var, which separated Nice from their territory. In so doing, the enemy would have made himself master of all the positions which they had taken beyond the Var. He would have obliged them to evacuate the county of Nice, and perhaps even to lay down their arms. An immediate attack of their camp was preferred. This attack, executed with detached corps, operating by several valleys at once, was not successful; and the King of Sardinia, dissatisfied with the result, immediately retired to his own dominions. Nearly about the same time the Austrian general, De Vins, at length thought of operating upon the Var; but he executed his movement with no more than three or four thousand men, advanced no further than Isola, and, suddenly stopped by a slight

check, he again ascended the High Alps, without following up this attempt. Such had been the insignificant operations of the army of Italy.

A more serious interest fixed the whole attention on Toulon. That place, occupied by the English and the Spaniards, secured to them a footing in the South, and a position favourable for an attempt at invasion. It therefore behoved France to recover Toulon as speedily as possible. The committee had issued the most urgent orders on this point, but the means of siege were utterly wanting. Carteaux, after reducing Marseilles, had debouched with seven or eight thousand men by the gorges of Ollioules, had made himself master of them after a slight action, and had established himself at the very outlet of these gorges, in presence of Toulon. General Lapoype, detached from the army of Italy with nearly four thousand men, had placed himself on the opposite side to that on which Carteaux was, towards Solliés and Lavalette. The two French corps thus posted, the one on the west, the other on the east, were so far apart that they could scarcely perceive one another, and could not lend each other any assistance. The besieged, with a little more activity, might have attacked them singly, and overwhelmed them one after another. Luckily, they thought of nothing but fortifying the place and manning it with troops. They landed eight thousand Spaniards, Neapolitans, and Piedmontese, and two English regiments from Gibraltar, and thus raised the force of the garrison to fourteen or fifteen thousand men. They strengthened all the defences, and armed all the forts, especially those on the coasts, which protected the road where their squadrons lay at anchor. They were particularly solicitous to render Fort Eguillette, situated at the extremity of the promontory which encloses the inner or little road, inaccessible. So difficult did they make the approach to it, that it was called in the army Little Gibraltar. The Marseillais, and all the people of Provence who had taken refuge in Toulon, laboured themselves at the works, and manifested the greatest zeal. The union, however, could not last in the interior of the place, for the reaction against the Mountain had caused the revival of all sorts of factions. There were republicans and royalists of all degrees. The allies themselves did not agree.

The Spaniards were offended at the superiority affected by the English, and harboured a distrust of their intentions. Lord Hood, taking advantage of this disunion, said that, since they could not agree, it would be best for the moment not to proclaim any authority. He even prevented the departure of a deputation which the inhabitants would have sent to the Count de Provence, to induce that prince to come to their city in quality of regent. From that moment it was easy to account for the conduct of the English, and to perceive how blind and how culpable those had been, who had delivered Toulon to the most cruel enemies of the French navy.

The republicans could not hope, with such means as they then possessed, to retake Toulon. The representatives even recommended that the army should fall back beyond the Durance, and wait for the following season. The reduction of Lyons, however, having placed fresh forces at their disposal, troops and *matériel* were directed upon Toulon. General Doppet, to whom was attributed the taking of Lyons, was appointed to supersede Carteaux. Doppet himself was soon displaced, and succeeded by Dugommier,*

* "Dugommier was a native of Martinique, in the West Indies, where he possessed a large estate previously to the Revolution. He embraced the popular party, and, in 1793, was employed as general of brigade, and, next, as commander-in-chief of the army of Italy. In the same year he took Toulon, after a sanguinary contest. In 1794, after gaining several victories, he was killed in battle at St. Sebastian."—*Gorton's Biographical Dictionary*. E

a very brave officer, and possessing much more experience. Twenty-eight or thirty thousand men were collected, and orders were given to terminate the siege before the conclusion of the campaign.

The French began by closely hemming in the place, and establishing batteries against the forts. General Lapoype, detached from the army of Italy, was still to the east, and Dugommier, the commander-in-chief, to the west, in advance of Ollioules. The latter was charged with the principal attack. The committee of public welfare had caused a regular plan of attack to be drawn up by the committee of fortifications. The general summoned a council of war to discuss the plan sent from Paris. This plan was ably conceived, but there was one better adapted to circumstances, and which could not fail to produce more speedy results.

In the council of war there was a young man who commanded the artillery in the absence of the superior officer of that arm. His name was Bonaparte, and he was a native of Corsica.* Faithful to France, in which he had

* "Napoleon Bonaparte was born at Ajaccio in Corsica, on the 15th of August, 1769, being the second of the five sons of Carlo Buonaparte, by Letitia Ramolini (since so well known as Madame Mere), a lady of great personal and mental attractions. Napoleon was early sent to France and placed at the military school of Brienne, and thence in 1784 removed to that of Paris, in quality of king's scholar. Here he distinguished himself by his strong desire to excel in the mathematics and military exercises. He very honourably passed his examination preparatory to being admitted into the artillery, of which he was appointed a second lieutenant in 1785. After serving a short time, he quitted his regiment and retired to Corsica, but returning to Paris in 1790, he became a captain in 1791; and at the siege of Toulon in 1793, having the command of the artillery, his abilities began to develop themselves. He was soon after made general of brigade, and, supported by the patronage of Barras, was appointed to command the conventional troops at Paris, with which he defeated those of the sections in the memorable struggle of the 5th of October, 1794. At the desire of the officers and soldiers of the army of Italy, he was appointed to the command of that army, and three days before his departure for Nice, in March, 1796, he married Josephine Beauharnois, widow of the Count de Beauharnois, who suffered under Robespierre. The army opposed to him consisted of 60,000 Austrians and Sardinians, commanded by the Austrian general, Beaulieu. After several skirmishes he wholly outmanœuvred the enemy, and in the course of April won the battles of Montenotte, Millesimo, and Mondovì, which obliged the King of Sardinia to sign a treaty in his own capital. On the 10th of May following he gained the battle of Lodi. This memorable campaign terminated in the treaty of Leoben, the preliminaries of which were signed on the 16th of April, 1797. After making some arrangements in regulation of the Cisalpine republic, which he had established at Milan, Bonaparte signed the definitive treaty with the Austrians at Campo Formio, and returned to Paris, where of course he was received with great respect and rejoicing. He was now nominated general-in-chief of an expedition against England, apparently a mere demonstration, as that against Egypt was at this time in preparation. On the 19th of May, 1798, Bonaparte sailed from Toulon with a fleet of thirteen ships of the line, as many frigates, and an immense number of transports, with 40,000 troops on board, the flower of the French army. From this critical field of action, Bonaparte released himself with his usual decision and activity; having received information of the disasters experienced by the republican armies in Italy and Germany, as also of the disordered state of parties in France, he took measures for secretly embarking in August, 1799, and accompanied by a few officers entirely devoted to him, he landed at Frejus in October following, and hastened to Paris. He immediately addressed a letter to the Directory, justifying the measures which he had pursued, and replying to the censures on the Egyptian expedition. Courtied by all parties, and by Sieyès and Barras, at that time the leading men of the government, the latter, who seems to have entertained an idea of restoring the monarchy, confided his plan to Bonaparte, who, however, had other objects in view. After many conferences with Sieyès and the leading members of the council of Ancients, on whom he could rely, he disclosed his own projects, the consequence of which was the removal of the sitting of the legislature to St. Cloud, and the devolvement to Bonaparte of the command of the troops of every description in order to protect the national representation. On the 19th of November, the meeting accordingly took place at St. Cloud, when soldiers occupied all the avenues. The council of Ancients assembled in the

been educated, he fought in Corsica for the cause of the Convention against Paoli and the English. He had then joined the army of Italy, and served

galleries; and that of the Five Hundred, of whom Lucien Bonaparte was president, in the orangery. Bonaparte entered into the council of Ancients, and made an animated speech in defence of his own character, and called upon them to exert themselves in behalf of *liberty* and *equality*. In the meantime a violent altercation took place in the council of Five Hundred, where several members insisted upon knowing why the meeting had been removed to St. Cloud. Lucien Bonaparte endeavoured to allay the rising storm, but the removal had created great heat, and the cry was, 'Down with the dictator! No dictator!' At that moment Bonaparte himself entered, followed by four grenadiers, on which several of the members exclaimed, 'What does this mean? No sabres here! No armed men!' while others, descending into the hall, collared him, exclaiming, 'Outlaw him, down with the dictator!' On this rough treatment, General Lefebvre came to his assistance, and Bonaparte, retiring, mounted his horse, and leaving Murat to observe what was going forward, sent a picket of grenadiers into the hall. Protected by this force, Lucien Bonaparte declared that the representatives who wished to assassinate his brother were in the pay of England, and proposed a decree which was immediately adopted, "that General Bonaparte, and all those who had seconded him, deserved well of their country: that the Directory was at an end; and that the executive power should be placed in the hands of three provisionary consuls, namely, Bonaparte, Sieyes, and Roger Ducos." Such was the Cromwellian extinction of the French Directory, which was followed by the constitution, called that of the year eight; in which Bonaparte was confirmed first consul, and Cambaceres and Le Brun assistant consuls. The same commission created a senate, a council of state, a tribunate, and a legislative body. Leaving Paris in April, 1800, Bonaparte proceeded with a well appointed army for Italy, passed the Great St. Bernard by an extraordinary march, and, bursting into that country like a torrent, utterly defeated the Austrians under General Melas at Marengo, on the 14th of the following June. This battle and that of Hohenlinden, enabled him a second time to dictate terms of peace to Austria, the result of which was the treaty of Luneville with that power, and ultimately that of Amiens with Great Britain, concluded in March, 1802. All these successes advanced him another step in his now evident march to sovereignty, by securing him the consulate for life. The despair of the friends of the Bourbons at the increasing progress of Bonaparte towards sovereign sway at this time produced an endeavour at assassination by the explosion of a machine filled with combustibles, as he passed in his carriage through the Rue St. Nicaise, from which danger he very narrowly escaped. This plan failing, it as usual served the intended victim, by enabling him to execute and transport several personal enemies. Generals Pichegru and Moreau, Georges, the two Counts de Polignac, and forty-three more were arrested, of whom Pichegru died in prison; Georges and eleven more suffered on the scaffold, and Moreau was exiled and departed for America. On the 2d of December, 1804, Bonaparte was crowned emperor of France in the church of Notre Dame in Paris, by the hands of Pope Pius VI. whom he obliged to come in person from Rome to perform the ceremony. He was immediately recognised by the Emperors of Austria and Russia, and the Kings of Prussia, Spain, and Denmark; the King of Sweden alone refusing. Great Britain being his sole enemy of magnitude, on the 7th of August he published a manifesto, announcing an invasion of England, and assembling a numerous flotilla at Boulogne, formed in the neighbourhood a camp of 200,000 men. In less than six weeks the pretended army of England was on the banks of the Danube, and the capitulation of General Mack at Ulm was the rapid consequence. On the 11th of November, 1805, the French army entered Vienna, which Francis II. had quitted a few days before, to retire with a remnant of his army into Moravia, where the Emperor Alexander joined him with a Russian army, which he commanded in person. Napoleon encountered the two emperors on the 2d of December, on the plains of Austerlitz, where the great military talents of the French leader again prevailed, and the treaty of Presburg followed; which recognised him King of Italy, master of Venice, of Tuscany, of Parma, of Placentia, and of Genoa. Prussia also ceded the grand duchy of Berg, which he gave to Murat. The electors of Bavaria, of Wirtemberg, and Saxony, were transformed into kings: the crown of Naples was bestowed on his brother Joseph, that of Holland on Louis, and that of Westphalia on Jerome; the republican Lucien declining every gift of this nature. In July, 1806, he ratified at Paris the famous treaty of the confederation of the Rhine, in which he transferred to himself the prépondérance previously enjoyed by the house of Austria. In September following, a powerful Prussian army was got together, and that wretched campaign ensued which ended in the decisive battle of Jena, fought on the 4th of October, 1806, the consequence of which defeat was more fatal than the defeat itself.

before Toulon. He displayed extraordinary intelligence and extreme activity, and slept by the side of his guns. This young officer, on surveying

The severe campaign against Russia succeeded, in which were fought the battles of Pultusk and Friedland, and which ended in the treaty of Tilsit. Napoleon now turned his attention to Spain, and affected to meet the king and his son Ferdinand at Bayonne, to adjust their family differences. The result was the abdication of Charles IV., and the forced resignation of Ferdinand. On the 25th of October, 1808, Napoleon announced that he intended to crown his brother King of Spain at Madrid, and to plant the eagles of France on the towers of Lisbon. The Spaniards nevertheless tenaciously, if not skilfully, resisted; and Napoleon, leaving the pursuit of the English army under Sir John Moore to Marshal Soult, returned to Paris. Encouraged by the occupation of a large French army in Spain, Austria ventured a third time to declare war against France; on which Napoleon quitted Paris, and heading his army, fought the battles of Landshut, Eckmühl, Ratisbonne, and Neumark, and once more entered Vienna. The decisive victory of Wagram was gained on the 5th and 6th of July, 1809; on the 12th a suspension of arms was agreed upon, and, on the 14th of the ensuing October, a definitive treaty of peace was concluded, one of the secret conditions of which soon became apparent by preparations commencing for the dissolution of the marriage of the conqueror with Josephine. On the 2d of April, 1810, Napoleon espoused the archduchess Maria Louisa, daughter of the Emperor Francis II. Soon after this marriage, he united to France the provinces situated on the left bank of the Rhine, and, by a decree of the 13th of December in the same year, Holland, the three Hanseatic cities of Hamburg, Bremen, Lubec, and a part of Westphalia, were added to the empire; as also, by another decree, the Valais. In March, 1811, a son was born to him, whom he called King of Rome. Aware of the discontent of Russia, and of her intention to resist on the first favourable opportunity, towards the end of the year 1811 he began those mighty preparations for the invasion of that empire, which formed the nucleus of the greatest array of disciplined and able soldiery which ever moved under one command and in one direction. In May, 1812, he left Paris to review the grand army, made up of all his auxiliaries and confederates, willing and unwilling, assembled on the Vistula, and, arriving at Dresden, spent fifteen days in that capital attended by the Emperor of Austria, the King of Prussia, and nearly the whole of the princes of the continent, among whom he moved the *primum mobile* and the centre. On the 10th of September the famous battle of Borodino was fought, so fatal to both parties, and in which 60,000 men are supposed to have perished. Napoleon, nevertheless, pressed on to Moscow, from which the Russians retreated, as also the greater part of the inhabitants, who abandoned it by order of the governor, Count Rostopchin. When, therefore, Napoleon entered the celebrated capital, four days after the battle, he found it for the greater part deserted and in flames. After remaining thirty-five days in the ruins of this ancient metropolis, exposed to every species of privation, retreat became necessary, and one of the most striking scenes of human suffering was experienced by the retiring army ever produced by the extravagances of ambition. Arriving at Warsaw on the 10th of December, on the 18th of the same month, Napoleon entered Paris at night, and, on the following day, a bulletin disclosed his immense losses, with no great concealment of their extent. Early the next month he presented to the senate a decree for levying 350,000 men, which was unanimously agreed to, and he forthwith began preparations to encounter the forces of Russia and Prussia, now once more in combination. On the 2d of May, 1813, he encountered the armies of these allies at Lutzen, and forced them to retire, on which Austria undertook to mediate, but, not succeeding, the battle of Breutzen followed, in which the French were victorious. At length these contests terminated in the famous battle of Leipsic, fought on the 16th, 18th and 19th of October, which was decisive of the war as to Germany. Napoleon returned to Paris, and interrupted the compliment of address, by stating the fact, that 'within the last year all Europe marched with us, now all Europe is leagued against us.' He followed up this avowal by another demand of 300,000 men. The levy was granted, and on the 26th of January, 1814, he again headed his army, and, the allies having passed the Rhine early in the same month, in the succeeding February were fought the battles of Dizier, Brienne, Champ Aubert, and Montmirail, with various successes; but now the advanced guard of the Russians entered into action, and Napoleon was called to another quarter. The sanguinary conflicts of Montereau and Nogent followed, in which the allied forces suffered very severely, and were obliged to retire upon Troyes. At length, however, their extensive array bore on so many points, that, on the French being driven back on the barriers of Paris, Marshal Marmont, who commanded there, sent a flag of truce, and proposed to deliver up the city. Napoleon hastened from Fontainebleau, but was apprized five leagues from Paris of the result. He accordingly re-

the place, was struck with an idea, which he communicated to the council of war. Fort Eguillette, called Little Gibraltar, closed the road where the allied squadrons were moored. If this fort were taken, the squadrons could no longer lie in the road without running the risk of being burned; neither could they evacuate it and leave behind a garrison of fifteen thousand men, without communication, without succour, without any other prospect than that of being obliged, sooner or later, to lay down their arms. There was, therefore, every reason to presume that if Fort Eguillette were once in the possession of the republicans, the squadrons and the garrison would evacuate Toulon. Thus the key of the place was Fort Eguillette, but it was almost impregnable. Young Bonaparte strongly supported this idea as best adapted to circumstances, and at length caused it to be adopted.

The French began by hemming in the place more closely than ever. Bonaparte, favoured by a few olive-trees, which masked his artillerymen, placed a battery very near Fort Malbosquet, one of the most important of those surrounding Toulon. One morning, this battery suddenly opened and surprised the besieged, who did not conceive it possible to place guns so near to the fort. The English general, O'Hara, who commanded the garrison, resolved to make a sortie for the purpose of destroying the battery and spiking the guns. On the 30th of November (10 Frimaire) he sallied forth at the head of six thousand men, penetrated unawares to the republican posts, gained possession of the battery, and immediately began to spike the guns. Fortunately, young Bonaparte was not far off with a battalion. A trench

turned to Fontainebleau, where he commanded an army of 50,000 men, and the negotiation ensued, which terminated in his consignment to the island of Elba, with the title of ex-emperor, and a pension of two millions of livres. It is unnecessary to detail the events of his brief residence in this island, in which he was visited by many curious Englishmen and others. It is probable that he never meant to remain in that equivocal situation, or the allies to allow him. Be this as it may, secretly embarking in some hired feluccas, accompanied with about 1200 men, on the night of the 25th of February, 1815, he landed on the 1st of March, in the gulf of Juan, in Provence, at three o'clock in the afternoon. He immediately issued a proclamation, announcing his intention to resume his crown, of which 'treason had robbed him,' and, proceeding to Grenoble, was at once welcomed by the commanding officer Labedoyere, and two days afterwards he entered Lyons, where he experienced a similar reception. Thus received and favoured, he reached Paris on the 20th of March, without drawing a sword. In the capital he was received with loud acclamations of 'Vive l'empereur!' and was joined by Marshal Ney and the Generals Drouet, Lallemand, and Lefebvre. On the 18th of June, occurred the signal and well-known victory of Waterloo. Napoleon immediately returned to Paris, but the charm was now utterly dissolved; and he resigned himself, on the 15th of July, into the hands of Captain Maitland, of the Bellerophon then lying at Rochfort, and was exceedingly anxious to land in England. It is impossible to dwell on the minutiae of his conduct and reception, or on the circumstances attendant on his consignment for safe custody to St. Helena, by the joint determination of the allies. For this his final destination he sailed on the 11th of August, 1815, and arrived at St. Helena on the 13th of the following October. It appears probable that mental affliction, added to unhealthy climate, began to operate fatally on the constitution of Bonaparte from the hour of his arrival! as nearly the whole of the four years and upwards, while he remained there, he was sickly and diseased. His ultimate complaint was a cancer in his breast, apparently a disease to which he had a constitutional tendency, as his father died of a similar malady. He bore the excruciating torture of his disorder, for six weeks, with great firmness, generally keeping his eyes fixed on a portrait of his son, which was placed near his bed. From the beginning he refused medicine as useless; and the last words, uttered in a state of delirium, on the morning of his death, were 'Mon fils!' soon afterwards, 'tête d'armee!' and lastly, 'France.' This event took place on the 5th of May, 1821, in the fifty-second year of his age. He was interred, according to his own desire, near some willow-trees and a spring of water, at a place called Haine's Valley, his funeral being attended by the highest military honours."—*Gorton's Biographical Dictionary*. E.

led to the battery. Bonaparte threw himself into it with his battalion, advanced without noise among the English, then all at once gave the order to fire, and threw them, by his sudden appearance, into the greatest surprise. General O'Hara, in astonishment, imagined that it was his own soldiers who were firing, in mistake, upon one another. He then advanced towards the republicans, to ascertain if that were not the case, but was wounded in the hand, and taken in the trench itself by a sergeant. At the same moment, Dugommier, who had ordered the *générale* to be beaten in the camp, brought up his soldiers to the attack, and pushed on between the battery and the city. The English, finding themselves in danger of being cut off, then retired, after losing their general, and failing to rid themselves of this dangerous battery.

This success singularly encouraged the besiegers, and, in a like degree, dispirited the besieged. So great were the apprehensions of the latter, that they said that General O'Hara had purposely suffered himself to be taken, to sell Toulon to the republicans. Meanwhile the republicans, who were determined to conquer the place, and who had the means of purchasing it, prepared for the extremely perilous attack of the Eguillette. They had thrown into it a great number of bombs, and strove to demolish its defences with twenty-four pounders. On the 18th of December (28 Frimaire) it was resolved to make the assault at midnight. A simultaneous attack was to be made by General Lapoype on Fort Faron. At midnight, while a tremendous storm was raging, the republicans set themselves in motion. The soldiers who guarded the fort kept themselves in general out of sight, in order to screen themselves from the bombs and balls. The French hoped to reach it unperceived, but, at the foot of the height, they found some of the enemy's riflemen. An action commenced. On the report of the musketry, the garrison of the fort ran to the ramparts and fired upon the assailants, who alternately fell back and advanced. A young captain of artillery, named Muiron, taking advantage of the inequalities of the ground, succeeded in ascending the height without losing many of his men. On reaching the foot of the fort, he got in by an embrasure. The soldiers followed him, penetrated into the battery, made themselves masters of the guns, and, in a short time, of the fort itself.

In this action General Dugommier, the representatives Salicetti,* and Robespierre the younger, and Bonaparte, the commandant of artillery, had been present in the fire, and communicated the greatest courage to the troops. On the part of General Lapoype the attack had not been so successful, though one of the redoubts of Fort Faron had been carried.

As soon as Fort Eguillette was occupied, the republicans lost no time in disposing the guns so as to play upon the ships. But the English did not wait till they had completed their preparations. They immediately resolved to evacuate the place, that they might no longer run the risks of a difficult and perilous defence. Before they withdrew, they determined to burn the arsenal, the dock yard, and all the ships that they could not take away. On the 18th and 19th, without apprizing the Spanish admiral, without forewarn

* "I never liked Salicetti. There was something about him which to me was always repulsive. When I read the story of the Vampire, I associated that ideal character with the recollection of Salicetti. His pale, jaundiced complexion—his dark, glaring eyes—his lips, which turned deadly white whenever he was agitated by any powerful emotion—all seemed present to me. On one memorable occasion his face became so frightfully pallid, and his whole appearance—it was when he was under the fear of arrest—affected me to such a degree, that it haunted me in dreams a long time after."—*Duchess d'Abrantes*. E.

ing the compromised inhabitants that they were about to be delivered up to the victorious Mountaineers, orders were issued for the evacuation. Every English ship came in turn to the arsenal to supply herself with such stores as she was in want of. The forts were then all evacuated, excepting Fort Lamalgue, which was to be abandoned the last.

This evacuation was effected with such despatch, that the Spaniards, apprized of it too late, were left outside the walls and escaped only by a miracle. Lastly, orders were given to set fire to the arsenal. Twenty ships of the line and frigates suddenly appeared in flames in the midst of the road, and excited despair in the unfortunate inhabitants and indignation in the republicans, who saw the squadron burning without having the power to save it. Presently, more than twenty thousand persons, men, women, and children, carrying their most valuable effects, poured upon the quays, extending their hands towards the squadrons, and imploring an asylum to screen them from the victorious army. These were all the Provençal families who had committed themselves in the sectionary movement at Aix, Marseilles, and Toulon. Not a single boat put off to the succour of these imprudent French, who had placed their confidence in foreigners, and delivered up to them the principal seaport of their country. Admiral Langara, however, with more humanity, ordered out his boats, and received on board the Spanish squadron all the fugitives that they could bring away. Lord Hood dared not resist this example and the imprecations that were poured forth against him. He issued orders, in his turn, but very late, that the people of Toulon should be received on board his squadron. Those unfortunate creatures hurried with fury into the boats. In this confusion, some fell into the sea, others were separated from their families. Mothers might be seen looking for their children, wives, daughters, seeking their husbands or their fathers, and wandering upon the quays by the light of the conflagration. At this dreadful moment, thieves, taking advantage of the confusion to plunder, rushed among the unhappy wretches crowded together upon the quays, and fired, shouting, "Here are the republicans!" Terror seized the multitude. Hurrying away pell-mell, it left its property to the villains, the contrivers of this stratagem.

At length the republicans entered, and found the city half deserted and great part of the naval stores destroyed. Fortunately, the galley-slaves had extinguished the fire, and prevented it from spreading. Out of fifty-six sail of the line and frigates, only seven ships and eleven frigates remained. The others had been carried off or burned by the English. The horrors of the siege and of the evacuation were soon succeeded by those of revolutionary vengeance. We shall relate in another place the sequel of the disasters of this guilty and unfortunate city. The taking of Toulon* caused extraordi-

* The following is Bonaparte's own account of this memorable siege, dictated at St. Helena: 'The commandant of artillery (Napoleon), who, for the space of a month, had been carefully reconnoitering the ground, proposed the plan of attack which occasioned the reduction of Toulon. He declared that it was not necessary to march against the place, but only to occupy a certain position which was to be found at the extreme point of the promontory of Balaguier and l'Eguillette. If the general-in-chief would occupy this position with three battalions, he would take Toulon in four days. In conformity with this proposal, the French raised five or six batteries against the position, which was called 'Little Gibraltar,' and constructed platforms for fifteen mortars. A battery had also been raised of eight twenty-four pounders, and four mortars against Fort Malbosquet. The enemy were every day receiving reinforcements; and the public watched with anxiety the progress of the siege. They could not conceive why every effort should be directed against Little Gibraltar, quite in an opposite direction to the town. All the popular societies made denunciation after denunciation on

nary joy, and produced as strong an impression as the victories of Watignies, the reduction of Lyons, and the raising of the blockade of Landau. Thenceforward there was no reason to apprehend that the English, supporting themselves on Toulon, would again produce devastation and rebellion in the South.

The campaign had terminated less successfully in the Pyrenees. Still, notwithstanding numerous reverses, and great want of skill on the part of the generals, we had lost nothing but the line of the Tech, and still retained that of the Tet. After the unfortunate action at Truillas, on the 22d of September (1 Vendmiaire), against the Spanish camp, in which Dagobert had displayed such coolness and intrepidity, Ricardos, instead of marching forward, had fallen back upon the Tech. The retaking of Villefranche, and a reinforcement of fifteen thousand men received by the republicans, had decided him to this retrograde movement. He had raised the blockade of Collioure and Port-Vendre, proceeded to the camp of Boulon, between Ceret and Ville Longue, and secured his communications by guarding the high-

this subject. Dugommier accordingly determined—his plans having been completed—that a decisive attack should be made on Little Gibraltar. The commandant of artillery, in consequence, threw seven or eight thousand shells into the fort, while thirty twenty-four pounders battered the works. On the 18th of December, at four in the afternoon, the troops left their camp and marched towards the village of Seine. The plan was, to attack at midnight, in order to avoid the fire of the forts and immediate redoubts. The allied troops, to avoid the effect of the shells and balls which showered upon the fort, were accustomed to occupy a station at a small distance in the rear of it. The French had great hopes of reaching the works before them; but the enemy had placed a line of skirmishers in front of the fort; and, as the musketry commenced firing at the very foot of the hill, the allied troops hastened to the defence of the fort, whence a brisk fire was immediately opened. Caseshot showered all around. At length, after a most furious attack, Dugommier, who headed the leading column, was obliged to give way, and, in the utmost despair, he cried out, 'I am a lost man!' Success was, indeed, indispensable in those days, as the want of it conducted the unfortunate general to the scaffold. The cannonading and musketry continued. Captain Muiron, of the artillery, a young man full of bravery and resources, was detached with a battalion of light infantry, and supported by the second column, which followed them at the distance of a musket-shot. He was perfectly acquainted with the position, and availed himself so well of the windings of the ascent, that he conducted his troops up without sustaining any loss. He debouched at the foot of the fort—rushed through an embrasure—his soldiers followed him—and the fort was taken. As soon as they were masters of the position, the French turned the cannon against the enemy, and, at day-break, marched on Balaguier and l'Eguillette; but the enemy had already evacuated those positions, which Lord Hood was no sooner informed of, than he made signal to weigh anchor and get out of the roads. He then went to Toulon, to make it known that there was not a moment to be lost in getting out to sea. The weather was dark and cloudy, and everything announced the approach of the south-west wind, so terrible at this season. The council of the combined forces met, and unanimously agreed that Toulon was no longer tenable. They accordingly proceeded to take measures as well for the embarkation of the troops, as for destroying such French vessels as they could not carry away with them, and firing the marine establishments. They likewise gave notice to all the inhabitants, that those who wished to leave the place might embark on board the English and Spanish fleets. In the night, the Fort Poné was blown up by the English, and, an hour afterwards part of the French squadron was set on fire. Nine 74-gun ships, and four frigates or corvettes, fell a prey to the flames. The fire and smoke from the arsenal resembled the eruption of a volcano, and the thirteen vessels which were burning in the road, were like so many magnificent displays of fireworks. The masts and forms of the vessels were distinctly marked by the blaze, which lasted many hours, and formed an unparalleled spectacle. During all this time the batteries of l'Eguillette and Balaguier kept up an incessant fire on the vessels in the roads. Many of the English ships were much damaged, and a great number of transports, with troops on board, were sunk. Thousands of the Toulon-nese had followed the English, so that the revolutionary tribunals found but few of the guilty in the place. Nevertheless, above a hundred unfortunate wretches were shot within the first fortnight." E.

road to Bellegarde. The representatives, Fabre and Gaston, full of fire, insisted on attacking the camp of the Spaniards, in order to drive them beyond the Pyrenees; but the attack was unsuccessful, and ended only in a useless effusion of blood.

Fabre, impatient to attempt an important enterprise, had long meditated a march to the other side of the Pyrenees, with a view to force the Spaniards to retreat. He had been persuaded that the fort of Roses might be taken by a *coup de main*. At his desire, and contrary to the opinion of the generals, three columns were pushed beyond the Pyrenees, with orders to unite at Espola. But, too weak, too far apart, they could not join one another, were beaten, and driven back upon the great chain, after sustaining a considerable loss. This happened in October. In November, thunder-storms, unusual at that season, swelled the torrents, interrupted the communications of the different Spanish camps with one another, and placed them in the greatest danger.

This was the time for revenging ourselves upon the Spaniards for the reverses which we had experienced. They had no other means left for recrossing the Tech but the bridge of Ceret, and they were left, inundated and famished, on the left bank at the mercy of the French. But nothing that ought to have been done, was done. General Dagobert had been succeeded by General Terreau, and the latter by General Doppet. The army was disorganized. It fought faintly in the environs of Ceret. It lost even the camp of St. Ferreol, and Ricardos escaped the dangers of his position. It was not long before he revenged himself much more ably for the danger in which he had been involved, and rushed on the 7th of November (17 Brumaire) on a French column, which was cooped up at Ville Longue, on the right bank of the Tech, between that river, the sea, and the Pyrenees. He defeated this column, ten thousand strong, and threw it into such disorder that it could not rally before it reached Argelès. Immediately afterwards, Ricardos ordered Delatre's division to be attacked at Collioure, took possession of Collioure, Port-Vendre, and St. Elme, and drove us completely beyond the Tech. Thus finished the campaign towards the end of December. The Spaniards took up their winter-quarters on the banks of the Tech. The French encamped around Perpignan and on the banks of the Tet. We had lost some ground, but less than might have been apprehended, after the disasters which we had sustained. It was, at any rate, the only frontier on which the campaign had not terminated gloriously for the arms of the republic. At the western Pyrenees a reciprocal defensive had been maintained.

In La Vendée, new and terrible battles had been fought, with great advantage to the republic, but with great injury to France, which there beheld Frenchmen arrayed against and slaughtering one another.

The Vendéans, beaten at Cholet on the 17th of October (26 Vendémiaire), had thrown themselves upon the bank of the Loire, to the number of eighty thousand persons, men, women, and children. Not daring to return to their country occupied by the republicans, and unable to keep the field in the presence of a victorious army, they thought of proceeding to Bretagne, and following up the ideas of Bonchamps, when that young hero was dead and could no longer direct their melancholy destinies. We have seen that, the day before the battle of Cholet, he sent a detachment to occupy the post of Varade on the Loire. That post, negligently guarded by the republicans, was taken in the night between the 16th and 17th. The battle being lost, the Vendéans were then able to cross the river unmolested, by means of

some boats left on the bank, and out of reach of the republican cannon. The danger having been hitherto on the left bank, the government had not thought of defending the right bank. All the towns in Bretagne were ill-guarded. Some detachments of the national guard, dispersed here and there, were incapable of checking the progress of the Vendéans, and could only retreat on their approach. The latter advanced, therefore, without impediment, and arrived successively at Candé, Chateau-Gonthier, and Laval, without encountering any resistance.

Meanwhile, the republican army was uncertain of their course, their number, and their plans; nay, for a moment, it had believed that they were destroyed, and so the representatives had written to the Convention. Kleber alone, who still commanded the army in the name of L'Echelle, had held a contrary opinion, and endeavoured to moderate a dangerous security. It was not long, in fact, before intelligence was received that the Vendéans were far from being exterminated, that in the fugitive column there was still left thirty or forty thousand armed men, capable of fighting. A council of war was immediately held, and, as it was not known whether the fugitives intended to proceed towards Angers or Nantes, to march for Bretagne, or to make for the Lower Loire to join Charette, it was resolved that the army should divide, and that one part under General Haxo should keep Charette in check and retake Noirmoutiers; that another division under Kleber should occupy the camp of St. George near Nantes; and that the rest should remain at Angers, to cover that town and to observe the march of the enemy.

Had the republican generals been better informed, they would no doubt have continued together, and marched without intermission in pursuit of the Vendéans. In the state of disorder and dismay in which they were, it would have been easy to disperse and entirely destroy them; but the direction which they had taken was not known, and, amidst this doubt, the course pursued was, after all, the wisest. Precise intelligence, however, soon arrived, and it was learned that the Vendéans had marched upon Candé, Chateau-Gonthier, and Laval. It was then resolved to pursue them immediately, and to overtake them before they could inflame Bretagne, and make themselves masters of any great town or seaport. Generals Vimeux and Haxo were left at Nantes and in Lower Vendée: all the rest of the army proceeded towards Candé and Chateau-Gonthier. Westermann and Beaupuy formed the advanced guard; Chalbos, Kleber, and Canuel, each commanded a division; and L'Echelle, keeping at a distance from the field of battle, left the operations to be directed by Kleber, who enjoyed the confidence and the admiration of the army.

In the evening of the 25th of October (4 Brumaire), the republican advanced guard arrived at Chateau-Gonthier. The main body was a day's march behind. Westermann, though his troops were extremely fatigued, though it was almost dark, and he was yet six leagues from Laval, determined to march thither immediately. Beaupuy, quite as brave but more prudent than Westermann, strove in vain to convince him of the danger of attacking the Vendean mass in the middle of the night, so far in advance of the main body of the army, and with troops harassed by fatigue. Beaupuy was obliged to give way to the senior in command. They commenced their march without delay. Arriving in the middle of the night at Laval, Westermann sent an officer to reconnoitre the enemy: the latter, hurried away by his ardour, made a charge instead of a reconnaissance, and quickly drove in the first posts. The alarm was given in Laval, the tocsin rang, the whole hostile mass was presently astir, and came to make head against the republicans

Beaupuy, behaving with his usual firmness, courageously sustained the attack of the Vendéans. Westermann displayed all his intrepidity. The combat was one of the most obstinate, and the darkness of the night rendered it still more sanguinary.* The republican advanced guard, though very inferior in number, would nevertheless have maintained its ground to the last, had not Westermann's cavalry, which was not always as brave as its commander, suddenly dispersed, and obliged him to retreat. Owing to the efforts of Beaupuy, the retreat was effected upon Chateau-Gonthier in tolerable order. The main body arrived there on the following day. Thus the whole army was again collected on the 26th, the advanced guard exhausted by a useless and destructive action, the main body fatigued by a long march, performed without provisions, without shoes, and through the mud of autumn. Westermann and the representatives were for moving forward again. Kleber strongly opposed this advice; and, at his suggestion, it was decided not to advance farther than Villiers, half-way between Chateau-Gonthier and Laval.

The next point was to form a plan for the attack of Laval. This town is seated on the Mayenne. To march directly by the left bank, which the army occupied, would be imprudent, as was judiciously observed by a highly-distinguished officer, Savary, who was perfectly acquainted with that part of the country. It would be easy for the Vendéans to occupy the bridge of Laval, and to maintain themselves there against all attacks. They might then, while the republican army was uselessly crowded together on the left bank, file along the right bank, cross the Mayenne in its rear, and attack it unawares. He proposed, therefore, to divide the attack, and to throw part of the army upon the right bank. On this side there would be no bridge to cross, and the occupation of Laval would not present any obstacle. This plan, approved by the generals, was adopted by L'Echelle. Next day, however, L'Echelle, who sometimes threw off his nullity to commit blunders, sent an order the most stupid and the most contrary to the course agreed upon the day before. He directed that the army should march, according to his favourite expression, *majestically and en masse*, upon Laval, filing upon the left bank. Kleber and all the generals were indignant. Nevertheless they were obliged to obey. Beaupuy advanced first; Kleber immediately followed. The whole Vendean army was deployed on the heights of Entrames. Beaupuy attacked; Kleber deployed on the right and left of the road, so as to extend himself as much as possible. Sensible, however, of the disadvantage of this position, he sent to desire L'Echelle, to direct Chabos's division upon the enemy's flank, a movement which would have shaken him. But this column, composed of those battalions formed at Orleans and Niort, which had so often run away, dispersed before they had begun their march. L'Echelle was the first to scamper off at full gallop. A full half of the army, which was not engaged, fled with the utmost precipitation, with L'Echelle at its head, and ran to Chateau-Gonthier, and from Chateau-Gonthier to Angers. The brave Mayençais, who had never yet flinched, dispersed for the first time. The rout then became general. Beau-

* "The republicans supported an instant the shock of our army whose numbers and movements were hidden by night, but they were soon turned, and the disorder became such, that our people took cartridges from their caissons, and they from ours. This confusion was favourable to the Vendéans, who lost but few men, and killed a great many of the enemy. The darkness was so great, that M. Keller gave his hand to a republican to help him out of a ditch, thinking him one of us. The flashes of the cannon showed him at once the uniform, and—he killed him!"—*Memoirs of the Marchioness de Larochejacquelein*. E.

puy, Kleber, Marceau, and Merlin and Terreau, the representatives, made incredible but useless efforts to stop the fugitives.* Beaupuy received a ball in the middle of the chest. On being carried into a hut, he cried, "Leave me here, and show my bloody shirt to my soldiers." The gallant Bloss, who commanded the grenadiers, and was noted for extraordinary intrepidity, fell at the head of them. At length, one part of the army halted at Lyon-d'Angers; the other fled to Angers itself. General indignation was excited by the cowardly example set by L'Echelle, who had been the first to run away. The soldiers murmured loudly. On the following day, during the review, the small number of brave men who had stuck to their colours, and these were the Mayençais, shouted, "Down with L'Echelle! Kleber and Dubayet for ever! Let them give us back Dubayet!" L'Echelle, who heard these shouts, conceived a stronger dislike than ever for the army of Mayence, and for the generals whose bravery put him to shame. The representatives, seeing that the soldiers would no longer obey L'Echelle, resolved to suspend him, and offered the command to Kleber. The latter refused it, because he was not fond of the situation of general-in-chief, an everlasting butt to the representatives, to the minister, to the committee of public welfare, and consented merely to direct the army in the name of another. The command was therefore given to Chabos, who was one of the oldest generals in the army. L'Echelle, anticipating the resolution of the representatives, resigned, saying that he was ill, and retired to Nantes, where he died some time afterwards.

Kleber, seeing the army in a deplorable state, dispersed partly at Angers and partly at Lyon-d'Angers, proposed to assemble the whole of it at Angers itself, then to allow it a few day's rest, to furnish it with shoes and clothes, and to reorganize it in a complete manner. This suggestion was adopted, and all the troops were collected at Angers. L'Echelle, on sending in his resignation, had not failed to denounce the army of Mayence, and to attribute to brave men a rout which was owing solely to his own cowardice. A distrust had long been felt of that army, of its *esprit de corps*, of its attachment to its generals, and of its opposition to the staff of Saumur. The recent shouts of "Dubayet for ever! Down with L'Echelle!" completely compromised it in the opinion of the government. Accordingly, the committee of public welfare soon issued an ordinance commanding that it should be dissolved and:

* "The battle began at eleven o'clock in the morning. The republicans had two pieces of cannon on a rising ground in front. M. Stofflet, who was by the side of an emigrant, said to him, 'You shall see how we take cannon.' At the same time he ordered M. Martin, surgeon, to charge on the pieces with a dozen horsemen. Martin set off at a gallop. The cannoniers were killed, and the two pieces carried away. They turned them immediately against the republicans, and M. de la Marsonnierre was charged to point them. A spent ball struck him so violently as to bury his shirt in his flesh. M. de Bangé supplied his place. This battery was important. It was exposed to the hottest fire of the enemy. M. de Larochejaquelein was almost continually with M. de Bangé, making the pieces always advance in front of the republicans, who were retreating. The drivers were so frightened that they were obliged to whip them on. For a moment cartouches were wanting. M. de Royrand galloped off for some. Coming back, a ball struck him on the head; he died of his wound some time after. The perseverance of this attack decided the success of the battle. The republicans gave way, and fled in disorder to Chateau-Gonthier. They wanted to form again in the town, and placed two cannon on the bridge to defend it. M. de Larochejaquelein, who had pursued them briskly, said to his soldiers, 'What, my friends, shall the conquerors sleep out of doors, and the conquered in the town?' The Vendéans had never had so much ardour. They rushed on the bridge, and the cannon were taken. The Mayençais tried a moment to resist. They were overthrown, and our people entered Chateau-Gonthier."—*Mémoires of the Marchioness de Larochejaquelein*. E.

incorporated with the other corps. Kleber was charged with this operation. Though this measure was taken against himself and his companions-in-arms, he cheerfully obeyed, for he felt the danger of the spirit of rivalry and animosity which subsisted between the garrison of Mayence and the rest of the troops, and he saw moreover a great advantage in forming good heads of columns, which, skilfully distributed, might communicate their own energy to the whole army.

During these transactions at Angers, the Vendéans, delivered at Laval from the republicans, and seeing nothing that opposed their march, considered what course they had to pursue. Two, alike advantageous, presented themselves. They had to choose between the extremity of Bretagne and that of Normandy. In the farthest part of Bretagne, a strong spirit of fanaticism had been excited by the priests and the nobles; the population would receive them with joy; and the country, hilly and extremely intersected, would furnish them with very easy means of resistance; lastly, they would be on the sea-coast and in communication with the English. The extremity of Normandy, or the peninsula of Cotentin, was rather more distant but much easier to guard: for, by making themselves masters of Port-Beil and St. Cosme, they could close it completely. They would there find the important town of Cherbourg, easily accessible to them on the land side, full of supplies of all kinds, and above all, well adapted for communication with the English. The road to Bretagne was guarded only by the army of Brest, under Rossignol, consisting at most of five or six thousand men, and badly organized. The road to Normandy was defended by the army of Cherbourg, composed of levies *en masse*, ready to disperse at the first musket-shot, and of a few thousand regular troops, which had not yet quitted Caen. Thus neither of these two armies was to be dreaded by the Vendean force. With a little celerity it would even be easy to avoid a meeting with them. But the Vendéans were ignorant of the nature of the localities. They had not among them a single officer who could tell them what Bretagne and Normandy were, what were their military advantages and their fortresses. They conceived, for instance, that Cherbourg was defended on the land side; they were incapable of making haste, of gaining information during their march, of executing anything, in short, with any degree of vigour and precision.

Their army, though numerous, was in a deplorable state. All the principal chiefs were either dead or wounded. Bonchamps had expired on the left bank; D'Elbée had been conveyed wounded to Noirmoutiers; Lescure, struck by a ball on the forehead, was drawn dying after the army.* Laroche-Jaquelein alone was left, and to him the chief command had been assigned. Stofflet commanded under him. The army, now obliged to move and to

* "We quitted Laval without having determined if we should go to Rennes. Stofflet, on his own authority, took the road to Fougères. In the evening we stopped at Mayenne; the next day we continued our disastrous journey. The army, after a skirmish, in which it succeeded, entered Ernée. We passed the night there. I was overwhelmed with fatigue, so threw myself on a mattress by Lescure, and went to sleep. During it, they perceived all at once that the patient had lost his strength, and was dying. They put on blisters, but, an instant after, he lost his speech. At one o'clock in the morning, sleep left me, and I passed twelve hours in a state of distraction impossible to paint. Toward noon we were forced to continue our journey. I got first into the carriage on the mattress by Lescure. Agatha was on the other side. Our friends represented to me that the surgeon would be more useful than I, and made me get out of the carriage, and put me on horseback. I saw nothing. I had lost all power of thinking. I distinguished no objects. I knew not what I felt. A dark cloud, a frightful void, surrounded me. I will own that, finding on the road the bodies of many republicans, a sort of involuntary rage made me push on my horse, so as to trample

abandon its own country, ought to have been organized; but it marched pell-mell, like a mob, having the women, the children, and the wagons, in the centre. In a regular army, the brave, the weak, the coward, are so dovetailed, as it were, that they must perforce hold together and mutually support one another. A few courageous men are sufficient to impart their energy to the whole mass. Here, on the contrary, no ranks were kept, no division into companies, into battalions, was observed. Each marched where he pleased, the bravest men had ranged themselves together and formed a corps of five or six thousand, always ready to be the first to advance. Next to them came a troop, consisting of those who were disposed to decide an advantage by throwing themselves on the flanks of an enemy already broken. After these two bands slowly followed that confused mass, which was ever ready to run away on the firing of the first shot.

Thus the thirty or forty thousand armed men were reduced to a few thousand brave fellows, who were always disposed to fight from temperament. The want of subdivisions prevented them from forming detachments, directing a corps to this or that point, or making any disposition whatever. Some followed Laroche-Jacquelin, others Stofflet, and would follow nobody else. It was impossible to give orders. All that could be obtained by the officers was to get their people to follow at a given signal. Stofflet had merely a few trusty peasants who went to communicate his directions to their comrades. They had scarcely two hundred wretched cavalry, and about thirty pieces of cannon, ill-served and ill-kept. The baggage encumbered the march: the women and the old men strove, for the sake of greater safety, to burrow amidst the foremost troop of fighters, and filled their ranks and embarrassed their movements. The men began to conceive a distrust of the officers. They said that the latter were anxious to reach the coast only that they might embark and abandon to their fate the unfortunate peasants whom they had torn from their homes. The council, whose authority had become absolutely illusory, was divided; the priests were dissatisfied with the military chiefs; nothing, in short, would have been easier than to destroy such an army, even if the utmost disorder of command had not prevailed among the republicans.

The Vendéans were, therefore, incapable alike of conceiving and executing any plan whatever. It was twenty-six days since they quitted the Loire, and, in so long a space of time, they had done nothing at all. After this prolonged indecision, they at last came to a determination. On the one hand, they were told that Rennes and St. Malo were guarded by considerable numbers of troops; on the other, that Cherbourg was strongly defended on the land side. They resolved, therefore, to besiege Granville, seated on the coast between the point of Bretagne and that of Normandy. This plan had the especial advantage of bringing them near to Normandy, which had been described to them as extremely fertile, and abounding in provisions. They marched, in consequence, upon Fougères. Fifteen or sixteen thousand men of the levy *en masse* had been collected upon the road which they were pursuing, but these dispersed without striking a blow. They reached Dol on the 10th of November, and Avranches on the 12th.

under foot those who had killed Lescure! In about an hour I heard some noise in the carriage, and sobs—I wanted to rush in. I suspected my misfortune, but they drew me off and I dared not persist. In reality, the time when I had heard a noise in the carriage had been the last of M. de Lescure. Agatha wished to get out, but thinking that I should then know the worst, she had the courage to pass seven hours beside the dead body.”—*Memoirs of the Marchioness de Larochejaquelein*. E.

On the 14th of November (24 Brumaire) they marched for Granville, leaving half their men and all their baggage at Avranches. The garrison having attempted to make a sortie, they repulsed it, and penetrated in pursuit of it into the suburb. The garrison had time to enter and to secure the gates; but the suburb was in their possession, and they had thus great facilities for the attack. They advanced from the suburb to the palisades which had recently been erected, and, without thinking of pulling them down, they merely kept up a fire of musketry against the ramparts, whilst they were answered with grape-shot and cannon-balls. At the same time they placed some pieces on the surrounding heights, and fired to no purpose against the top of the walls and on the houses of the town. At night they dispersed, and left the suburb, where the fire of the place allowed them no rest. They went beyond the reach of the cannon to seek lodgings, provisions, and, above all, fire, for the weather began to be extremely cold. The chiefs could scarcely retain a few hundred men in the suburb, to keep up a fire of musketry from that quarter.

On the following day, their inability to take a walled town was still more clearly demonstrated to them. They made another trial of their batteries, but without success. They again opened a fire of musketry along the palisades, but were soon completely disheartened. One of them all at once conceived the idea of taking advantage of the ebb-tide to cross the beach, and to attack the town on the side next to the harbour. They were preparing for this new attempt, when the suburb was set on fire by the representatives shut up in Granville. They were then obliged to evacuate it, and to think of retreat. The proposed attempt on the side towards the sea was entirely relinquished, and on the following day they all returned to Avranches to rejoin the rest of their force and the baggage. From this moment their discouragement was extreme. They complained more bitterly than ever of the chiefs who had torn them from their country and now wanted to abandon them, and insisted, with loud shouts, on returning to the Loire. In vain did Laroche-Jacquelin, at the head of the bravest of their force, make a new attempt to lead them into Normandy: in vain did he march to Ville-Dieu, which he took: he was followed by scarcely a thousand men. The rest of the column, marching upon Pont-Orson, took the road through Bretagne, by which it had come. It made itself master of the bridge at Beaux, across the Selune, the possession of which was indispensable for reaching Pont-Orson.

During these occurrences at Granville, the republican army had been reorganized at Angers. Scarcely had the time necessary for giving it a little rest and order elapsed, when it was conducted to Rennes, to be there joined by six or seven thousand men of the Brest army, commanded by Rossignol. There a council of war was held, and the measures to be taken for continuing the pursuit of the Vendean column were determined upon. Chalbos, being ill, had obtained permission to retire upon the rear, to recruit his health; and Rossignol had been invested by the representatives with the chief command of the army of the West and that of Brest, forming a total of twenty or twenty-one thousand men. It had been resolved that these two armies should proceed forthwith to Antrain; that General Tribout, who was at Dol with three or four thousand men, should march to Pont-Orson; and that General Sepher, who had six thousand soldiers of the army of Cherbourg, should follow the rear of the Vendean column. Thus, placed between the sea, the post of Pont-Orson, and the army at Antrain and

Sephur, which was coming from Avranches, this column could not fail to be enveloped and destroyed.

All these dispositions had been executed at the very moment when the Vendéans were leaving Avranches and taking possession of the bridge at Beaux, with the intention of proceeding to Pont-Orson. It was the 18th of November (28 Brumaire). General Tribout, a declaimer without any knowledge of war, had, in order to guard Pont-Orson, merely to occupy a narrow pass across a marsh, which covered the town and could not be turned. With so advantageous a position, he had it in his power to prevent the Vendéans from stirring a single step. But, as soon as he perceived the enemy, he abandoned the defile and moved forward. The Vendéans, encouraged by the taking of the bridge at Beaux, charged him vigorously, obliged him to fall back, and, profiting by the disorder of his retreat, threw themselves into the pass which crosses the marsh, and thus made themselves masters of Pont-Orson, which they ought not to have been suffered to approach.

Owing to this unpardonable blunder, an unexpected route was opened to the Vendéans. They might march upon Dol; but from Dol they would be obliged to go to Antrain, and to encounter the republican main army. They nevertheless evacuated Pont-Orson and advanced towards Dol. Westermann hastened in pursuit of them. Impetuous as ever, he hurried Marigny and his grenadiers along with him, and had the hardihood to follow the Vendéans as far as Dol with a mere advanced guard. He actually overtook them, and drove them confusedly into the town; but, soon recovering themselves, they sallied forth from Dol, and, by that destructive fire which they directed so well, they obliged the republican advanced guard to retire to a great distance.

Kleber, who still directed the army by his counsels, though it was commanded by another, proposed, in order to complete the destruction of the Vendean column, to blockade it, and thus cause it to perish by famine, disease, and want. Dispersions were so frequent among the republican troops, that an attack by main force might be attended with dangerous risks. On the contrary, by fortifying Antrain, Pont-Orson, and Dinan, they would enclose the Vendéans between the sea and three intrenched points; and, by harassing them every day with the troops under Westermann and Marigny, they could not fail to destroy them. The representatives approved this plan; and orders were issued accordingly. But, all at once, an officer arrived from Westermann. He said that, if the main body of the army would second his general, and attack Dol on the Antrain side, while he would attack it from the Pont-Orson side, it would be all over with the Catholic army, which must be utterly destroyed. The representatives took fire at this proposal. Prieur of La Marne, not less impetuous than Westermann, caused the plan first adopted to be changed, and it was decided that Marceau, at the head of a column, should march upon Dol simultaneously with Westermann.

On the morning of the 21st, Westermann advanced upon Dol. In his impatience, he did not think of ascertaining if Marceau's column, which was to come from Antrain, had already reached the field of battle, and he attacked forthwith. The enemy replied to his attack by their formidable fire. Westermann deployed his infantry and gained ground; but cartridges began to fail; he was then obliged to make a retrograde movement, and fell back to a *plateau* where he established himself.* Taking advantage of this situation,

* "The republicans tried to defend Pontorson, but were beaten. I arrived in a carriage at night, just as the fighting was over. The coach passed every moment over dead bodies

the Vendéans fell upon his column and dispersed it. Meanwhile, Marceau at length came in sight of Dol; the victorious Vendéans united against him; he resisted with heroic firmness for a whole day, and successfully maintained his ground on the field of battle. But his position was extremely perilous; he sent to Kleber, soliciting advice and succour. Kleber hastened to him, and advised him to take a retrograde, indeed, but a very strong position in the environs of Trans. Some hesitation was felt in following the advice of Kleber, when the presence of the Vendean riflemen made the troops fall back. They were at first thrown into disorder, but soon rallied on the position pointed out by Kleber. That general then again brought forward the first plan which he had proposed, and which consisted in fortifying Antrain. It was adopted; but it was resolved that the troops should not return to Antrain but remain at Trans, and fortify themselves there, in order to be nearer to Dol. With that fickleness which governed all determinations, this plan was once more relinquished, and it was again resolved to take the offensive, notwithstanding the experience of the preceding day. A reinforcement was sent to Westermann, with orders to attack on his side, at the same time that the main army should attack on the side next to Trans.

Kleber in vain objected that Westermann's troops, disheartened by the event of the preceding day, would not stand firm. The representatives insisted, and the attack was fixed for the following day. Next day the movement was accordingly executed. Westermann and Marigny were anticipated and attacked by the enemy. Their troops, though supported by a reinforcement, dispersed. They made incredible efforts to stop them; to no purpose they rallied around them a few brave men, who were soon hurried along by the rest. The victorious Vendéans abandoned that point, and moved upon their right towards the army which was advancing from Trans.

While they had just obtained this advantage and were preparing to gain a second, the report of the artillery had struck terror into the town of Dol, and among such of them as had not yet come forth to fight. The women, the aged men, the children, and the cowards ran off on all sides and fled towards Dinan and the sea. Their priests, with crucifixes in their hands, made useless efforts to bring them back. Stofflet and Laroche-Jaquelein ran everywhere to stop them and lead them again into action. At length they succeeded in rallying them and making them take the road to Trans, after the brave fellows who had preceded them.

Not less confusion prevailed in the principal camp of the republicans.

The jolting, and the cracking of bones broken by the wheels, was horrible. When alighting, a corpse was before the door of the carriage. I was going to step on it, when they took it away. Soon after we arrived at Dol, fatigued, and in want of provisions. At nine o'clock at night the town was alarmed, the drum beat to arms, and the patrol came galloping towards us, and announced that we must prepare for the attack of a numerous army, which had been marching all day, and was now fast approaching Dol. The moment the Vendéans had formed themselves at the entrance of the town, the attack began. The cries of the soldiers—the roll of the drums—the fire of the howitzers casting a transient gleam over the town—the noise of the musketry—the thunder of the cannon—all contributed to the impression made on those who expected life or death from the issue of this battle. In the midst of this, we kept profound silence. Suddenly we heard, at the entrance of the town, 'Advance cavalry!'—'Vive le Roi!' A hundred thousand voices, men, women, and children, repeated the cry, which told us that our brave protectors had saved us from massacre. The horsemen went off at full gallop, crying 'Vive le Roi!' The light of the firing made their sabres shine through the darkness. All the rest of the night we listened to the cannon, the noise of which grew gradually fainter. Towards morning the republicans had retreated two leagues."

Memoirs of the Marchioness de Larochejaquelein. E.

Rossignol and the representatives, commanding all at once, could neither agree together nor act. Kleber and Marceau, devoured by vexation, had advanced to reconnoitre the ground and to withstand the effort of the Vendéans. Arrived in presence of the enemy, Kleber would have deployed the advanced guard of the army of Brest, but it ran away at the first fire. He then ordered Canuel's brigade to advance. This brigade was in great part composed of Mayence battalions, which, with their wonted bravery, resisted during the whole day, and were left alone on the field of battle, forsaken by the rest of the troops. But the Vendean band which had beaten Westermann, took them in flank, and they were forced to retreat. The Vendéans, profiting by this movement, pursued them to Antrain itself. At length it became urgent to quit Antrain, and the whole republican army retired to Rennes.

It was then that the prudence of Kleber's advice was fully appreciated. Rossignol, in one of those generous impulses of which he was capable, notwithstanding his resentment against the generals of the Mayence troops, appeared at the council of war with a paper containing his resignation. "I am not qualified," said he, "to command an army. Let me have a battalion and I will do my duty: but I am not fit for the chief command. Here is my resignation, and they who refuse it are enemies of the republic."—"No resignation!" cried Prieur of La Marne; "thou art the eldest son of the committee of public welfare. We will give thee generals who shall advise thee, and who shall be responsible in thy stead for the events of the war." Kleber, however, mortified at seeing the army so unskilfully directed, proposed a plan which could alone re-establish the state of affairs, but was far from agreeing with the proposition of the representatives. "You ought," said he to them, "if you allow Rossignol to retain the generalship, to appoint a commander-in-chief of the infantry, a commander of the cavalry, and one of the artillery." His suggestion was adopted. He then had the boldness to propose Marceau as commander-in-chief of the infantry, Westermann of the cavalry, and Debilly of the artillery, all three suspected as members of the Mayence faction. A momentary dispute ensued respecting the individuals; but the opponents at length yielded to the ascendancy of that able and generous officer, who loved the republic, not from an excited imagination but from temperament, who served with admirable sincerity and disinterestedness, who was passionately fond of his profession, and imbued with the spirit of it in a very rare degree. Kleber had recommended Marceau because that brave young soldier was at his disposal, and he reckoned upon his entire devotedness. He was sure, if Rossignol remained the cipher he was, to direct everything himself, and to bring the war to a successful termination.

The Cherbourg division, which had come from Normandy, was united with the armies of Brest and the West, which then quitted Rennes and proceeded towards Angers, where the Vendéans were endeavouring to cross the Loire. The latter, after securing the means of return by their twofold victory on the road to Pont-Orson and on that of Antrain, thought of retiring to their own country. They passed, without striking a blow, through Fougères and Laval, and designed to make themselves masters of Angers, with the intention of crossing the Loire at the bridge of Cé. The last experiment which they had made at Granville had not wholly convinced them of their inability to take walled towns. On the 3d of December they threw themselves into the suburbs of Angers, and began to fire upon the front of the place. They continued on the following day, but, anxious as they were to open for them

selves a passage to their own country, from which they were now separated only by the Loire, they soon despaired of succeeding. The arrival of Westermann's advanced guard on the same day, the 4th, completely disheartened them, and caused them to relinquish their enterprise. They then marched off, ascending the Loire, and not knowing where they should be able to cross it. Some advised that they should go on to Saumur, others to Blois; but, at the moment when they were deliberating, Kleber came up with his division along the Saumur road, and obliged them to fall back into Bretagne. Thus these unfortunate creatures, destitute of provisions, of shoes, of vehicles to convey their families, afflicted by an epidemic disease, were again wandering in Bretagne, without finding either an asylum or outlet whereby to escape.* The roads were covered with the sad vestiges of their disastrous retreat; and at the bivouac before Angers were found women and children who had died of hunger and cold. They began already to believe that the Convention meant no harm to any but their chiefs, and many of them threw away their arms and fled clandestinely across the country. At length the reports made to them concerning Mans, the abundance which they should find there, and the dispositions of the inhabitants, induced them to proceed thither. They passed through La Flèche, of which they made themselves masters, and entered Mans after a slight skirmish.

The republican army followed them. Fresh disputes had taken place among the generals. Kleber had intimidated the quarrelsome by his firmness, and obliged the representatives to send back Rossignol to Rennes with his division of the Brest army. An ordinance of the committee of public welfare then conferred on Marceau the title of commander-in-chief, and dismissed all the Mayence generals, but allowed Marceau to avail himself temporarily of Kleber's services. Marceau declared that he would not command, if Kleber were not at his side to direct everything. "In accepting the title," said Marceau to Kleber, "I take the annoyance and the responsibility upon myself, and I shall leave thee the actual command and the means of saving the army."—"Be easy, my friend," said Kleber, "we will fight and we will be guillotined together."

The army marched immediately, and, from that moment, everything was conducted with unity and firmness. Westermann's advanced guard arrived on the 12th at Mans, and instantly charged the Vendéans. Confusion seized them; but some thousand brave men, headed by Laroche-Jacquelein, formed before the town, and obliged Westermann to fall back upon Marceau, who was coming up with a division. Kleber was still behind with the rest of the army. Westermann was for attacking immediately, though it was dark. Marceau, impelled by his impetuous temperament, but fearing the censure of Kleber, whose cool, calm energy never suffered itself to be hurried away, at first hesitated; but, overcome by Westermann, he made up his mind, and

* "No words can possibly give an idea of our despair. Hunger, fatigue, and grief, had transformed us all. Everybody was in rags, even our chiefs. I will attempt a sketch of our costume. Besides my peasant-dress I had on my head a flannel hood, an old blanket about me, and a large piece of blue cloth tied round my neck with twine. I wore three pair of yellow worsted stockings, and green slippers fastened to my feet with cord. My horse had an hussar saddle with a sheep skin. M. de Mouliniers had a turban and a Turkish dress which he had taken from the playhouse at La Flèche. The Chevalier de Beauvolliers was wrapped up in a lawyer's gown, and had a woman's hat over a flannel nightcap. Madame d'Armaille and her children were covered with pieces of yellow damask. M. de Verteuil had been killed in battle with two petticoats on, one fastened round his neck, and the other to his waist. He fought thus equipped."—*Memoirs of the Marchioness de Larochejacquelein*. P.

attacked Mans. The tocsin rang, and dismay pervaded the town. Westermann and Marceau dashed forward in the dark, overturning all before them; and, in spite of a galling fire from the houses, they drove back the greater number of the Vendéans to the great square of the town. Marceau directed the streets running into this square on his right and left to be cut off, and thus kept the Vendéans blockaded. His position was, nevertheless, hazardous; for, having ventured into a town in the middle of the night, he was liable to be turned and surrounded. He, therefore, sent a message to Kleber, urging him to come up as speedily as possible with his division. The latter arrived at daybreak. Most of the Vendéans had fled; the bravest of them only remained to protect the retreat: they were charged with the bayonet, broken, dispersed, and a horrible carnage began all over the town.

Never had rout been so disastrous. A considerable number of women, left behind, were made prisoners. Marceau saved a young female who had lost her relatives, and who, in her despair, begged to be put to death. She was modest and beautiful. Marceau, full of kindness and delicacy, took her into his carriage, treated her with respect, and caused her to be conveyed to a place of safety. The country was covered to a considerable distance by this great disaster. The indefatigable Westermann harassed the fugitives, and strewed the roads with dead bodies. The unfortunate Vendéans, not knowing whither to flee, entered Laval for the third time, and left it again immediately to proceed once more towards the Loire. They purposed to cross at Ancenis. Laroche-Jacquelein and Stofflet threw themselves on the other bank, with the intention it was said, of procuring boats, and bringing them to the right bank. They did not come back. Indeed, it is asserted that it was impossible for them to return. The passage could not be effected. The Vendean column, deprived of the presence and support of its two leaders, continued to descend the Loire, still pursued, and still vainly seeking a passage. At length, reduced to despair, not knowing which way to turn, it resolved to flee to the extreme point of Bretagne, to the Morbihan. It proceeded to Blain, where its rear-guard obtained an advantage; and from Blain to Savenai, whence it hoped to be able to throw itself into the Morbihan.

The republicans had followed the Vendean column without intermission, and they arrived at Savenai on the evening of the same day that it had entered that place. Savenai had the Loire on the left, marshes on the right, and a wood in front. Kleber felt the importance of occupying the wood the same day, and of making himself master of all the heights, in order to crush the Vendéans on the following day in Savenai, before they had time to leave it. Accordingly, he directed his advanced guard upon them; and he himself, seizing the moment when the Vendéans were debouching from the wood, to repulse his advanced guard, boldly threw himself into it with a corps of infantry, and completely cleared it of them. They then fled to Savenai, and shut themselves up there, keeping up, however, a continual fire all night. Westermann and the representatives proposed to attack immediately, and to consummate the destruction that very night. Kleber, determined that no fault of his should deprive him of a certain victory, declared positively that he would not attack; and then, assuming an imperturbable indifference, he suffered them to say what they pleased, without replying to any provocation. He thus prevented every sort of movement.

Next morning, December the 23d, before it was light, he was on horse back with Marceau, passing along his line, when the Vendéans, driven to desperation and determined not to survive that battle, rushed first upon the republicans. Marceau marched with the centre, Canuel with the right

Kleber with the left. All of them fell upon and drove back the Vendéans. Marceau and Kleber joined in the town, and, taking all the cavalry they could find, went in pursuit of the enemy. The Loire and the marshes forbade all retreat to the unfortunate Vendéans. A great number perished by the bayonet;* others were made prisoners; and very few found means to escape. On that day the column was utterly destroyed, and the great war of La Vendée was truly brought to a close.†

Thus this unfortunate population, drawn from its own country through the imprudence of its chiefs, and reduced to the necessity of seeking a port as a place of refuge within reach of the English, had in vain set foot in the waters of the Ocean. Granville had proved inaccessible to it. It had been led back to the Loire; unable to cross that river, it had been a second time driven back into Bretagne, and from Bretagne again to the Loire. At length, finding it impossible to pass that fatal barrier, it had gone to perish in a body between Savenai, the Loire, and the marshes. Westermann was despatched with his cavalry to pursue the fugitive wrecks of La Vendée. Kleber and Marceau returned to Nantes. Received on the 24th by the people of that city, they obtained a sort of triumph, and were presented by the Jacobin club with a civic crown.

If we take a general view of this memorable campaign of 1793, we cannot help considering it as the greatest effort that was ever made by a nation threatened with civil war. In the year 1792, the coalition, which was not yet complete, had acted without unity and without vigour. The Prussians had attempted a ridiculous invasion in Champagne; the Austrians had confined themselves in the Netherlands to the bombardment of the fortress of Lille; the French in their first excitement drove back the Prussians beyond the Rhine, the Austrians beyond the Meuse, conquered the Netherlands, Mayence, Savoy, and the county of Nice. The important year 1793 opened in a very different manner. The coalition was strengthened by three powers which had hitherto been neutral. Spain, provoked to the utmost by the event of the 21st of January, had at length sent fifty thousand men to the Pyrenees; France had obliged Pitt to declare himself; and England and Holland had entered at once into the coalition, which was thus doubled, and which, better informed of the means of the enemy with which it had to cope, augmented its forces, and prepared for a decisive effort. Thus, as in the time of Louis XIV., France had to sustain the attack of all Europe; and she had not drawn upon herself this combination of enemies by her ambition, but by the just indignation which the interference of the powers in her internal affairs had awakened in her.

So early as the month of March, Dumouriez set out on a rash enterprise, and proposed to invade Holland by crossing over in boats. Meanwhile, Coburg surprised the lieutenants of that general, drove them beyond the Meuse, and even obliged him to return and put himself at the head of his army. Dumouriez was forced to fight the battle of Neerwinden. That terrible battle was won, when the left wing gave way and recrossed the Gette:

* "On this occasion between five and six thousand Vendéans perished with arms in their hands. The work of fusillading was carried on during eight days at Savenai, till the walls were scaled with blood, and the ditches filled with human bodies."—*Quarterly Review*. E.

† "I have seen and observed well these desperate heroes of Savenai; and I swear to you that they wanted nothing of soldiers but the dress. I know not if I am mistaken, but this war of brigands and peasants, on which so much ridicule has been thrown, and which people have affected to treat as despicable, has always appeared to me the one of the greatest importance to the republic."—*Letter from a Republican General to Merlin de Thionville* E.

it became necessary to beat a retreat, and we lost the Netherlands in a few days. Our reverses then soured the public mind; Dumouriez broke with his government, and went over to the Austrians. At the same time Custine, beaten at Frankfort, driven back upon the Rhine, and separated from Mayence, left the Prussians to blockade and to commence the siege of that famous fortress; the Piedmontese repulsed us at Saorgio; the Spaniards crossed the Pyrenees; and, lastly, the provinces of the West, already deprived of their priests, and provoked to the utmost by the levy of the three hundred thousand men, rose in insurrection at the name of the throne and of the altar.

It was at this moment that the Mountain, exasperated by the desertion of Dumouriez, the defeat sustained in the Netherlands, on the Rhine, at the Alps, and more especially by the insurrection of the West, throwing off all restraint, tore the Girondins by force from the bosom of the Convention, and thus removed all those who could still have talked to it of moderation. This new outrage created it new enemies. Sixty-seven departments out of eighty-three rose against the government, which had then to struggle with Europe, royalist La Vendée, and three-fourths of federalized France. It was at this epoch that we lost the camp of Famars and the brave Dampierre, that the blockade of Valenciennes was completed, that Mayence was closely pressed, that the Spaniards crossed the Tech and threatened Perpignan, that the Vendéans took Saumur and besieged Nantes, and that the federalists made preparations for proceeding from Lyons, Marseilles, Bordeaux, and Caen, upon Paris.

From all these points a bold march upon the capital might have been attempted. The Revolution might have been terminated in a few days, and European civilization suspended for a long time. Fortunately, the insurgents laid siege to fortresses. The reader will recollect with what firmness the Convention reduced the departments to submission, by merely showing its authority, and dispersing the imprudent people who had advanced as far as Vernon; with what success the Vendéans were repulsed from Nantes, and stopped in their victorious career. But, while the Convention was triumphing over the federalists, its other enemies were making alarming progress. Valenciennes and Mayence were taken after memorable sieges; the war of federalism was attended with two deplorable events, the siege of Lyons and the treason at Toulon; lastly, La Vendée itself, notwithstanding the successful resistance of Nantes, enclosed by the Loire, the sea, and Poitou, had repulsed the columns of Westermann and Labarolière, which had attempted to penetrate into its bosom. Never had situation been more perilous. The allies were no longer detained in the north and on the Rhine by sieges; Lyons and Toulon offered solid supports to the Piedmontese; La Vendée appeared invincible, and offered a footing to the English. It was then that the Convention summoned to Paris the deputies of the primary assemblies, gave them the constitution of the year 3 to swear to and to defend, and decided with them that entire France, men, and things, should be at the disposal of the government. Then were decreed the levy *en masse*, generation by generation, and the power of requiring whatever was needed for the war. Then were instituted the great book, and the forced loan from the rich, in order to withdraw part of the assignats from circulation, and to effect the forced sale of the national domains. Then were two large armies despatched to La Vendée; the garrison of Mayence was conveyed thither by carriages travelling post; it was resolved that that unfortunate country should be laid waste, and that its population should be transferred to other parts. Lastly,

Carnot became a member of the committee of public welfare, had introduced order and unity into the military operations.

We had lost Cæsar's Camp, and Kilmaine had, by a lucky retreat, saved the remains of the army of the North. The English advanced to Dunkirk and laid siege to that town, while the Austrians attacked Le Quesnoy. A force was rapidly moved from Lille upon the rear of the Duke of York. Had Houchard, who on this occasion commanded sixty thousand French, comprehended Carnot's plan, and proceeded to Furnes, not an Englishman would have escaped. Instead of advancing between the corps of observation and the besieging corps, he pursued a direct course, and at least caused the siege to be raised, by fighting the successful battle of Hondtschoote. This was our first victory, which saved Dunkirk, deprived the English of all the fruits of the war, and restored to us joy and hope.

Fresh reverses soon converted this joy into new alarms. Le Quesnoy was taken by the Austrians; Houchard's army was seized with a panic-terror at Menin, and dispersed; the Prussians and the Austrians, whom there was nothing to stop after the reduction of Mayence, advanced upon the two slopes of the Vosges, threatened the lines of Weissenburg, and beat us in several encounters. The Lyonnese made a vigorous resistance; the Piedmontese had recovered Savoy, and descended towards Lyons, to place our army between two fires. Ricardo had crossed the Tet and advanced beyond Perpignan; lastly, the division of the troops in the West into two armies, that of La Rochelle and that of Brest, had prevented the success of the plan of campaign agreed upon at Saumur on the 2d of September. Canclaux, badly seconded by Rossignol, had found himself alone, in advance, in the heart of La Vendée, and had fallen back upon Nantes. New efforts were then required. The dictatorship was completed and proclaimed by the institution of the revolutionary government; the power of the committee of public welfare was proportioned to the danger; the levies were effected, and the armies swelled by a multitude of recruits; the new-comers filled the garrisons, and permitted the organized troops to be transferred to the line; lastly, the Convention ordered the armies to conquer within a given time.

The means which it had employed produced their inevitable effects. The armies of the North, being reinforced, concentrated themselves at Lille and at Guise. The allies had proceeded to Maubeuge, and purposed taking it before the end of the campaign. Jourdan, marching from Guise, fought the Austrians at Wagnies, and forced them to raise the siege of Maubeuge, as Houchard had obliged the English to raise that of Dunkirk. The Piedmontese were driven back beyond the St. Bernard by Kellermann. Lyons, inundated by levies *en masse*, was carried by assault; Ricardos was driven beyond the Tet; lastly, the two armies of La Rochelle and Brest, united under one commander, L'Echelle, who suffered Kleber to act for him, crushed the Vendéans at Cholet, and obliged them to cross the Loire in disorder.

A single reverse disturbed the joy which such events could not fail to produce. The lines of Weissenburg were lost. But the committee of public welfare resolved not to terminate the campaign before they were retaken. Young Hoche, general of the army of the Moselle, unsuccessful, yet brave, at Kaiserslautern, was encouraged though beaten. Unable to get at Brunswick, he threw himself on the flank of Wurmser. From that moment the united armies of the Rhine and of the Moselle drove the Austrians before them beyond Weissenburg, obliged Brunswick to follow the retrograde movement, raised the blockade of Landau, and encamped in the Palatinate.

Toulon was retaken in consequence of a happy idea, and by a prodigy of boldness; lastly, the Vendéans, who were supposed to be destroyed, but who, in their despair, had to the number of eighty thousand crossed the Loire and sought a seaport, with the intention of throwing themselves into the arms of the English—the Vendéans were driven back alike from the coast and from the banks of the Loire, and annihilated between these two barriers, which they never could pass. At the Pyrenees alone our arms had been unfortunate; but we had lost the line of Tech only, and were still encamped before Perpignan.

Thus this grand and awful year showed us Europe pressing the Revolution with its whole weight, and, making it atone for its first success in 1792, driving back its armies, penetrating by all the frontiers at once, and part of France rising in insurrection, and adding its efforts to those of the hostile powers. The Revolution then took fire. Hurling its indignation on the 31st of May, it created by that day new enemies, and appeared on the point of succumbing again to Europe and three-fourths of its revolted provinces. But it soon reduced its internal enemies to their duty, raised a million of men at once, beat the English at Hondtschoote, was beaten in its turn, but immediately redoubled its efforts, won a victory at Watignies, recovered the lines of Weissenburg, drove the Piedmontese beyond the Alps, took Lyons and Toulon, and twice crushed the Vendéans, the first time in La Vendée, and, for the last time, in Bretagne. Never was there a grander spectacle, or one more worthy to be held forth to the admiration and the imitation of nations. France had recovered all that she had lost excepting Condé, Valenciennes, and some forts in Roussillon. The powers of Europe, on the contrary, which had all combated her single-handed, had gained nothing, were accusing one another, and throwing upon each other the disgrace of the campaign. France was completing the organization of her means, and preparing to appear still more formidable in the following year.

THE NATIONAL CONVENTION.

STRUGGLE BETWEEN THE HEBERTISTS AND DANTONISTS—THE COMMITTEE OF PUBLIC WELFARE PLACES ITSELF BETWEEN THE TWO PARTIES AND STRIVES ESPECIALLY TO REPRESS THE HEBERTISTS—MOVEMENT ATTEMPTED BY THE HEBERTISTS—ARREST AND DEATH OF RONSIN, VINCENT, HEBERT, MOMORO, ETC.—THE COMMITTEE OF PUBLIC WELFARE SUBJECTS THE DANTONISTS TO THE SAME FATE—DEATH OF DANTON, CAMILLE-DESMOULINS, LACROIX, FABRE D'EGLANLINE, CHABOT, ETC.

THE Convention had begun to exercise some severities against the turbulent faction of the Cordeliers and of the ministerial agents. Ronsin and Vincent were in prison. Their partisans were bestirring themselves without. Momoro at the Cordeliers, Hebert at the Jacobins, were striving to excite the interest of the hot revolutionists in favour of their friends. The Cordeliers drew up a petition, and asked, in a tone that was anything but respectful, if it was intended to punish Vincent and Ronsin for having courageously attacked Dumouriez, Custine, and Brissot. They declared that they considered those two citizens as excellent patriots, and that they should still retain them as members of their society. The Jacobins presented a more measured petition, and merely prayed that the report concerning Vincent and Ronsin should be accelerated, in order that they might be punished if guilty, or restored to liberty if they were innocent.

The committee of public welfare still kept silence. Collot-d'Herbois alone, though a member of the committee and a compulsory partisan of the government, displayed the warmest zeal in behalf of Ronsin. The motive of this was natural. The cause of Vincent was almost foreign to him, but that of Ronsin, who was sent with him to Lyons, and who moreover carried his sanguinary ordinances into execution, concerned him very nearly. Collot-d'Herbois had maintained, with Ronsin, that not more than a hundredth part of the Lyonnese were patriots; that it was necessary to carry away or to sacrifice the rest, and to consign their carcasses to the Rhone, in order to dismay the whole of the South by this spectacle, and to strike terror into the rebellious city of Toulon. Ronsin was in prison for having repeated these horrible expressions in a posting-bill. Collot-d'Herbois, now summoned to render an account of his mission, was deeply interested in justifying the conduct of Ronsin, that he might gain approbation for his own.

At this moment there arrived a petition signed by some citizens of Lyons, who presented a most distressing picture of the calamities inflicted on their city. They represented discharges of grape-shot succeeding the executions by the guillotine, an entire population threatened with extermination, and a wealthy manufacturing city demolished not with the hammer but by mining. This petition, which four citizens had had the courage to sign, produced a painful impression upon the Convention. Collot-d'Herbois hastened to

make this report, and in his revolutionary intoxication,* he exhibited those awful executions as they appeared to his imagination, that is, as indispensable and perfectly natural. "The Lyonnese," said he in substance, "were conquered, but they openly declared that they would soon have their revenge. It was necessary to strike terror into these yet unsubdued rebels, and with them into all those who were disposed to imitate them. A prompt and a terrible example was required. The ordinary instrument of death did not act with sufficient despatch; the hammer demolished but slowly. Grape-shot has destroyed the men, mining has destroyed the buildings. Those who have suffered had all imbrued their hands in the blood of the patriots. A popular commission selected them with prompt and unerring eye from among the multitude of prisoners; and there was no reason to regret any of those who had suffered." Collot-d'Herbois obliged the Convention to approve of what appeared so natural to himself; he then proceeded to the Jacobins to complain to them of the difficulty he had had to justify his conduct, and of the compassion which the Lyonnese had excited. "This morning," said he, "I was forced to employ circumlocutions in order to cause the death of traitors to be approved of. People shed tears. They inquired *whether they had died at the first stroke!* Counter-revolutionists! —At the first stroke! And did Châlier die at the first stroke!† . . . 'You inquire,' said I to the Convention, 'how those men died who were covered with the blood of our brethren! If they were not dead, you would not be deliberating here!' . . . Well, they could scarcely understand this language; they could not bear to hear talk of dead men; they knew not how to defend themselves from shadows." Then turning to Ronsin, Collot-d'Herbois added that this general had shared all dangers with the patriots in the South, that he had there defied with him the daggers of the aristocrats, and displayed the greatest firmness in enforcing respect for the authority of the republic; that at this moment all the aristocrats were rejoicing at his arrest, which they regarded as a source of hope for themselves. "What then has Ronsin done to be arrested?" exclaimed Collot. "I have asked everybody this question, none could tell me." On the day which followed this sitting, the 3d Nivose, Collot, returning to the charge, communicated the death of Gaillard the patriot, who, seeing that the Convention seemed to disapprove of the energy displayed at Lyons, had committed suicide. "Was I wrong," exclaimed Collot, "when I told you that the patriots would be driven to despair, if the public spirit were to sink on this occasion?"

Thus, while the two leaders of the ultra-revolutionists were imprisoned, their partisans were bestirring themselves in their behalf. The clubs, the Convention, were annoyed by remonstrances in their favour, and a member of the committee of public welfare itself, compromised in their sanguinary system, defended them in order to defend himself. Their adversaries began, on their part, to throw the greatest energy into their attacks. Philipeaux, returned from La Vendée, and full of indignation against the staff of Saumur, was solicitous that the committee of public welfare, sharing that indignation, should prosecute Rossignol, Ronsin, and others, and discovered treason in the

* "In the year 1792 this flaming patriot and republican published a tract in favour of a constitutional monarchy, which, it seems, he expected would induce the King to employ him. Being disappointed of his object, he became the decided enemy of royalty, and joined the party of Robespierre." —Gorton. E.

† At the execution of this Mountaineer, condemned by the Lyonnese federalists, the executioner had been so awkward at his business that he was obliged to make three attempts before his head was struck off.

failure of the plan of campaign of the 2d of September. We have already seen what blunders, what misconceptions, and what incompatibilities of character there were in the conduct of that war. Rossignol and the staff of Saumur had been actuated by spleen but not by treason. The committee, though disapproving of their conduct, could not visit them with a condemnation which would have been neither just nor politic. Robespierre recommended an amicable explanation; but Philipeaux, becoming impatient, wrote a virulent pamphlet, in which he gave a narrative of the whole war, and mixed up many errors with many truths. This publication could not fail to produce the strongest sensation, for it attacked the most decided revolutionists, and charged them with the most odious treasons. "What has Ronsin done?" said Philipeaux. "Intrigued a great deal, robbed a great deal, lied a great deal! His only expedition is that of the 18th of September, when he caused forty-five thousand patriots to be beaten by three thousand brigands. It is that fatal day of Coron, when, after placing our artillery in a gorge at the head of a column having a flank of six leagues, he kept himself concealed in a stable, like a cowardly rascal, two leagues from the field of battle, where our unfortunate comrades were mowed down by their own guns." We see that in this pamphlet Philipeaux was not very choice in his expressions. Unfortunately, the committee of public welfare, which he ought to have contrived to get on his side, was itself not treated with much respect. Philipeaux, dissatisfied at seeing his own indignation not sufficiently shared, seemed to impute to the committee parts of the faults with which he reproached Ronsin, and even made use of this offensive expression: *if you have been nothing more than mistaken.*

This pamphlet, as we have observed, produced a great sensation. Camille-Desmoulins was not acquainted with Philipeaux, but pleased to find that in La Vendée the ultra-revolutionists had committed as many faults as in Paris, and not suspecting that anger had so blinded Philipeaux as to convert faults into treason, he read his pamphlet with avidity, admired his courage, and with his wonted *naïveté* he said to everybody, "Have you read Philipeaux?" . . . "You must read Philipeaux." Everybody, in his opinion, ought to read that publication, which proved the dangers incurred by the republic, through the fault of the revolutionary exaggerators.

Camille was very fond of Danton, and Danton of him. Both thought that, as the republic was saved by the late victories, it was time to put an end to cruelties thenceforth useless, that their longer continuance would only serve to compromise the Revolution, and that the foreign enemy alone could desire and instigate their prolongation. Camille conceived the idea of commencing a new journal which he entitled *The Old Cordelier*, for he and Danton were the elders of that celebrated club. His shafts were aimed at all the new revolutionists, who wished to overthrow and to outstrip the oldest and most tried revolutionists. Never had this writer—the most remarkable writer of the Revolution, and one of the most natural and witty in our language—displayed such grace, originality, and even eloquence. His first number (15 Frimaire), commenced thus: "O Pitt! I pay homage to thy genius! What new arrivals from France in England have given thee such excellent advice, and furnished thee with such sure means of ruining my country! Thou hast seen that thou shouldst everlastingly fail against her, if thou didst not strive to ruin in the public opinion those who for these five years have been thwarting all thy projects. Thou hast discovered that it is those who have always conquered thee that it behoves thee to conquer; that it behoves thee to accuse of corruption precisely those whom thou hast never been able

to corrupt, and of lukewarmness those whom thou never couldst render lukewarm! I have opened my eyes," added Desmoulins; "I have seen the number of our enemies: their multitude tears me from the Hôtel des Invalides, and hurries me back to the fight. I am forced to write; I must throw aside the slow pencil of the history of the Revolution, which I was tracing by the fireside, to take up the rapid and panting pen of the journalist, and to follow at full gallop the revolutionary torrent. A consulting deputy, whom nobody has consulted since the 3d of June, I sally forth from my closet and my arm-chair, where I have had abundant leisure to follow minutely the new system of our enemies."

Camille extolled Robespierre to the skies for his conduct at the Jacobins, and for the generous services which he had rendered to the old patriots; and he expressed himself as follows relative to religion and the proscriptions.

"The human mind when ill," said he, "needs the dreamy bed of superstition: and, to see the festivals and the processions that are instituted, the altars and the shrines that are raised, it seems as if it were only the bed of the patient that is changed, as if merely the pillow of the hope of another life were taken away from him. . . For my part, I said the same thing on the very day that I saw Gobel come to the bar, with his crucifix and his crossier, which were borne in triumph before Anaxagoras,* the philosopher. If it were not a crime of lèse-majesty to suspect a president of the Jacobins and a *procureur* of the commune, like Cloutz and Chaumette, I should be tempted to believe that, at this expression of Barrère, *La Vendée has ceased to exist!* the King of Prussia exclaimed with sorrow, 'All our efforts then will fail against the republic, since the kernel of La Vendée is destroyed,' and that the crafty Lucchesini,† in order to console him, made this reply: 'Invincible hero, I have hit upon an expedient. Let me act. I will pay some priests to call themselves charlatans. I will inflame the patriotism of others to make a similar declaration. There are in Paris two famous patriots: who will be well adapted, by their talents, their exaggeration, and their well-known religious system, to second us and to receive our impressions. All that need be done, is to make our friends in France act in concert with the two great philosophers, Anacharsis and Anaxagoras; to stir up their bile, and to dazzle their civism by the rich spoil of the sacristies. [I hope that Chaumette will not complain of this number; the Marquis de Lucchesini could not speak of him in more honourable terms.] Anacharsis and Anaxagoras will imagine that they are pushing the wheel of reason, whereas it will be that of counter-revolution; and, presently, instead of leaving Popery, ready to draw its last breath, to expire in France of old age and inanition, I promise you, by the aid of persecution and intolerance against those who are determined to mass and to be massed, to send off abundance of recruits to Lescure and Laroche-Jacquelin.' "

Camille, then relating what occurred in the time of the Roman emperors, and pretending to give a mere translation of Tacitus, made a terrific allusion to the law of the suspected. "In ancient times," said he, "there was at

* The name assumed by Chaumette.

† "Lucchesini, Marquis of Girolamo, formerly Prussian minister of state, and descended from a Patrician family of Lucca, was born in 1752. In the year 1791 he was present at the congress of Reichenbach, in the capacity of a plenipotentiary, for effecting, in conjunction with the English and Dutch minister, a peace between the Turks and the Emperor. In 1793 the King of Prussia appointed him his ambassador to Vienna; he, however, accompanied his majesty during the greater part of his campaign against France. He was afterwards chamberlain to Napoleon's sister, the Princess of Lucca. Lucchesini died at Florence in the year 1825."—*Encyclopædia Americana*. E.

Rome, according to Tacitus, a law which specified the crimes of state and of lèse-majesty, and decreed capital punishment. These crimes of lèse-majesty, under the republic, were reduced to four kinds: if an army had been abandoned in an enemy's country; if seditions had been excited; if the members of the constituted bodies had mismanaged the public business or the public money; if the majesty of the Roman people had been degraded. The emperors needed but a few additional articles to this law to involve the citizens and whole cities in proscription. Augustus was the first to extend this law of lèse-majesty, by including in it writings which he called counter-revolutionary. The extensions had soon no limits. As soon as words had become crimes of state, it needed but one step more to change mere looks, sorrow, compassion, sighs, even silence itself, into crimes.

"Presently, it was a crime of lèse-majesty or of counter-revolution in the city of Nursia to have erected monuments to its inhabitants who had fallen during the siege of Modena; a crime of counter-revolution in Libo Drusus to have asked the fortune-tellers if he should not some day possess great wealth; a crime of counter-revolution in Cremuntius Cordus, the journalist, to have called Brutus and Cassius the last of the Romans; a crime of counter-revolution in one of the descendants of Cassius to have in his house a portrait of his ancestor; a crime of counter-revolution in Marcus Scaurus to have written a tragedy containing a certain verse to which two meanings might be given; a crime of counter-revolution in Torquatus Silanus to live in an expensive style; a crime of counter-revolution in Petreius to have dreamt of Claudius; a crime of counter-revolution in Pomponius because a friend of Sejanus had sought an asylum in one of his country-houses; a crime of counter-revolution to complain of the calamities of the time, for that was equivalent to the condemnation of the government; a crime of counter-revolution not to invoke the divine spirit of Caligula. For having so failed, a great number of citizens were flogged, condemned to the mines, or to be thrown to wild beasts, and some even were sawed asunder. Lastly, it was a crime of counter-revolution in the mother of Fusius Germinus, the consul, to have wept for the melancholy death of her son.

"It was absolutely necessary to manifest joy at the death of a friend or a relative, if a person would not run the risk of perishing himself.

"Everything gave umbrage to the tyrant. If a citizen possessed popularity, he was a rival of the prince and might stir up civil war: *Studia civium in se verteret, et si multi idem audeant bellum esset.* SUSPECTED.

"If, on the contrary, a man shunned popularity, and stuck close to his chimney-corner, this secluded life made him an object of notice. It gave him consideration. SUSPECTED.

"Were you rich—there was imminent danger that the people might be bribed by your largesses. SUSPECTED.

"Were you poor—what then, invincible emperor? That man must be the more closely watched. None is so enterprising as the man who has nothing: *Syllam inopem, unde præcipuam audacium.* SUSPECTED.

"Were you of a gloomy, melancholy disposition, or carelessly dressed—you were fretting because public affairs were prosperous: *Hominem publicis bonis mæstum.* SUSPECTED."

Camille-Desmoulins proceeded in this manner with this masterly enumeration of suspected persons, and sketched a horrible picture of what was doing at Paris, by what had been done in Rome. If the letter of Philipeaux had produced a great sensation, the journal of Camille-Desmoulins produced a much greater. Fifty thousand copies of each of his numbers were sold in a

few days. The provinces took large quantities of them. The prisoners procured them by stealth, and read with delight and with somewhat of hope, that revolutionist who had formerly been so hateful to them. Camille, without wishing the prisons to be opened or the revolution to be thrown back, demanded the institution of a committee, to be called the committee of clemency, to investigate the cases of the prisoners, to liberate the citizens confined without sufficient cause, and to stanch the blood where it had flowed too freely.

The publications of Philipeaux and Desmoulins irritated the zealous revolutionists in the highest degree, and were disapproved of by the Jacobins. Hebert denounced them there with fury. He even moved that their authors should be erased from the list of the society. He mentioned, moreover, Bourdon of the Oise, and Fabre d'Eglantine, as the accomplices of Camille-Desmoulins and Philipeaux. We have seen that Bourdon had attempted, in concert with Goupilleau, to remove Rossignol: he had quarrelled with the staff of Saumur, and had never ceased to inveigh in the Convention against Ronsin's party. It was this that caused him to be coupled with Philipeaux. Fabre was accused of having had a hand in the affair of the fabricated decree, and people were disposed to believe this, though he had been justified by Chabot. Aware of his perilous situation, and having everything to fear from a system of too great severity, he had spoken twice or thrice in favour of a system of indulgence, broken completely with the ultra-revolutionists, and been treated as an intriguer by Father Duchesne. The Jacobins, without adopting the violent motions of Hebert, decided that Philipeaux, Camille-Desmoulins, Bourdon of the Oise, and Fabre d'Eglantine, should be summoned to the bar of the society, to give explanations concerning their works and their speeches in the Convention.

The sitting at which they were to appear had drawn an unusually full attendance. People contended with violence for seats, and some were even sold at twenty-five francs each. Philipeaux, though he was not a member of the society, did not refuse to appear at its bar, and repeated the charges which he had already made, either in his correspondence with the committee of public welfare or in his pamphlet. He spared persons no more than he had done before, and twice or three times formally and insultingly gave Hebert the lie. These bold personalities of Philipeaux began to agitate the society, and the sitting was becoming stormy, when Danton observed that it required the closest attention and the greatest composure to judge of so serious a question; that he had not formed any opinion concerning Philipeaux and the truth of his accusations; that he had already said to himself, "Thou must either prove thy charges, or lay down thy head on the scaffold;" that perhaps there was nothing in fault here but circumstances; but that, at any rate, it was right that every one should be heard, and above all, listened to.

Robespierre, who spoke after Danton, said that he had not read Philipeaux's pamphlet, and merely knew that the committee was in that pamphlet rendered responsible for the loss of twenty thousand men; that the committee had no time to answer libels and to engage in a paper war; that he nevertheless did not conceive Philipeaux to be guilty of any bad intentions, but to be hurried away by passion. "I pretend not," said Robespierre, "to impose silence on the conscience of my colleague; but let him examine his heart, and judge whether it does not harbour vanity or some other petty passion. I dare say he is swayed as much by patriotism as passion; but let him reflect! let him consider the conflict that is commencing! He will see that the moderates will take up his defence; that the aristocrats will range themselves

on his side; that the Convention itself will be divided; that there will perhaps arise an opposition party, which would be a disastrous circumstance, and renew the combat that is just over, and the conspiracies which it has cost so much trouble to put down!" He therefore exhorted Philippeaux to examine his secret motives, and the Jacobins to listen to him in silence.

Nothing could be more reasonable and more suitable than Robespierre's observations, with the exception of the tone which was always emphatic and magisterial, especially since he ruled at the Jacobins. Philippeaux again spoke, launched out into the same personalities, and excited the same disturbance as before: Danton angrily exclaimed that the best way would be to cut short such quarrels, and to appoint a commission to examine the papers in support of the charges. Couthon said that, even before resorting to that measure, it would be well to ascertain if the question was worth the trouble, and whether it might not be merely a question between man and man; and he proposed to ask Philippeaux if in his soul and conscience he believed that there had been treason. He then addressed Philippeaux. "Dost thou believe," said he, "in thy soul and conscience that there has been treason?"—"Yes," imprudently replied Philippeaux. "In that case," rejoined Couthon, "there is no other way. A commission ought to be appointed to hear the accused and the accusers, and to make its report to the society." The motion was adopted, and the commission appointed to investigate not only the charges of Philippeaux, but also the conduct of Bourdon of the Oise, of Fabre d'Eglantine, and of Camille-Desmoulins.

This was the 3d of Nivose. While the commission was engaged in drawing up its report, the paper-war and the recriminations continued without interruption. The Cordeliers excluded Camille-Desmoulins from their society. They prepared fresh petitions in behalf of Ronsin and Vincent, and submitted them to the Jacobins, for the purpose of inducing the latter to support them in the Convention. That host of adventurers and men of bad character with whom the revolutionary army had been filled, appeared everywhere, in the promenades, the taverns, the coffee-houses, the theatres, with worsted epaulettes and mustaches, and made a great noise in favour of Ronsin, their general, and Vincent, their minister. They were called the *épauletiers*, and were much dreaded in Paris. Since the enactment of the law which forbade the sections to assemble oftener than twice a week, they had transformed themselves into very turbulent popular societies. There were even two of these societies to each section, and it was to them that all the parties which had any interest in producing a movement sent their agents. The *épauletiers* had not failed to attend them, and through their means tumult prevailed in almost all these assemblies.

Robespierre, always firm at the Jacobins, caused the petition of the Cordeliers to be rejected, and also the affiliation to be withdrawn from all the popular societies formed since the 31st of May. These were acts of a prudent and laudable energy. It behoved the committee, however, at the same time that it was making the greatest efforts to repress the turbulent faction, to beware of giving itself the appearance of weakness and moderation. In order that it might retain its popularity and its strength, it was necessary that it should display the same vigour. Hence it was that, on the 5th Nivose, Robespierre was directed to make a new report on the principles of the revolutionary government, and to propose measures of severity against certain illustrious prisoners. Always making a point, from policy and perhaps too from error, to throw the blame of all disorders upon the supposed foreign faction, he imputed to it the faults both of the moderates and of the

ultra-revolutionists. "The foreign courts," said he, "have vomited forth upon France the clever scoundrels whom they keep in their pay. They deliberate in our administrations, introduce themselves into our sectional assemblies and our clubs; they have even sat in the national representation; they direct and will forever direct the counter-revolution upon the same plan. They hover round us, they acquire our secrets, they flatter our passions, nay they seek to dictate our very opinions." Robespierre, proceeding with this delineation, exhibited them as instigating by turns to exaggeration and weakness, exciting religious persecution in Paris, and the resistance of fanaticism in La Vendée; sacrificing Lepelletier and Marat, and then mingling among the groups which proposed to decree divine honours to them in order to render them odious and ridiculous; giving to or taking away bread from the people; causing specie to appear or disappear, taking advantage, in short, of all accidents, with a view to turn them against the Revolution and France.

After presenting this general summary of all our calamities, Robespierre determined not to consider them as inevitable, imputed them to the foreign enemy, who no doubt had reason to congratulate himself upon them, but who to produce them reckoned upon the vices of human nature, and could not have attained the same end by means of plots. Robespierre, considering all the illustrious prisoners still in confinement as accomplices of the coalition, proposed to send them immediately to the revolutionary tribunal. Thus Dietrich, mayor of Strasburg, Custine junior, Biron, and all the officers who were friends of Dumouriez, of Custine, and of Houchard, were to be forthwith brought to trial. Most certainly there was no need of a decree of the Convention to authorize the sacrifice of these victims by the revolutionary tribunal; but this solicitude to hasten their execution was a proof that the government was not growing feeble. Robespierre proposed, moreover, to increase, by one-third, the rewards in land promised to the defenders of the country.

After this report, Barrère was directed to prepare another on the arrests, which were said to be more and more numerous every day, and to propose means for verifying the motives of these arrests. The object of this report was to reply, without appearing to do so, to the *Vieux Cordelier* of Camille-Desmoulins, and to his proposal for a committee of clemency. Barrère was severe upon the *Translations of the Ancient Orators*, and nevertheless suggested the appointment of a commission to verify the arrests, which very nearly resembled the committee of clemency devised by Camille. However, on the observations of some of its members, the Convention deemed it right to adhere to its previous decrees, which required the revolutionary committees to furnish the committee of general welfare with the motives of the arrests, and allowed prisoners to complain to the latter committee.

The government thus steered its course between the two parties that were forming, secretly inclining to the moderate party, but still fearful of suffering this disposition to be too perceptible. Meanwhile, Camille published a number more severe than any which had preceded it, and which was addressed to the Jacobins. It was entitled his defence, and it was the boldest and most terrible recrimination against his adversaries.

On the subject of his exclusion from the Cordeliers, he said, "Forgive me, brethren and friends, if I still presume to take the title of Old Cordelier, after the resolution of the club, which forbids me to deck myself with that name. But, in truth, it is a piece of insolence so unheard-of, that of grand children revolting against their grandsire, and forbidding him to use his own name, that I must plead this cause against those ungrateful sons. I should

like to know to whom the name ought to belong, whether to the grandpapa or to the children whom he has begotten, not a tenth part of whom he has ever acknowledged, or even known, and who pretend to drive him from the paternal home!"

He then enters into an explanation of his opinions. "The vessel of the republic is steering between two shoals, the rock of exaggeration, and the sandbank of moderatism. Seeing that Father Duchesne and almost all the patriotic sentinels were on deck, spying-glass in hand, wholly engaged in shouting 'Beware, lest you get aground upon moderatism!' I thought it fitting that I, an old Cordelier, and senior of the Jacobins, should assume a difficult duty, and which none of the younger men would undertake, lest they should injure their popularity, that of crying 'Beware, lest you strike upon exaggeration!' And this is the obligation which all my colleagues in the Convention ought to feel that they owe me, namely, that of having risked my popularity itself, in order to save the ship in which my cargo was not larger than their own."

He then justified himself for this expression, for which he had been so vehemently reproached, *Vincent Pitt governs George Bouchotte*. "I certainly did," said he, "in 1787, call Louis XVI. my fat booby of a king, without being sent to the Bastille for it. Is Bouchotte a more illustrious personage?"

He then reviewed his adversaries. To Collot-d'Herbois he said that if he, Desmoulins, had his Dillon, he, Collot, had his Brunet, his Proly, both of whom he had defended. He said to Barrère, "People no longer know one another at the Mountain; if it had been an old Cordelier, like myself, a *rectilinear* patriot, Billaud-Varennès for example, who had scolded me so severely, *sustinissem utique*;—I would have said, It is the box on the ear given by the impetuous St. Paul to the good St. Peter, who has done something wrong! But thou, my dear Barrère, thou, the happy guardian of Pamela!* thou, the president of the Feuillans! thou, who proposedst the committee of twelve! thou, who, on the 2d of June, didst submit for deliberation in the committee of public welfare the question whether Danton should be arrested! thou, many more of whose faults I could reveal, if I were to rummage the *old sack* (*le vieux sac*), that thou shouldst all at once out-Robespierre Robespierre, and that I should be so severely apostrophized by thee!"

"All this is but a family quarrel," adds Camille, "with my friends, the patriots Collot and Barrère, but I shall in my turn put myself into a thundering passion (*bougrement en colère*†) with Father Duchesne, who calls me a *paltry intriguer*, a *scoundrel fit for the guillotine*, a *conspirator who wishes the prisons to be opened in order to make a new Vendée with them*, a *knave in the pay of Pitt*, a *long-eared donkey*. Wait for me, Hebert, and I will be at thee in a moment. Here it is not with coarse abuse and mere words that I will attack thee, but with facts."

Camille, who had been accused by Hebert of having married a wealthy woman, and of dining with aristocrats, then entered into the history of his marriage, which brought him an income of four thousand livres, and he drew a picture of his simple, modest, and indolent life. Then, passing to

* This is an allusion to the play of *Pamela*, the representation of which had been prohibited.

† Barrère's name when a noble was *de Vieux-Sac*.

‡ An expression of the hawkers, who, in selling the papers of Father Duchesne, cried in the streets, *Il est bougrement en colère le Père Duchesne*.

Hebert, he reminded him of his old trade of check-taker, of his thefts, which caused his expulsion from the theatre, of his sudden and well-known fortune, and covered him with the most deserved infamy. He related and proved that Bouchotte had given Hebert out of the funds of the war department, first one hundred and twenty thousand francs, then ten, then sixty, for the copies of Father Duchesne distributed among the armies, though those copies were not worth more than sixteen thousand francs, and that consequently the nation had been robbed of the surplus.

"Two hundred thousand francs," exclaims Camille, "to that poor *sans-culotte* Hebert, to support the motions of Proly and of Cloutz!—two hundred thousand francs to calumniate Danton, Lindet, Cambon, Thuriot, Lacroix, Philipeaux, Bourdon of the Oise, Barras, Fréron, d'Eglantine, Legendre, Camille-Desmoulins, and almost all the commissioners of the Convention!—to inundate France with his writings, so proper for forming the mind and the heart!—two hundred thousand francs from Bouchotte! . . . After this, can any one be surprised at Hebert's filial exclamation in the sitting of the Jacobins, *To dare to attack Bouchotte!—Bouchotte, who has placed sans-culotte generals at the head of armies!—Bouchotte, so pure a patriot!* I am only astonished that, in the transport of his gratitude, Father Duchesne did not exclaim, 'Bouchotte, who has given me two hundred thousand livres since the month of June!'

"Thou talkest to me," proceeds Camille, "of the company I keep: but is it not known that it is with Kock, the banker, the intimate of Dumouriez, with the woman Rochechouart, agent of the emigrants, that the stanch patriot Hebert, after calumniating in his paper the purest men of the republic, goes in his great joy, he and his Jaqueline, to spend the fine days of summer in the country, to swallow Pitt's wine, and to drink bumpers to the ruin of the reputation of the founders of liberty?"

Camille then reproaches Hebert with the style of his paper. "Knowest thou not, Hebert, that, when the tyrants of Europe wish to make their slaves believe that France is covered with darkness and barbarism, that this Paris, so extolled for its attic wit and its taste, is peopled with Vandals; knowest thou not, wretch, that it is scraps of thy paper which they insert in their gazettes? as if the people were as ignorant as thou wouldst make Pitt believe; as if they could not be talked to but in so coarse a language; as if that were the language of the Convention and of the committee of public welfare; as if thy obscenities were those of the nation; as if a sewer of Paris were the Seine."

Camille then accuses him of having added by his Numbers to the scandals of the worship of reason, and afterwards exclaims: "Is it then this base sycophant, who pockets two hundred thousand livres, that shall reproach me with my wife's income of four thousand livres? Is it this intimate friend of the Kocks, the Rochechouarts, that shall reproach me with the company I keep? Is it this insensate or perfidious scribbler that shall reproach me with my aristocratic writings—he whose papers I will prove to be the delight of Coblenz and the only hope of Pitt! that man, struck out of the list of the servants of the theatre for thefts, pretend to get deputies, the immortal founders of the republic, struck out of the list of the Jacobins, for their opinions? This writer for the shambles to be the arbiter of opinion—the Mentor of the French people!

"Let them despair," adds Camille-Desmoulins, "of intimidating me by the terrors and the rumours of my arrest, which they are circulating around me! We know that the villains are meditating a 31st of May against the

most energetic men of the Mountain. O my colleagues, I shall say to you, like Brutus and Cicero, 'We are too much afraid of death, and exile and poverty!' *nimium timemus mortem et exilium et paupertatem* What! when twelve hundred thousand Frenchmen are daily storming redoubts which are bristling with the most formidable artillery, and flying from victory to victory, shall we, deputies to the Convention—we who can never fall like the soldier, in the obscurity of night, shot in the dark, and without witnesses of his valour—we, whose death for the sake of liberty cannot but be glorious, solemn, and in presence of the whole nation, of Europe, and of posterity—shall we be more cowardly than our soldiers! shall we be afraid to look Bouchotte in the face? shall we not dare to encounter the vehement wrath of Father Duchesne, in order likewise to gain the victory which the people expect of us, the victory over the ultra-revolutionists as well as over the counter-revolutionists; the victory over all the intriguers, over all the rogues, over all the ambitious, over all the enemies of the public welfare!

"Will any one suppose that even upon the scaffold, supported by the deep feeling that I have passionately loved my country and the republic, crowned with the esteem and the regret of all genuine republicans, I would exchange my lot for the fortune of that wretch, Hebert, who, in his paper, drives twenty classes of citizens to revolt and to despair; who, to smother his remorse and the memory of his calumnies, needs an intoxication more profound than that of wine, and must be incessantly lapping blood at the foot of the guillotine! What is then the scaffold for a patriot but the pedestal of a Sidney, and of a John de Witt!"* What is—in this time of war, in which I have had my two brothers cut in pieces for liberty—what is the guillotine but the stroke of a sabre, and the most glorious of all for a deputy, the victim of his courage and of his republicanism!"

These pages will convey an idea of the manners of the time. The roughness, the sternness, the eloquence of Rome and Athens had reappeared among us along with democratic liberty.

This new Number of Camille-Desmoulins's paper produced a still stronger sensation than its predecessors. Hebert did not cease to denounce him at the Jacobins, and to demand the report of the commission. At length, on the 16th Nivose, Collot-d'Herbois rose to make that report. The concourse was as considerable as on the day when the discussion began, and seats were sold at a high price. Collot showed more impartiality than could have been expected from a friend of Ronsin. He reproached Philipeaux for implicating the committee of public welfare in his accusations; for showing the most favourable dispositions towards suspected persons; for speaking of Biron with commendation, while he loaded Rossignol with abuse; and lastly, for expressing precisely the same preferences as the aristocrats. He brought forward another reproach against him, which, under the circumstances, had some weight; namely, that, in his last publication, he had withdrawn the accusations at first preferred against General Fabre-Fond, the brother of Fabre d'Eglantine. Philipeaux, who was not acquainted either with Fabre or Camille, had in fact denounced the brother of the former, whom he conceived that he had found in fault in La Vendée. When brought into contact with Fabre by his position, and accused with him, he had, from a very natural delicacy, suppressed the censures passed upon his brother. This alone

* "John de Witt, the able statesman, and grand pensioner of Holland, was torn to pieces by a factious mob in the year 1672." E. —

proved that they had been led separately, and without knowing one another, to act as they had done, and that they formed no real faction. But party spirit judged otherwise; and Collot insinuated that there existed a secret intrigue, a concert between the persons accused of moderation. He ran sacked the past, and reproached Philipeaux with his votes upon Louis XVI and upon Marat. As for Camille, he treated him much more favourably. He represented him as a good patriot led astray by bad company, who ought to be forgiven, but at the same time, exhorted not to indulge in future in such mental debaucheries. He therefore proposed the exclusion of Philipeaux, and the mere reprimand of Camille.

At this moment Camille, who was present at the sitting, caused a letter to be handed to the president, declaring that his defence was inserted in his last number, and begging that the society would permit it to be read. On this proposition, Hebert, who dreaded the reading of that number, in which the disgraceful transactions of his life were revealed, addressed the society, and said that there was an evident intention to complicate the discussion by slandering him, and that to divert attention, it had been alleged that he had robbed the treasury, which was an atrocious falsehood. . . . "I have the documents in my hands," exclaimed Camille. These words caused a great agitation. Robespierre the younger then said that the society ought to put a stop to all personal discussions; that it had not met for the interest of private character, and that, if Hebert had been a thief, that was of no consequence to it; that those who had reason to reproach themselves ought not to interrupt the general discussion. At these far from satisfactory expressions, Hebert exclaimed, "I have nothing to reproach myself with."—"The disturbances in the departments," resumed Robespierre the younger, "are thy work. It is thou who hast contributed to excite them by attacking the freedom of worship." To this charge Hebert made no reply. Robespierre the elder then spoke, and, being more guarded than his brother, but not more favourable to Hebert, said that Collot had presented the question in its proper point of view; that an unfortunate incident had disturbed the dignity of the discussion; that all had been in the wrong—Hebert, and those who had replied to him. "What I am about to say," added he, "is not levelled at any individual. He complains with an ill grace of calumny, who has himself calumniated. Those should not complain of injustice who have judged others with levity, precipitation, and fury. Let every one question his own conscience, and apply these reflections to himself. It was my wish to prevent the present discussion. I wished that, in private interviews, in friendly conferences, each should explain himself, and acknowledge his mistakes. Then harmony might have been restored, and scandal spared. But no such thing—pamphlets have been circulated on the morrow, and people have been anxious to produce effect. Now, all that is of importance to us in these personal quarrels is not to know whether passions and injustice have been everywhere mingled with them, but whether the charges preferred by Philipeaux against the men who direct the most important of our wars are well-founded. This is what ought to be ascertained for the benefit, not of the individuals, but of the republic."

Robespierre actually thought that it was useless to discuss the accusations of Camille against Hebert, for everybody knew that they were true; that, besides, they contained nothing that the republic had an interest in verifying; but that, on the contrary, it was of great importance to investigate the conduct of the generals in La Vendée. The discussions relative to Philipeaux were accordingly continued. The whole sitting was devoted to

the examination of a great number of eye-witnesses ; but, amidst these contradictory affirmations, Danton and Robespierre declared that they could not discover anything, and that they know not what to think of the matter. The discussion, which was already too long, was adjourned to the next sitting.

On the 18th, the subject was resumed. Philipeaux was absent. Weary of the discussion relative to him, and which led to no *éclaircissement*, the society then proceeded to the investigation concerning Camille-Desmoulins. He was required to explain himself on the subject of the praises which he had bestowed on Philipeaux, and his relations with him. Camille declared that he did not know him ; circumstances affirmed by Goupiller and Bourdon had at first persuaded him that Philipeaux told the truth ; but now, perceiving from the discussion that Philipeaux distorted the truth (which began, in fact, to be everywhere apparent), he retracted his praise, and declared that he had no longer any opinion on this subject.

Robespierre, again addressing the society on the question relative to Camille, repeated what he had already said concerning him, that his character was excellent, but that this well-known character did not give him a right to employ his pen against the patriots ; that his writings were the delight of the aristocrats, by whom they were devoured, and circulated in all the departments ; that he had translated Tacitus without understanding him ; that he ought to be treated like a thoughtless child which has played with dangerous weapons and made a mischievous use of them ; that he must be exhorted to forsake the aristocrats and the bad company that corrupted him ; and that, in pardoning him, they ought to burn his Numbers. Camille, unmindful of the forms of respect which it behoved him to observe towards the proud Robespierre, then exclaimed from his place : " Burning is not answering."—" Well, then," resumed the irritated Robespierre, " let us not burn, but answer. Let Camille's Numbers be immediately read. Since he will have it so, let him be covered with ignominy ; let not the society restrain its indignation, since he persists in defending his diatribes and his dangerous principles. The man who clings so tenaciously to perfidious writings is perhaps more than misled. Had he been sincere, he would have written in the simplicity of his heart ; he would not have dared to support any longer works condemned by the patriots and sought after by the counter-revolutionists. His is but a borrowed courage. It reveals the hidden persons under whose dictation Camille has written his journal ; it reveals that he is the organ of a villanous faction, which has borrowed his pen to circulate its poison with greater boldness and certainty."

Camille in vain begged permission to speak, that he might pacify Robespierre ; the society refused to hear him and immediately proceeded to the reading of his papers. Whatever delicacy individuals are resolved to observe towards one another in party quarrels, it is difficult to prevent pride from very soon interfering. With the susceptibility of Robespierre and the natural waywardness of Camille, the division of opinions could not fail soon to change into a division of self-love and into hatred. Robespierre felt too much contempt for Hebert and his partisans to quarrel with them ; but he could quarrel with a writer so celebrated in the Revolution as Camille-Desmoulins ; and the latter did not use sufficient address to avoid a rupture.

The reading of Camille's Numbers occupied two whole sittings. The society then passed on to Fabre. He was questioned, and urged to say what hand he had had in the new publications which had been circulated. He replied that he had not written a syllable for them, and as for Philipeaux and Bourdon of the Oise, he could declare that he was not acquainted with them.

It was proposed to come to some decision relative to the four denounced persons. Robespierre, though no longer disposed to spare Camille, moved that the discussion should drop there, and that the society should pass to a more important subject, a subject more worthy of its attention, and more useful to the public mind, namely, the vices and the crimes of the English government. "That atrocious government," said he, "disguises, under some appearance of liberty, an atrocious principle of despotism and Machiavelism. It behoves us to denounce it to its own people, and to reply to its calumnies by proving its vices of organization and its misdeeds." The Jacobins were well pleased with this subject, which opened so vast a field to their accusing imagination, but some of them wished first to strike out Philipeaux, Camille, Bourdon, and Fabre. One voice even accused Robespierre of arrogating to himself a sort of dictatorship. "My dictatorship," he exclaimed, is that of Marat and Lepelletier. It consists in being exposed every day to the daggers of the tyrants. But I am weary of the disputes which are daily arising in the bosom of the society, and which are productive of no beneficial result. Our real enemies are the foreigners; it is they whom we ought to follow up, and whose plots it behoves to unveil." Robespierre, in consequence, repeated his motion; and it was decided, amidst applause, that the society, setting aside the disputes which had arisen between individuals, should devote the succeeding sittings, without interruption, to the discussion of the vices of the English government.

This was throwing out a seasonable diversion to the restless imagination of the Jacobins, and directing it towards a party that was likely to occupy it for a long time. Philipeaux had already retired without awaiting a decision. Camille and Bourdon were neither excluded nor confirmed; they were no longer mentioned, and they merely ceased attending the meetings of the society. As for Fabre d'Eglantine, though Chabot had completely justified him, yet the facts which were daily coming to the knowledge of the committee of general welfare left no doubt whatever of his intrigues. It could therefore do no other than issue an order for his arrest, and connect him with Chabot, Bazire, Delaunay, and Julien of Toulouse.

All these discussions produced an impression injurious to the new moderates. There was no sort of unanimity among them. Philipeaux, formerly almost a Girondin, was not acquainted with either Camille, Fabre, or Bourdon; Camille alone was intimate with Fabre; but, as for Bourdon, he was an utter stranger to the other three. But it was thenceforward imagined that there was a secret faction, of which they were either accomplices or dupes. The easy disposition and the epicurean habits of Camille, and two or three dinners which he had taken with the wealthy financiers of the time; the proved implication of Fabre with the stockjobbers, and his recent opulence; caused it to be supposed that they were connected with the so-called corrupting faction. People durst not yet designate Danton as being its leader; but, if he was not accused in a public manner, if Hebert in his paper, and the Cordeliers in their tribune, spared this powerful revolutionist, they said to one another what they durst not publish.

The person most injurious to the party was Lacroix, whose speculations in Belgium were so clearly demonstrated, that any one might impute them to him without being accused of calumny, and without his daring to reply. People associated him with the moderates, on account of his former connexion with Danton, and he caused them to share his shame.

The Cordeliers, dissatisfied that the Jacobins had passed from the denounced persons to the order of the day, declared—1. That Philipeaux was

a slanderer; 2. That Bourdon, the pertinacious accuser of Ronsin, Vincent, and the war-office, had lost their confidence, and was, in their estimation, but an accomplice of Philippeaux; 3. That Fabre, holding the same sentiments of Bourdon and Philippeaux, was only a more cunning intriguer; 4. That Camille, already excluded from their ranks, had also lost their confidence, though he had formerly rendered important services to the Revolution.

Ronsin and Vincent, having been confined for some time, were set at liberty, as there was not sufficient cause for bringing them to trial. It was impossible to prosecute Ronsin for what he had done in La Vendée, for the events of that war were covered with a thick veil; or for what he had done at Lyons, for that would be raising a dangerous question, and accusing at the same time Collot-d'Herbois and the whole existing system of government. It was just as impossible to prosecute Vincent for certain despotic proceedings in the war-office. It was to a political trial only that either of them could have been brought; and it was not yet politic to institute such a trial for them. They were therefore enlarged, to the great joy of the *Cordeillers*, and of all the *épauletiers* of the revolutionary army.

Vincent was a young man of twenty and some odd years, whose fanaticism amounted to disease, and in whom there was more of insanity than of personal ambition. One day, when his wife had gone to see him in his prison, and was relating to him what had passed, irritated at what she told him, he snatched up a piece of raw meat, and said, while chewing it, "Thus would I devour all those villains!" Ronsin, by turns an indifferent pamphleteer, a contractor, and a general, combined with considerable intelligence remarkable courage and great activity. Naturally ambitious, he was the most distinguished of those adventurers who had offered themselves as instruments of the new government. Commander of the revolutionary army, he considered how that post might be rendered available, either for his own benefit, or for the triumph of his system and of his friends. In the prison of the Luxembourg, in which he and Vincent were confined, they had always talked like masters. They had never ceased to say that they should triumph over intrigue; that they should be released by the aid of their partisans; that they would then go and enlarge the patriots who were in confinement, and send all the other prisoners to the guillotine. They had been a torment to all the unfortunate creatures shut up with them, and had left them full of consternation.

No sooner were they liberated, than they loudly declared that they would be revenged, and that they would soon have satisfaction on their enemies. The committee of public welfare could scarcely have done otherwise than release them; but it soon perceived that it had let loose two furies, and that it behoved it to take immediate steps to prevent them from doing mischief. Four thousand men of the revolutionary army were still left in Paris. Among these were adventurers, thieves, and Septembrisers, who assumed the mask of patriotism, and who liked much better to make booty in the interior than to go to the frontiers to encounter poverty, hardship, and danger. These petty tyrants, with their moustaches and their long swords, exercised the harshest despotism in all the public places. Having artillery, ammunition, and an enterprising commander, they might become dangerous. With these associated the firebrands who filled Vincent's office. The latter was their civil, as Ronsin was their military chief. They were connected with the commune through Hebert, the deputy of Chaumette, and through Pache, the mayor, who was ever ready to welcome all parties, and to court

all formidable men. Momoro, one of the presidents of the Cordeliers, was their faithful partisan and their champion at the Jacobins. Thus Ronsin, Vincent, Hebert, Chaumette, and Momoro were classed together; and Pache and Bouchotte were added to the list as complaisant functionaries, who winked at their usurpation of two great authorities.

These men had thrown off all restraint in their speeches against those representatives, who, they said, designed to keep the supreme power forever in their hands, and to forgive the aristocrats. One day, when they were dining at Pache's, they met Legendre, a friend of Danton, formerly the imitator of his vehemence, now of his reserve, and the victim of that imitation, for he had to endure the attacks which people dared not make on Danton himself. Ronsin and Vincent addressed offensive expressions to him. Vincent, who had been under obligations to him, embraced him, saying that he embraced the old and not the new Legendre; that the new Legendre had become a moderate and was unworthy of esteem. He then asked him ironically if, when on mission, he had worn the costume of deputy? Legendre answered that he had worn it when with the armies. Vincent rejoined that this dress was very pompous but unworthy of genuine republicans: he declared that he would dress up a puppet in that costume, call the people together, and say to them; "Look here at the representatives that you have given yourselves; they preach equality to you, and cover themselves with gold and feathers;" and he added that he would then set fire to it. Legendre replied that he was a seditious madman. They were ready to proceed to blows, to the great alarm of Pache. Legendre applied to Ronsin, and begged him to pacify Vincent. Ronsin answered that Vincent was indeed rather warm, but that his character was suited to circumstances, and that such men were requisite for the times in which they lived. "You have a faction in the bosom of the Assembly," added Ronsin; "if you do not expel it, you shall be called to account by us." Legendre retired full of indignation, and repeated all that he had seen and heard at this dinner. The conversation became generally known, and furnished a new proof of the audacity and frenzy of the two men who had just been released from confinement.

They expressed the highest respect for Pache and for his virtues, as the Jacobins had formerly done when Pache was minister. It was Pache's luck to charm all the violent spirits by his mildness and complaisance. They were delighted to see their passions approved by a man who had all the semblance of wisdom. The new revolutionists meant, they said, to make him a conspicuous personage in their government: for, without having any precise aim, without having yet the design of, or the courage for, an insurrection, they talked a great deal, after the example of all those plotters who make their first experiments and inflame themselves with words. They everywhere declared that France wanted other institutions. All that pleased them in the actual organization of the government was the revolutionary tribunal and army. They had therefore devised a constitution, consisting of a supreme tribunal, having a chief judge for president, and a military council directed by a generalissimo. Under this government, all matters, judicial or administrative, were to be conducted militarily. The generalissimo and the chief judge were to be the highest functionaries. To the tribunal was to be attached a grand accuser, with the title of censor, empowered to direct prosecutions. Thus, in this scheme, framed in a moment of revolutionary ferment, the two essential, nay the only functions, were to condemn and to fight. It is not known whether this plan originated with a single dreamer in a fit of delirium, or with several such persons; whether it

had existence in their talk only or whether it had been committed to writing; but so much is certain that its model was to be found in the revolutionary commissions established at Lyons, Marseilles, Toulon, Bordeaux, Nantes, and that, with their imaginations full of what they had done in these great cities, those terrible executioners proposed to govern all France on the same plan, and to make the violence of a day the model of a permanent government. As yet they had designated but one of the persons destined for the highest dignities. Pache was wonderfully fitted for the post of grand judge; the conspirators therefore said that he was to be and that he should be so. Without knowing the nature of the scheme or of the dignity, many people repeated as a piece of news: "Pache is to be appointed grand judge." This report circulated without being explained or understood. As for the dignity of generalissimo, Ronsin, though general of the revolutionary army, durst not aspire to it, and its partisans durst not propose him, as a much more distinguished name was required for such a dignity. Chaumette was also mentioned by some as censor; but his name had been rarely uttered. Only one of these reports was generally circulated, namely, that Pache was to be grand judge.

Throughout the whole revolution, when the long excited passions of a party were ready to explode, it was always a defeat, a treason, a dearth, in short some calamity or other, that served them as a pretext for breaking forth. Such was the case in this instance. The second law of the *maximum*, which, going farther back than the retail shops, fixed the value of commodities on the spot of their fabrication, determined the price of transport, regulated the profit of the wholesale dealer and that of the retail dealer, had been passed; but commerce still escaped the despotism of the law in a thousand ways, and escaped it chiefly in a most disastrous way, by suspending its operations. The stagnation of trade was as great as before, and if goods were no longer refused to be exchanged at the price of the assignat, they were concealed or ceased to move and to be transported to the places of consumption. The dearth was therefore very great, owing to this stagnation of commerce. The extraordinary efforts of the government, and the care of the commission of articles of consumption, had, however, partially succeeded in diminishing the dearth of corn, and, above all, in diminishing the fear of it, not less formidable than dearth itself, on account of the derangement and disorder which it produces in commercial relations. But a new calamity began to be felt, namely, the want of butcher's meat. La Vendée had formerly sent a great quantity of cattle to the neighbouring provinces. Since the insurrection none had arrived. The departments of the Rhine had ceased to send cattle too, since the war had fixed itself in that quarter. There was of course a real diminution in the quantity. The butchers, moreover, buying cattle at a high price, and selling at the *maximum* price, sought to evade the law. The best meat was reserved for the rich, or the citizens in easy circumstances who paid well for it. A great number of clandestine markets were established, especially in the environs of Paris, and in the country; and nothing but the offal was left for the lower classes or the purchaser who went to the shops and bought at the *maximum* prices. Thus the butchers indemnified themselves by the bad quality for the low price at which they were obliged to sell. The people complained bitterly of the weight, the quality, and the clandestine markets established about Paris. There was a scarcity of cattle, so that it had been found necessary to kill cows in calf. The populace had immediately said that the aristocrat butchers intended to destroy the species, and demanded the penalty of death against those who

should kill cows in calf and ewes in lamb. But this was not all. Vegetables, fruit, eggs, butter, fish, were no longer brought to market. A cabbage cost twenty sous. People went to meet the carts on the road, surrounded them, and bought their load at any price. Few of them reached Paris, where the populace awaited them in vain. Wherever there is anything to be done, hands enough are soon found to undertake it. People were wanted to scour the country in order to procure meat, and to stop the farmers bringing vegetables by the way. A great number of persons of both sexes undertook this business, and bought up the commodities on account of the rich, by paying for them more than the *maximum* price. If there was a market better supplied than the others, these agents hastened thither and took off the commodities at a higher than the fixed price. The lower classes were particularly incensed against those who followed this profession. It was said that among the number were many unfortunate women of the town, who had been deprived by the measures adopted at the instigation of Chaumette of their deplorable means of existence, and who followed this new trade, in order to earn a livelihood.

To remedy all these inconveniences, the commune had resolved, on the repeated petitions of the sections, that the butchers should no longer meet the cattle or go beyond the ordinary markets; that they should not kill anywhere but in the authorized slaughter-houses; that meat should be sold only in the shambles; that no person should any longer be permitted to stop the farmers by the way; that those who arrived should be directed by the police, and equally distributed among the different markets; that people should not go to wait at the butchers' doors before six o'clock, for it frequently happened that they rose at three for this purpose.

These multiplied regulations could not save the people from the evils which they were enduring. The ultra-revolutionists tortured their imagination to devise expedients. A last idea had occurred to them, namely, that the pleasure-grounds abounding in the suburbs of Paris, and particularly in the faubourg St. Germain, might be brought into cultivation. The commune, which refused them nothing, had immediately ordered a list of these pleasure-grounds, and decided that, as soon as the list was made out, they should be planted with potatoes and culinary vegetables. They conceived, moreover, that, as vegetables, milk, poultry, were not brought to town as usual, the cause of this was to be imputed to the aristocrats who had retired to their seats around Paris. It was actually the case that many persons had, in alarm, concealed themselves in their country-houses. The sections came and proposed to the commune to pass a resolution, or to demand a law, compelling them to return. Chaumette, however, feeling that this would be too odious a violation of individual liberty, contented himself with making a threatening speech against the aristocrats who had retired to their seats around Paris. He merely addressed to them an invitation to return to the city, and exhorted the village municipalities to watch them closely.

Meanwhile, impatience of the evil was at its height. The disorder in the markets increased. Tumults were raised there every moment. People crowded around the butchers' shops, and, in spite of the prohibition to go thither before a certain hour, they were as eager as ever to get before one another. They had there introduced a practice which had originated at the doors of the bakers, namely, to fasten a cord to the door of the shop; each comer laid hold of it, in order to secure his turn. But here, as at the bakers' doors, mischievous persons, or those who had a bad place, cut the cord, a

general confusion ensued among the waiting crowd, and they were ready to come to blows.

People knew no longer whom to blame. They could not complain, as they had done before the 31st of May, that the Convention refused a law of *maximum*, the object of all hopes, for the Convention granted everything. Unable to devise any new expedient, they applied to it for nothing. Still they could not help complaining. The *épauletiers*, Bouchotte's clerks, and the Cordeliers, alleged that the moderate faction in the Convention was the cause of the dearth; that Camille-Desmoulins, Philipeaux, Bourdon of the Oise, and their friends, were the authors of the prevailing evils; that it was impossible to exist any longer in that manner, and that extraordinary means must be resorted to; and they added the old expression of all the insurrections, *We want a leader*. They then mysteriously whispered one another, *Pache is to be grand judge*.

However, though the new party had very considerable means at its disposal, though it had the revolutionary army and a dearth, it had neither the government nor public opinion in its favour, for the Jacobins were adverse to it. Ronsin, Vincent, and Hebert, were obliged to profess an apparent respect for the established authorities, to keep their designs secret, and to plot in the dark. On the contrary, the conspirators of the 10th of August, and the 31st of May, masters of the commune, of the Cordeliers, of the Jacobins, and of all the clubs; having numerous and energetic partizans in the National Assembly and in the committees; daring to conspire in secret; could publicly draw the populace along in their train and employ masses for the execution of their plots. But the party of the *ultra-revolutionists* was not in the same predicament.

The reigning authority refused none of the extraordinary means of defence or even of vengeance. Treasons no longer accused its vigilance; victories on all the frontiers attested, on the contrary, its energy, its abilities, and its zeal. Consequently, those who attacked this authority, and promised neither superior abilities, nor superior zeal to those which it displayed, were intriguers who aimed at some end, either of disorder or ambition. Such was the public conviction, and the conspirators could not flatter themselves that the people would go along with them. Thus, though formidable, if they were suffered to act, they were far from being so if timely checked.

The committee watched them, and it continued, by a series of reports, to throw discredit on the two opposite parties. In the ultra-revolutionists it beheld conspirators to be destroyed; in the moderates, on the contrary, it only perceived old friends who held the same opinions with itself, and whose patriotism it could not suspect. But, that it might avoid the appearance of weakness, in striking the revolutionists, it was obliged to condemn the moderates, and to appeal incessantly to terror. The latter replied. Camille published fresh numbers. Danton and his friends combated in conversation the reasons of the committee, and a war of writings and words commenced. Rancour ensued; and St. Just, Robespierre, Barrère, Billaud, who had at first discouraged the moderates from policy alone, and that they might be stronger for it against the ultra-revolutionists, began to persecute them from personal spleen and from hatred. Camille had, as we have seen, already attacked Collot and Barrère. In his letter to Dillon, he had addressed to the dogmatic fanaticism of St. Just, and to the monastic harshness of Billaud, pleasantries which had deeply wounded them. He had, lastly, irritated Robespierre at the Jacobins, and, though he had highly praised him, he had finished by estranging himself from him entirely. Danton was far from

agreeable to all of them, on account of his high reputation ; and now that he had retired from the direction of affairs, that he remained in seclusion,* censuring the government, and appearing to excite Camille's caustic and *gossiping* pen,† he could not fail to become more odious to them every day ; and it was not to be supposed that Robespierre would again run any risk to defend them.

Robespierre and St. Just—who were accustomed to draw up in the name of the committee the expositions of principles, and who were charged in some measure with the moral department of the government, while Barrère, Carnot, Billaud, and others, directed the material and administrative department—Robespierre and St. Just made two reports, one on the moral principles which ought to guide the revolutionary government, the other on the imprisonments of which Camille had complained in the “ Old Cordelier.” We must show what sort of conceptions those two gloomy spirits formed of the revolutionary government, and of the means of regenerating a state.

The principle of democratic government is virtue, said Robespierre, and its engine while establishing itself, is terror. We desire to substitute, in our country, morality for selfishness, probity for honour, principles for usages, duties for decorums, the empire of reason for the tyranny of fashion, the contempt of vice for the contempt of poverty, pride for insolence, greatness of soul for vanity, the love of glory for the love of money, good men for good company, merit for intrigue, genius for wit, truth for show, the charm of genuine happiness for the *ennui* of pleasure, the greatness of man for the littleness of the great, a magnanimous, powerful, and happy people, for an amiable, frivolous, and wretched people—that is to say, all the virtues and all the miracles of the republic for all the vices and all the absurdities of the monarchy.

To attain this aim there was required an austere, energetic government, which should overcome resistance of all kinds. There was, on the one hand, brutal, greedy ignorance, which desired in the republic nothing but convulsions ; on the other, base and cowardly corruption, which coveted all the gratifications of the ancient luxury, and which could not resolve to embrace the energetic virtues of democracy. Hence there arose two factions ; the one striving to carry everything beyond due bounds, and, by way of attacking superstition, to destroy the belief of God himself, and to spill torrents of blood, upon pretext of avenging the republic ; the other, which, weak and vicious, did not feel itself *virtuous enough to be so terrible*, and softly deplored all the necessary sacrifices which the establishment of virtue demanded. One of these factions, said St. Just, *wanted to change Liberty into a Bacchante, the other into a Prostitute.*

Robespierre and St. Just recapitulated the follies of some of the agents of the revolutionary government, and of two or three *procureurs* of communes, who had pretended to renew the energy of Marat, and in so doing they alluded to all the extravagances of Hebert and his partizans. They then enumerated all the faults of weakness, complaisance, and sensibility, imputed to the new moderates. They reproached them with their pity for widows of generals, for intriguing females belonging to the old nobility, for aristo

* “It was by the advice of Robespierre himself that Danton retired into seclusion. “A tempest is brewing,” said he ; “the Jacobins have not forgotten your relations with Dumouriez. They dislike your manners ; your voluptuous and lazy habits are at variance with their energy. Withdraw, then, for a season ; trust to a *friend* who will watch over your dangers, and warn you of the first moment to return !”—*Lacretelle*. E.

† Camille's own expression.

crats, and with talking continually of the severities of the republic, far inferior to the cruelties of monarchies. "You have one hundred thousand prisoners," said St. Just, "and the revolutionary tribunal has already condemned three hundred criminals. But under the monarchy you had four hundred thousand prisoners. Fifteen hundred smugglers were annually hanged, three thousand persons were broken on the wheel, and at this very day there are in Europe four millions of prisoners, whose moans you do not hear, while parricidal moderation suffers all the enemies of your government to triumph! We load ourselves with reproaches; and kings, a thousand times as cruel as we, sleep in crime."

Robespierre and St. Just, conformably with the concerted system, added that these two factions, opposite in appearance, had one common point, the foreigner, who instigated them to act for the destruction of the republic.

We see how much there was at once of fanaticism, of policy, and of animosity in the system of the committee. Camille and his friends were attacked by allusions and even indirect expressions. In his *Vieux Cordelier* he replied to the system of virtue, by the system of happiness. He said that he loved the republic because it must add to the general felicity; because commerce, industry, and civilization, were more conspicuously developed at Athens, Venice, Florence, than in any monarchy; because the republic could alone realize the lying wish of monarchy, *the fowl in the pot*. "What would Pitt care," exclaimed Camille, "whether France were free, if her liberty served only to carry us back to the ignorance of the ancient Gauls, to the rude vest which formed their clothing, to their misleto, and to their houses, which were but kennels of clay? So far from mourning over it, I dare say Pitt would give a great many guineas that such a liberty were established among us. But it would make the English government furious if people could say of France what Dicearchus said of Attica: 'Nowhere in the world can one live more agreeably than at Athens, whether one has money, or whether one has none. Those who have acquired wealth by commerce or by their industry can there procure all imaginable gratifications; and as for those who are striving to do so, there are so many workshops where they may earn wherewithal to amuse themselves and to lay by something besides, that they cannot complain of poverty without reproaching themselves with idleness.'

"I think then that liberty does not exist in an equality of privations, and that the highest praise of the Convention would be if it could bear this testimony to itself: 'I found the nation without breeches, and I leave it breeched.*"

"What a charming democracy," adds Camille, "was that of Athens! Solon was not there considered as a coxcomb; he was not the less regarded as the model of legislators, and proclaimed by the Oracle the first of the seven sages, though he made no difficulty to confess his fondness for wine, women, and music; and he possesses so firmly established a reputation for wisdom, that at this day his name is never pronounced in the Convention and at the Jacobins but as that of the greatest of legislators. But how many are there among us who have the character of aristocrats and Sybarites, who have not published such a profession of faith!

"That divine Socrates, one day meeting Alcibiades gloomy and thoughtful, apparently because he was vexed at a letter of Aspasia, 'What ails you?'

* A whimsical parody on the well-known saying applied to Augustus Cæsar—namely, that he found Rome of brick, and left it of marble. E.

asked the gravest of Mentors. ‘Have you lost your shield in battle?—have you been vanquished in the camp, in the race, or in the hall of arms? Has any one surpassed you in singing or playing upon the lyre at the table of the general?’ This trait delineates manners. What amiable republicans!’

Camille then complained that to the manners of Athens the rulers of France would not add the liberty of speech which prevailed in that republic. Aristophanes there represented on the stage the generals, the orators, the philosophers, and the people themselves; and the people of Athens, sometimes personated by an old man, at others by a young one, instead of being irritated, proclaimed Aristophanes conqueror at the games, and encouraged him by plaudits and crowns. Many of those comedies were directed against the *ultra-revolutionists* of those times. The sarcasms in them were most cutting. “And if, at this day,” added Camille, “one were to translate any of those pieces performed four hundred and thirty years before Christ, under Sthenocles the archon, Hebert would maintain at the Cordeliers that it was a work of yesterday, an invention of Fabre d’Eglantine against himself and Ronsin, and that the translator was the cause of the dearth.

“I am, however, wrong,” proceeded Camille, in a tone of sadness, “when I say that men are changed—they have always been the same; liberty of speech enjoyed no more impunity in the ancient than in the modern republics. Socrates, accused of having spoken ill of the gods, drank hemlock. Cicero, for having attacked Antony, was given up to proscription.”

Thus this unfortunate young man seemed to predict that the liberty which he took would no more be forgiven him than many others. His pleasantries and his eloquence exasperated the committee. While it kept an eye upon Ronsin, Hebert, Vincent, and all the agitators, it conceived a violent hatred against the amiable writer, who laughed at its systems; against Danton, who was supposed to prompt that writer; and, in short, against all those who were regarded as friends or partisans of those two leaders.

In order not to deviate from its line, the committee presented two decrees, in consequence of the reports of Robespierre and St. Just, tending, it declared, to render the people happy at the expense of their enemies. By these decrees the committee of general welfare was alone invested with the faculty of investigating the complaints of detained persons, and liberating them if they were acknowledged patriots. All those, on the contrary, who should be recognised as enemies of the Revolution were to be kept in confinement till the peace, and then banished for ever. Their property, sequestered *ad interim*, was to be divided among the indigent patriots, a list of whom was to be drawn up by the communes.* This, it is obvious, was the agrarian law applied to suspected persons for the benefit of the patriots. These decrees, the conceptions of St. Just, were destined to reply to the *ultra-revolutionists*, and to continue to the committee its reputation for energy.

Meanwhile the conspirators were bestirring themselves with more violence than ever. There is no proof that their plans were absolutely arranged, or that they had engaged Pache and the commune in their plot. But they proceeded as before the 31st of May: they excited the popular societies, the Cordeliers, and the sections; they circulated threatening rumours, and sought to take advantage of the disturbances occasioned by the dearth, which every day increased and became more severely felt.

* Decrees of the 8th and 13th of Ventose.

All at once there appeared posting bills in the markets and public places, and pamphlets, declaring that the Convention was the cause of all the sufferings of the people, and that it was necessary to rend from it that dangerous faction which wanted to re-enact the Brissotins and their mischievous system. Some of these writings even insisted that the whole Convention ought to be renewed, that it behoved the people to choose a chief, to organize the executive power, &c. All the ideas, in short, which Vincent, Ronsin, and Hebert had been revolving in their heads filled these publications and seemed to betray their origin. At the same time, the *épauletiers*, more turbulent and blustering than ever, loudly threatened to go to the prisons and slaughter the enemies whom the bribed Convention persisted in sparing. They said that many patriots were unjustly mingled in the prisons with aristocrats, but that these patriots should be picked out, and liberty and arms given to them at once. Ronsin, in full uniform as general of the revolutionary army, with a tricoloured sash, and red plume, and accompanied by some of his officers, went through the prisons, ordered the registers to be shown him, and formed lists.

It was now the 15th of Ventose. The section of Marat, the president of which was Momoro, assembled, and indignant, it said, at the machinations of the enemies of the people, it declared, *en masse*, that it was in motion, that it would place a veil over the declaration of rights, and remain in that state until provisions and liberty were insured to the people, and its enemies were punished. In the evening of the same day, the Cordeliers tumultuously assembled: a picture of the sufferings of the people was submitted to them; the persecutions recently undergone by the two great patriots, Vincent and Ronsin, were detailed; and it was said that they were both ill at the Luxembourg, without being able to procure the attendance of a physician. The country, in consequence, was declared to be in danger, and a veil was hung over the declaration of the rights of man. It was in this manner that all the insurrections had begun with a declaration that the laws were suspended, and that the people had resumed the exercise of its sovereignty.

On the following day, the 16th, the section of Marat and the Cordeliers waited upon the commune to acquaint it with their resolutions, and to prevail on it to take similar steps. Pache had taken care not to be present. One Lubin presided at the general council. He replied to the deputation with visible embarrassment. He said that, at the moment when the Convention was taking such energetic measures against the enemies of the Revolution, and for the succour of the indigent patriots, it was surprising that a signal of distress should be made, and that the declaration of rights should be veiled. Then, affecting to justify the general council, as though it had been accused, Lubin added that the council had made all possible efforts to insure supplies of provisions and to regulate their distribution. Chaumette, in a speech equally vague, recommended peace, required the report on the cultivation of the pleasure grounds, and on the supply of the capital, which, according to the decrees, was to be provisioned like a fortress in time of war.

Thus the heads of the commune hesitated; and the movement, though tumultuous, was not strong enough to hurry them away, and to inspire them with the courage to betray the committee and the Convention. The disturbance was, nevertheless, great. The insurrection began in the same manner as all those which had previously occurred, and it was calculated to excite not less alarm. By an unlucky accident, the committee of public welfare was deprived at the moment of its most influential members. Billaud-Varennes and Jean-Bon-St. André were absent on official business; Couthon

and Robespierre were ill, and the latter could not come to govern his faithful Jacobins. St. Just and Collot-d'Herbois alone were left to thwart this attempt. They both repaired to the Convention, the members of which were assembling tumultuously and trembling with fear. At their suggestion, Fouquier-Tinville was immediately summoned, and directed to make immediate search after the distributors of the incendiary publications exhibited in the markets, the agitators who were inflaming the popular societies, all the conspirators, in short, who were threatening the public tranquillity. He was enjoined by a decree to apprehend them immediately, and in three days to present his report on the subject to the Convention.

It was not doing much to obtain a decree of the Convention, for it had never refused them against agitators, and it had nevertheless left the Girondins without any against the insurgent commune; but it was requisite to insure the execution of these decrees by gaining the public opinion. Collot, who possessed great popularity at the Jacobins and the Cordeliers, by his club eloquence, and still more by the well-known energy of his revolutionary sentiments, was charged with the duty of that day, and repaired in haste to the Jacobins. As soon as they were assembled, he laid before them a picture of the factions which threatened liberty, and the plots which they were preparing. "A new campaign is about to open," said he; "the measures of the committee which so happily terminated the last campaign, were on the point of insuring fresh victories to the republic. Relying on your confidence and your approbation, which it has always been its object to deserve, it was devoting itself to its duties; but all at once our enemies have endeavoured to impede its operations. They have raised the patriots around it for the purpose of opposing them to it, and making them slaughter one another. They want to make us soldiers of Cadmus. They want to immolate us by the hands of each other. But no! we will not be soldiers of Cadmus; thanks to your excellent spirit, we will continue friends, we will be soldiers of liberty alone! Supported by you, the committee will be enabled to resist with energy, to quell the agitators, to expel them from the ranks of the patriots, and, after this indispensable sacrifice, to prosecute its labours and your victories. The post in which you have placed us is perilous," adds Collot, "but none of us tremble before danger. The committee of general safety accepts the arduous commission to watch and to prosecute all the enemies who are secretly plotting against liberty; the committee of public welfare spares no pains for the performance of its immense task; but both need your support. In these days of danger we are but few. Billaud and Jean-Bon are absent, our friends Couthon and Robespierre are ill. A small number of us only is therefore left to combat the enemies of the public weal. You must support us, or we must retire." "No, no!" cried the Jacobins. "Do not retire; we will support you." Numerous plaudits accompanied these encouraging words. Collot proceeded, and then related what had passed at the Cordeliers. "There are men," said he, "who have not had the courage to suffer during a few days of confinement, men who have undergone nothing during the revolution, men whose defence we undertook when we deemed them oppressed, and who have attempted to excite an insurrection in Paris, because they had been imprisoned for a few moments. An insurrection because two men have suffered, because they had not a doctor to bleed them when they were ill! Wo be to those who demand an insurrection!" "Yes, yes, wo be to them!" exclaimed all the Jacobins together. "Marat was a Cordelier," resumed Collot; "Marat was a Jacobin; he, too, was persecuted, and assuredly much more than these men of a day; he was

dragged before that tribunal at which aristocrats alone ought to appear. Did he provoke an insurrection? No. Sacred insurrection, the insurrection which must deliver humanity from all those who oppress it, is the offspring of more generous sentiments than the petty sentiment into which an attempt is now making to hurry us; but we will not fall into it. The committee of public welfare will not give way to intriguers. It is taking strong and vigorous measures; and, were it even doomed to perish, it will not recoil from so glorious a task."

No sooner had Collot finished, than Momoro rose to justify the section of Marat and the Cordeliers. He admitted that a veil had been thrown over the declaration of rights, but denied the other allegations. He disavowed the scheme of insurrection, and insisted that the section of Marat and the Cordeliers were animated by better sentiments. Conspirators who justify themselves are undone. Whenever they dare not avow the insurrection, and the mere announcement of the object does not produce a burst of opinion in their favour, they can effect nothing more. Momoro was heard with marked disapprobation; and Collot was commissioned to go in the name of the Jacobins to fraternize with the Cordeliers, and to bring back those brethren led astray by perfidious suggestions.

The night was now far advanced. Collot could not repair to the Cordeliers till the following day, the 17th; but the danger, though at first alarming, was no longer formidable. It became evident that opinion was not favourably disposed towards the conspirators, if that name may be given to them. The commune had receded; the Jacobins adhered to the committee and to Robespierre, though absent and ill. The Cordeliers, impetuous but feebly directed, and, above all, forsaken by the commune and the Jacobins, could not fail to yield to the eloquence of Collot-d'Herbois, and to the honour of seeing among them so celebrated a member of the government. Vincent, with his frenzy, Hebert, with his filthy paper, at which he laboured as assiduously as ever, and Momoro, with his resolutions of the section of Marat, could not produce a decisive movement. Ronsin alone, with his *épauletiers* and considerable stores of ammunition, had it in his power to attempt a *coup-de-main*. Not for want of boldness, however, but either because he did not find that boldness in his friends, or because he could not entirely depend on his troops, he refrained from acting; and, from the 16th to the 17th of August, all the demonstrations were confined to agitation and threats. The *épauletiers*, mingling with the popular societies, caused a great tumult among them, but durst not have recourse to arms.

In the evening of the 17th, Collot went to the Cordeliers, where he was at first received with great applause. He told them that secret enemies of the Revolution were striving to mislead their patriotism; that they had pretended to declare the republic in a state of distress, whereas at the same moment it was royalty and aristocracy alone that were at the last gasp; that they had endeavoured to divide the Cordeliers and the Jacobins, who ought, on the contrary, to form but one family, united in principles and intentions; that this scheme of insurrection, this veil thrown over the declaration of rights, rejoiced the aristocrats, who on the preceding night had all followed this example and veiled in their saloons the declaration of rights; and that therefore, in order not to crown the satisfaction of the enemy, they ought to lose no time in unveiling the sacred code of nature, which was nearer triumphing over tyrants than ever. The Cordeliers could not withstand these representations, though there were among them a great number of Bouchotte's clerks; they hastened to signify their repentance, removed

the crape thrown over the declaration of rights, and delivered it to Collot, charging him to assure the Jacobins that they would always pursue the same course with them. Collot-d'Herbois hurried away to the Jacobins to proclaim their victory over the Cordeliers and the ultra-revolutionists. The conspirators* were thus forsaken by all. They had no resource left but a *coup-de-main*, which, as we have observed, was almost impossible. The committee of public welfare resolved to prevent any movement on their part by causing the ringleaders to be apprehended, and by sending them immediately before the revolutionary tribunal. It enjoined Fouquier to search for facts that would bear out a charge of conspiracy, and to prepare forthwith an act of accusation. St. Just was directed at the same time, to make a report to the Convention against the united factions which threatened the tranquillity of the state.

On the 23d of Ventose, St. Just presented his report. Agreeably to the adopted system, he represented the foreign powers as setting to work two factions: the one composed of seditious men, incendiaries, plunderers, defamers, and atheists, who strove to effect the overthrow of the republic by exaggeration; the other consisting of corrupt men, stockjobbers, extortioners, who, having suffered themselves to be seduced by the allurements of pleasure, were endeavouring to enervate and to dishonour the republic. He asserted that one of these factions had begun to act; that it had attempted to raise the standard of rebellion; but that it had been stopped short; that he came in consequence to demand a decree of death against those in general who meditated the subversion of the supreme power, contrived the corruption of the public mind and of republican manners, obstructed the arrival of articles of consumption, and in any way contributed to the plan framed by the foreign foe. St. Just added that it behoved the Convention from that moment to *make justice, probity, and all the republican virtues the order of the day.*

In this report, written with a fanatical violence, all the factions were equally threatened: but the only persons explicitly devoted to the vengeance of the revolutionary tribunal were the ultra-revolutionary conspirators, such as Ronsin, Vincent, Hebert, &c., and the corrupt members, Chabot, Bazire, Fabre, and Julien, the fabricators of the forged decree. An ominous silence was observed respecting those whom St. Just called the *indulgents* and the *moderates*.

In the evening of the same day, Robespierre went with Couthon to the Jacobins, and both were received with applause. The members surrounded them, congratulated them on their recovery, and promised unbounded attachment to Robespierre. He proposed an extraordinary sitting for the following day, in order to elucidate the mystery of the conspiracy which had been discovered. His suggestion was adopted. The acquiescence of the commune was equally ready. At the instigation of Chaumette himself, it applied for the report which St. Just had delivered to the Convention, and sent to the printing-office of the republic for a copy in order to read it. All submitted cheerfully to the triumphant authority of the committee of public welfare. In the night between the 23d and 24th, Hebert, Vincent, Ronsin,

* "The case of these men was singular. The charge bore that they were associates of Pitt and Coburg, and had combined against the sovereignty of the people, and much more to the same purpose, consisting of allegations that were totally unimportant, and totally unproved. But nothing was said of their rivalry to Robespierre, which was the true cause of their trial, and as little of their revolutionary murders being the ground on which they really deserved their fate."—*Scott's Life of Napoleon*. E.

Momoro, Mazuel, one of Ronsin's officers, and lastly, Kock, the foreign banker, a stockjobber, and ultra-revolutionist, at whose house, Hebert, Ronsin, and Vincent, frequently dined and formed all their plans, were apprehended by direction of Fouquier-Tinville. Thus the committee had two foreign bankers to persuade the world that the two factions were set in motion by the coalition. Baron de Batz was to serve to prove this against Chabot, Julien, Fabre, and all the corrupt men and moderates; while Kock was to furnish the same evidence against Vincent, Ronsin, Hebert, and the ultra-revolutionists.

The persons denounced suffered themselves to be arrested without resistance, and were sent on the following day to the Luxembourg. The prisoners thronged with joy to witness the arrival of those furious men, who had filled them with such alarm, and threatened them with a new September. Ronsin displayed great firmness and indifference; the cowardly Hebert was downcast and dejected; Momoro, thunderstruck. Vincent was in convulsions. The rumour of these arrests was immediately circulated throughout Paris and produced universal joy. It was unluckily added that these were not all, and that men belonging to all the factions were to be punished. The same thing was repeated in the extraordinary sitting of the Jacobins. After each had related what he knew of the conspiracy, of its authors, and of their projects, he added that happily all their plots would be known, and that a report would be made against other persons besides those who were actually in custody.

The war-office, the revolutionary army, and the Cordeliers, were struck in the persons of Vincent, Ronsin, Hebert, Mazuel, Momoro, and their assistants. It was deemed right to punish the commune also. Nothing was talked of but the dignity of grand judge reserved for Pache; but he was well known to be incapable of joining in a conspiracy, docile to the superior authority, respected by the people; and the committee would not strike too severe a blow by associating him with the others. It therefore preferred ordering the arrest of Chaumette, who was neither bolder nor more dangerous than Pache, but who from vanity and obstinate prejudice, was the instigator of the most imprudent determinations of the commune, and one of the most zealous apostles of the worship of reason. The unfortunate Chaumette was therefore apprehended. He was sent to the Luxembourg with Bishop Gobel, the author of the grand scene of the abjuration, and with Anacharsis Clootz, already excluded from the Jacobins and the Convention, on account of his foreign origin, his noble birth, his fortune, his universal republic, and his atheism.

When Chaumette arrived at the Luxembourg, the suspected persons ran to meet him and loaded him with sarcasm. With a great fondness for declamation, Chaumette had none of Ronsin's boldness or of Vincent's fury. His smooth hair and his timid look gave him the appearance of a missionary; and such he had actually been of the new worship. He could not withstand the raillery of the prisoners. They reminded him of his motions against prostitutes, against the aristocrats, against the famine, against the suspected persons. One prisoner said to him, bowing, "Philosopher Anaxagoras, I am suspected, thou art suspected, we are suspected." Chaumette excused himself in an abject and tremulous tone; but from that time he did not venture to leave his cell, or appear in the court among the other prisoners.

The committee, after it had caused these unfortunate men to be apprehended, required the committee of general safety to draw up the act of accusation against Chabot, Bazire, Delaunay. Julien of Toulouse, and Fabre

All five were placed under accusation and delivered over to the revolutionary tribunal. At the same moment it became known that a female emigrant, under prosecution by a revolutionary committee, had found an asylum at the house of Herault-Sechelles. This celebrated deputy, who possessed a large fortune, together with high birth, a handsome person, and a cultivated and elegant mind, who was the friend of Danton, Camille-Desmoulins, and Proly, and who had often shuddered to see himself in the ranks of those terrible revolutionists, had become suspected, and it was forgotten that he had been the principal author of the Constitution. The committee lost no time in ordering him to be arrested, in the first place because it disliked him, and in the next to prove that it would not fail to punish moderates overtaken in a fault, and that it would not be more indulgent to them than to other culprits. Thus the shafts of this formidable committee fell at once upon men of all ranks, of all opinions, and of every degree of merit.

On the 1st of Germinal, the proceedings against one part of the conspirators commenced. In the same accusation were included Ronsin, Vincent, Hebert, Momoro, Mazuel, Kock the banker, the young Lyonnese Leclerc, who had become *chef de division* in Bouchotte's office, Ancar and Ducroquet, commissaries of the victualling department, and some other members of the revolutionary army and of the war-office. In order to keep up the notion of a connivance between the ultra-revolutionary faction and that called the foreign faction, Proly, Dubuisson, Pereyra, and Desfieux were comprised in the same accusation, though they had never had any connexion with the other accused persons. Chaumette was reserved to figure at a future time with Gobel and the other authors of the scenes of the worship of reason; and lastly, if Cloutz, who ought to have been associated with these latter, was joined with Proly, it was in his quality of foreigner. The accused were nineteen in number. The boldest and firmest of them were Ronsin and Cloutz. "This," said Ronsin, to his co-accused, "is a political process; of what use are all your papers and your preparations for justifying yourselves? you will be condemned. When you should have acted, you talked. Know how to die. For my part, I swear that you shall not see me flinch. Strive to do the same." The wretched Hebert and Momoro bewailed their fate, and said that liberty was undone! "Liberty undone!" exclaimed Ronsin, "because a few paltry fellows are about to perish! Liberty is immortal. Our enemies will fall in their turn, and liberty will survive them all." As they accused one another, Cloutz exhorted them not to aggravate their misfortunes by mutual invectives, and he recited the celebrated apologue:

Je rêvais cette unit que, de mal consumé,
Côte à côte d'un gueux on m'avait inhumé.

This recitation had the desired effect, and they ceased to reproach one another with their misfortunes. Cloutz, still full of his philosophical opinions to the very scaffold, attacked the last relics of deism that were left in them, and preached up nature and reason with an ardent zeal and an extraordinary contempt of death. They were carried to the tribunal amidst an immense concourse of spectators. We have shown, in the account of their conduct, in what their conspiracy consisted. Clubbists of the lowest class, intriguers belonging to public offices, ruffians attached to the revolutionary army,—these conspirators had the exaggeration of inferiors, of the bearers of orders, who always exceed their commission. Thus they had wished to push the revolutionary government so far as to make it a mere military com-

mission, the abolition of superstitious practices to persecution of religion, republican manners to coarseness, liberty of speech to the most disgusting vulgarity; lastly, democratic jealousy and severity towards men to the most atrocious defamation. Abusive expressions against the Convention and the committee, plans of government in words, motions at the Cordeliers and in the sections, filthy pamphlets, a visit of Ronsin to the prisons to see whether patriots like himself were not confined in them; lastly, some threats, and an attempt at commotion upon pretext of the dearth—such were their plots. In all these there was nothing but the follies and the obscenities of loose characters. But a conspiracy deeply laid and corresponding with foreign powers was far above the capacity of these wretches. It was a perfidious supposition of the committee, which the infamous Fouquier-Tinville was charged to demonstrate to the tribunal, and which the tribunal had orders to adopt.

The abusive expressions which Vincent and Ronsin had used against Legendre, when dining with him at Pache's, and their reiterated propositions for organizing the executive power, were alleged as attesting the design of annihilating the national representation and the committee of public welfare. Their dinners with Kock, the banker, were adduced in proof of their correspondence with foreign powers. To this proof was added another. Letters, sent from Paris to London, and inserted in the English newspapers, intimated that, from the agitation which prevailed, it was to be presumed that movements would take place. These letters, it was said to the accused, demonstrate that foreigners were in your confidence, since they predicted your plots beforehand. The dearth, the blame of which they attempted to throw on the government, in order to excite the people against it, was imputed to them alone; and Fouquier-Tinville, returning calumny for calumny, maintained that they were the cause of that dearth by instigating the plunder of the carts with vegetables and fruit by the way. The military stores collected at Paris for the revolutionary army were charged to their account as preparations for conspiracy. Ronsin's visit to the prisons was adduced as a proof of a design to arm the suspected persons and to let them loose upon Paris. Lastly, the papers and publications distributed in the markets, and the veil thrown over the declaration of rights, were considered as a commencement of execution.

Hebert was covered with infamy. His political acts and his paper were scarcely noticed. It was deemed sufficient to prove thefts of shirts and handkerchiefs. But let us quit those disgraceful discussions between these base accused and the base accuser, employed by a terrible government to consummate the sacrifices which it had ordered. Retired within its elevated sphere, this government pointed out the unfortunate creatures who were an obstacle to it, and left Fouquier, its attorney-general, to satisfy the forms of law with falsehoods. If, in this vile herd of victims sacrificed for the sake of the public tranquillity, there are any that deserve to be set apart, they are those unfortunate foreigners, Proly and Anacharsis Clootz, condemned as agents of the coalition. Proly, as we have said, being well acquainted with Belgium, his native country, had censured the ignorant violence of the Jacobins in the Netherlands. He had admired the talents of Dumouriez, and this he confessed to the tribunal. His knowledge of foreign courts, had, on two or three occasions, rendered him serviceable to Lebrun, and this he also confessed. "Thou hast blamed," it was urged against him, "the revolutionary system in Belgium; thou hast admired Dumouriez; thou hast been a friend of Lebrun; thou art, therefore, an agent of the foreign powers." No

other fact was alleged against him. As for Clootz, his universal republic, his dogma of reason, his income of one hundred thousand livres, and some efforts which he had made to save a female emigrant, were sufficient for his conviction.

No sooner were the proceedings resumed on the third day than the jury declared that it was satisfied with the evidence before it, and condemned pell-mell these intriguers, agitators, and unfortunate foreigners, to suffer death. One only was acquitted, a man named Laboureau, who in this affair had served as a spy for the committee of public welfare. On the 4th of Germinal, at four in the afternoon, the condemned persons were conveyed to the place of execution. The concourse was as great as on any preceding occasion of the same kind. Places were sold on carts and on tables around the scaffold. Neither Ronsin nor Clootz tripped, to use their own terrible expression. Hebert, overcome with shame, disheartened by contempt, took no pains to conceal his cowardice. He fell fainting every moment, and the populace, vile as himself, followed the fatal cart, repeating the cry of the hawkers of his paper: *Il est b——t en colère le Père Duchêne.*

Thus were sacrificed these wretched men to the indispensable necessity of establishing a firm and vigorous government; and here the necessity of order and obedience was not one of those sophisms to which governments sacrifice their victims. All Europe threatened France, all the agitators were grasping at the supreme authority, and compromising the commonwealth by their quarrels. It was indispensable that some more energetic men should seize this disputed authority, should hold it to the exclusion of all others, and should thus be enabled to use it for the purpose of withstanding all Europe. If we feel any regret it is to see falsehood employed against these wretches; to find among them a man of firm courage in Ronsin, an inoffensive maniac in Clootz, and at most an intriguer, but not a conspirator, and a foreigner of superior merit, in the unfortunate Proly.

As soon as the Hebertists had suffered, the *indulgents* manifested great joy, and said that they were not wrong in denouncing Hebert, Ronsin, and Vincent, since the committee of public welfare and the revolutionary tribunal had sent them to the scaffold. Of what, then, can they accuse us? said they. We have done nothing more than reproach those factious men with a design to overthrow the republic, to destroy the National Convention, to supplant the committee of public welfare, to add the danger of religious to that of civil wars, and to produce a general confusion. This is precisely what St. Just and Fouquier-Tinville have laid to their charge in sending them to the scaffold. In what then can we be conspirators, enemies of the republic?

Nothing could be more just than these reflections, and the committee was of precisely the same opinion as Danton, Camille-Desmoulins, Philipeaux, and Fabre, respecting the danger of that anarchical turbulence. In proof of this, Robespierre had, since the 31st of May, never ceased defending Danton and Camille, and accusing the anarchists. But, as we have observed, in striking the latter, the committee ran the risk of being set down as moderate, and it was therefore incumbent on it to display the greatest energy on the other side, lest it should compromise its revolutionary reputation.* It behaved it, while thinking like Danton and Camille, to censure their opinions,

* "By favouring at first, or seeming to favour, the moderates, Robespierre had prepared the ruin of the anarchists, and he thus accomplished two ends which contributed to his domination or his pride: he ruined a formidable faction, and he destroyed a revolutionary reputation, the rival of his own. Motives of public safety required, it must be confessed, these combinations of parties. It appeared impossible to the committee to continue the war with

to sacrifice them in its speeches, and to appear not to favour them more than the Hebertists themselves. In the report against the two factions, St. Just had threatened one as much as the other, and observed a menacing silence respecting the indulgents. At the Jacobins, Collot had said that the business was not finished, and that a report was preparing against other persons, besides those who were arrested. These threats were accompanied by the apprehension of Herault-Sechelles, a friend of Danton, and one of the most esteemed men of that time. Such facts indicated no intention of relaxing, and yet it was still said in all quarters that the committee was about to retrace its steps, that it was going to mitigate the revolutionary system, and to pursue severe measures against the murderers of all kinds. Those who wished for this return to a milder policy, the prisoners, their families, in short, all the peaceful citizens persecuted under the name of indifferents, gave themselves up to indiscreet hopes, and loudly asserted that the system of the laws of blood was at length about to terminate. Such was soon the general opinion. It spread to the departments, and especially to that of the Rhone, where such terrible vengeance had for some months past been exercised, and in which Ronsin had caused such consternation. People breathed more freely for a moment at Lyons. They dared look their oppressors in the face, and seemed to predict to them that their cruelties were about to have an end. These rumours, these hopes of the middle and peaceful class, roused the indignation of the patriots. The Jacobins of Lyons wrote to those of Paris that aristocracy was raising its head again, that they should soon be unable to keep it down, and that, unless force and encouragement were given to them, they should be reduced to the necessity of taking their own lives like the patriot Gaillard, who had stabbed himself at the time of the first arrest of Ronsin.

"I have seen," said Robespierre to the Jacobins, "letters from some of the Lyonnese patriots. They all express the same despair, and if the most speedy remedy be not applied to their disease, they will not find relief from any recipe but that of Cato and Gaillard. The perfidious faction which, affecting a perfidious patriotism, aimed at sacrificing the patriots, has been exterminated; but the foreign foe cares little for that; he has another left. Had Hebert triumphed, the Convention would have been overthrown, the republic would have fallen into chaos, and tyranny would have been delighted; but, with the moderates, the Convention is losing its energy, the crimes of the aristocracy are left unpunished, and the tyrants triumph. The foreigner has therefore as much hope with one as with the other of these factions, and he must pay them all without attaching any of them to himself. What cares he whether Hebert expires on the scaffold, so that he has traitors of another kind left for the accomplishment of his projects? You have done nothing, then, if there is still left a faction for you to destroy; and the Convention is resolved to immolate all, even to the very last of them."

Thus the committee had felt the necessity of clearing itself from the reproach of moderation by a new sacrifice. Robespierre had defended Danton, when he had seen a daring faction preparing to strike by his side one of the most celebrated and most renowned of the patriots. Policy, a common danger, everything, then induced him to defend his old colleague; but now this

out a dictatorship; they considered the Hebertists as an obscure faction, who corrupted the people and assisted the enemy; and the Dantonists as a party whose political moderation and private immorality compromised and dishonoured the republic."—*Mignet*. E.

bold faction no longer existed. Were he to continue to defend this colleague, stripped of his popularity, he would compromise himself. Besides, the conduct of Danton could not fail to excite many reflections in his jealous mind. What was Danton about? Why did he absent himself from the committee? Associating with Philipeaux and Camille-Desmoulins, he appeared to be the instigator and leader of that new opposition which was assailing the government with cutting censures and sarcasms. For some time past, seated opposite to that tribune where the members of the committee took their places, Danton had somewhat of a threatening, and at the same time contemptuous, air. His attitude, his expressions, which ran from mouth to mouth, and his connexions, all proved that, after seceding from the government, he had set up for its censor, and that he kept himself aloof, as if for the purpose of obstructing it by his great reputation. This was not all. Though Danton had lost his popularity, he still retained a reputation for boldness and for extraordinary political genius. If Danton were sacrificed, there would be left not one great name out of the committee; and in the committee there would remain only men of secondary importance, such as St. Just, Couthon, Collot-d'Herbois. By consenting to this sacrifice, Robespierre would at once destroy a rival, restore to the government its reputation for energy, and above all heighten his reputation for virtue, by striking a man accused of having sought money and pleasure. He was, moreover, exhorted to this sacrifice by all his colleagues, who were still more jealous of Danton than he was himself. Couthon and Collot-d'Herbois were aware that they were despised by that celebrated tribune. Billaud, cold, vulgar, and sanguinary, found in him something grand and overwhelming. St. Just, dogmatic, austere and proud, felt an antipathy to an acting, generous, and easy revolutionist, and perceived that, if Danton were dead, he should become the second personage of the republic. Lastly, all of them knew that Danton, in his plan for renewing the committee, proposed that Robespierre alone should be retained. They therefore beset the latter, and no great efforts were required to wring from him a determination so agreeable to his pride. It is not known what explanations led to this resolution or on what day it was taken; but all at once they became threatening and mysterious. No further mention was made of their projects. In the Convention and at the Jacobins they maintained an absolute silence. But sinister rumours began to be whispered about. It was said that Danton, Camille, Philipeaux, and Lacroix, were about to be apprehended and sacrificed to the authority of their colleagues. Mutual friends of Danton and Robespierre, alarmed at these reports, and seeing that, after such an act, the life of no man whatever would be safe, and that Robespierre himself could no longer be easy, were desirous of reconciling Robespierre and Danton, and begged them to explain themselves. Robespierre, intrrenching himself in an obstinate silence, refused to reply to these overtures, and maintained a distant reserve.* When reminded of the

* "After the first symptoms of a commencement of hostilities, Danton, who had not yet terminated his connexion with Robespierre, demanded an interview. It took place at the house of the latter. Danton complained violently, but Robespierre was reserved. 'I know,' said Danton, 'all the hatred which the committee bears me; but I do not fear it.'—'You are wrong,' replied Robespierre; 'they have no evil intentions against you, but it is good to explain oneself.'—'Explain oneself!' retorted Danton, 'for that good faith is necessary;' and, observing Robespierre to assume a grave air at these words, 'Without doubt,' added he, 'it is necessary to suppress the royalists; but we ought only to strike blows which are useful to the republic; and it is not necessary to confound the innocent with the guilty.'—'Ah, who nas told you,' rejoined Robespierre sharply, 'that we have caused an innocent person to

friendship that he had formerly testified for Danton, he hypocritically replied that he could not do anything either for or against his colleague; that justice was there to defend innocence; that, for his part, his whole life had been a continual sacrifice of his affections to his country; and that, if his friend were guilty, he should sacrifice him with regret, but he should sacrifice him like all the others to the republic.

It is obvious that his mind was made up, that this hypocritical rival would not enter into any engagement relative to Danton, and that he reserved to himself the liberty of delivering him up to his colleagues. In consequence, the rumours of the approaching arrests acquired more consistence. Danton's friends surrounded him, urging him to rouse himself from the kind of slumber which had come over him, to shake off his indolence, and to show at length that revolutionary front which amidst storms he had never yet showed in vain. "I well know," said Danton, "they mean to arrest me. But no," he added, "they will not dare." Besides, what could he do? To fly was impossible. What country would have given an asylum to this formidable revolutionist? Was he to authorize by his flight all the calumnies of his enemies? And then, he loved his country. "Does a man," he exclaimed, "carry away his country on the soles of his shoes?" On the other hand, if he remained in France, he would have but slender means at his disposal. The Cordeliers belonged to the ultra-revolutionists, the Jacobins to Robespierre. The Convention was trembling. On what force could he lean? These are points not duly considered by those who, having seen this mighty man overturning the throne on the 10th of August, and raising the people against foreigners, have not been able to conceive how he could have fallen without resistance. Revolutionary genius does not consist in reviving a lost popularity, in creating forces which do not exist,* but in boldly directing the affections of the people, when once in possession of them. The generosity of Danton, and his secession from public affairs, had almost alienated the popular favour from him, or at least had not left him enough of it for overthrowing the reigning authority. In this conviction of his impotence, he waited and repeated to himself, *They will not dare*. It was but fair to presume that before so great a name and such great services his adversaries would hesitate. He then sank back into his indolence and into the thoughtlessness of men conscious of their strength, who await danger without taking much pains to screen themselves from it.

The committee continued to maintain profound silence, and sinister rumours continued to be circulated. Six days had elapsed since the death of Hebert. It was the 9th of Germinal. All at once, the peaceable men, who had conceived indiscreet hopes from the fall of the furious party, said that they should soon be delivered from the two saints, Marat and Châlier, and that there had been found in their lives enough to change them, as well as Hebert, from great patriots into villains. This report, which originated in the idea of a retrograde movement, spread with extraordinary rapidity, and it was everywhere asserted that the busts of Marat and Châlier were to be broken in pieces. Legendre denounced this language in the Convention and at the Jacobins, by way of protesting, in the name of his friends, the moderates, against such a project. "Be easy," exclaimed Collot at the Jacobins, "these stories will be contradicted. We have hurled the thunder-

perish? Whereupon Danton, turning to one of his friends who had accompanied him, asked, with a bitter smile, 'What sayest thou? Not an innocent has perished?' After these words they separated. All the bonds of friendship were broken."—*Mignet*. E.

bolt at the infamous wretches who deluded the people; we have torn the mask from their faces, but they are not the only ones! We will tear off all possible masks. Let not the *indulgents* imagine that it is for them that we have fought, that it is for them we have here held glorious sittings. We shall soon undeceive them."

Accordingly, on the following day, the 10th Germinal, the committee of public welfare summoned the attendance of the committee of general safety, and, to give more authority to its measures, that of the committee of legislation also. As soon as all the members had assembled, St. Just addressed them, and, in one of those violent and perfidious reports which he was so clever at drawing up, he denounced Danton, Philipeaux, Desmoulins, and Lacroix, and proposed their apprehension. The members of the two other committees, awe-struck and trembling, durst not resist, and conceived that they were removing the danger from their own persons by giving their assent. Profound secrecy was enjoined, and, in the night between the 10th and the 11th of Germinal, Danton, Lacroix, Philipeaux, and Camille-Desmoulins were arrested unawares, and conveyed to the Luxembourg.

By morning the tidings had spread throughout Paris, and produced there a kind of stupor. The members of the Convention met and preserved a silence, mingled with consternation. The committee, which always made the Assembly wait for it, and which had already all the insolence of power, had not yet arrived. Legendre, who was not of sufficient importance to be apprehended with his friends, was eager to speak. "Citizens," said he, "four members of this Assembly were last night arrested. I know that Danton is one of them; the names of the others I know not; but whoever they be, I move that they be heard at the bar. Citizens, I declare that I believe Danton to be as pure as myself, and I believe that no one has anything to lay to my charge. I shall not attack any member of the committees of public welfare and of general safety, but I have a right to fear that personal animosities and individual passions may wrest liberty from men who have rendered it the greatest and the most beneficial services. The man who, in September 92, saved France by his energy, deserves to be heard, and ought to be allowed to explain himself, when he is accused of having betrayed the country."

To procure for Danton the faculty of addressing the Convention was the surest way to save him and to unmask his adversaries. Many members, in fact, were in favour of his being heard; but, at this moment, Robespierre, arriving before the committee in the midst of the discussion, ascended the tribune and in an angry and threatening tone spoke in these terms: "From the disturbance, for a long time unknown, which prevails in this Assembly, from the agitation produced by the preceding speaker, it is evident that the question under discussion is one of great interest, that the point is to decide whether a few men shall this day get the better of the country. But how can you so far forget your principles as to propose to grant this day to certain individuals what you have previously refused to Chabot, Delaunay, and Fabre-d'Eglantine? Why is this difference in favour of some men? What care I for the praise that people bestow on themselves and their friends? Too much experience has taught us to distrust such praise. The question is not whether a man has performed this or that patriotic act, but what has been his whole career.

"Legendre pretends to be ignorant of the names of the persons arrested. They are known to the whole Convention. His friend Lacroix is one of them. Why does Legendre affect ignorance of this? Because he knows

that it is impossible, without impudence, to defend Lacroix. He has mentioned Danton, because he conceives, no doubt, that to his name is attached a privilege. No, we will have no privileges. We will have no idols!"

At these words there was a burst of applause, and the cowards, trembling at the same time before one idol, nevertheless applauded the overthrow of another, which was no longer to be feared. Robespierre continued: "In what respect is Danton superior to Lafayette, to Dumouriez, to Brissot, to Fabre, to Chabot, to Hebert? What is said of him that may not be said of them? And yet have you spared them? Men talk to you of the despotism of the committees, as if the confidence which the people have bestowed on you, and which you have transferred to these committees, were not a sure guarantee of their patriotism. They affect doubts; but I tell you, whoever trembles at this moment is guilty, for innocence never dreads the public *surveillance*."

Fresh applause from the same trembling cowards, anxious to prove that they were not afraid, accompanied these words. "And in me, too," added Robespierre, "they have endeavoured to excite terror. They have endeavoured to make me believe that, in meddling with Danton, the danger might reach myself. They have written to me; the friends of Danton have sent me letters, have beset me with their speeches; they conceived that the remembrance of an old connexion, that an ancient faith in false virtues, would induce me to slacken my zeal and my passion for liberty. On the contrary, I declare that if Danton's dangers were ever to become my own, that consideration would not stop me for a moment. It is here that we all ought to have some courage and some greatness of soul. Vulgar minds, or guilty men, are always afraid to see their fellows fall, because, having no longer a barrier of culprits before them, they are left exposed to the light of truth; but, if there exist vulgar spirits, there are heroic spirits also in this assembly, and they will know how to brave all false terrors. Besides, the number of the guilty is not great. Crime has found but few partisans among us, and, by striking off a few heads, the country will be delivered."

Robespierre had acquired assurance and skill to say what he meant, and never had he shown more skill or more perfidy than on this occasion. To talk of the sacrifice which he made in forsaking Danton, to make a merit of it, to take to himself a share of the danger, if there were any, and to cheer the cowards by talking of the small number of the guilty, was the height of hypocrisy and of address. Thus all his colleagues unanimously decided that the four deputies arrested in the night should not be heard by the Convention. At this moment St. Just arrived, and read his report. He was the denouncer of the victims, because he combined an extraordinary vehemence and vigour of style with the subtlety necessary for distorting facts, and giving them a signification which they had not. Never had he been more horribly eloquent or more false; for, intense as might have been his hatred, it could not have persuaded him of all that he advanced. Having at considerable length calumniated Philipeaux, Camille-Desmoulins, and Hérault-Séchelles, and accused Lacroix, he came at last to Danton, urging against him the falsest allegations, and distorting known facts in the most atrocious manner. According to him, Danton, greedy, indolent, a liar, and even a coward, sold himself to Mirabeau, and afterwards to the Lameths, and drew up with Brissot the petition which led to the fusillade in the Champ de Mars, not for the purpose of abolishing royalty, but to cause the best citizens to be shot. He then went with impunity to take his recreation, and to revel at Arcis-sur-Aube on the produce of his perfidies. He kept con-

ceased on the 10th of August, and appeared again only to make himself a minister: he then connected himself with the Orleans party, and got Orleans and Fabre elected deputies. Leagued with Dumouriez, bearing only an affected hatred to the Girondins, and keeping up in reality a good understanding with them, he had entirely opposed the events of the 31st of May, and wanted to have Henriot arrested. When Dumouriez, Orleans, and the Girondins had been punished, he treated with the party that was desirous of setting up Louis XVII. Accepting money from any hand,—from Orleans, from the Bourbons, from foreigners, dining with bankers and aristocrats, mingling in all intrigues, prodigal of hopes towards all parties, a real Cataline, in short, rapacious, debauched, indolent, a corrupter of the public morals, he went and secluded himself once more at Arcis-sur-Aube, to enjoy the fruits of his rapine. He returned at length, and recently connected himself with all the enemies of the state, with Hebert and his accomplices, by the common tie of the foreigner, for the purpose of attacking the committee and the men whom the Convention had invested with its confidence.

When this most unjust report was finished, the Convention decreed the accusation of Danton, Camille-Desmoulins, Philipeaux, Herault-Sechelles, and Lacroix.

These unfortunate men had been conveyed to the Luxembourg. "Us! arrest us!" said Lacroix to Danton, "I never should have thought it!" "Thou shouldst never have thought it?" replied Danton; "I knew it; I had been warned of it!"* "And, knowing this, thou hast not acted!" exclaimed Lacroix. "This is the effect of thine accustomed indolence; it has undone us." "I did not believe," replied Danton, "that they would ever dare to execute their design."

All the prisoners thronged to the wicket to see the celebrated Danton and the interesting Camille, who had thrown a ray of hope into the prisons. Danton was, as usual, calm, proud, and very jovial;† Camille, astonished and depressed; Philipeaux, moved and elevated by the danger. Herault-Sechelles, who had been sent to the Luxembourg some days before them, ran out to meet his friends, and cheerfully embraced them. "When men do silly things," said Danton, "the best thing they can do is to laugh at them." Then, perceiving Thomas Paine, he said to him, "What thou hast done for the happiness and the liberty of thy country, I have in vain attempted to do for mine; I have been less fortunate, but not more guilty. They are sending me to the scaffold—well, my friends, we must go to it gaily!"

On the next day, the 12th, the act of accusation was sent to the Luxembourg, and the accused were transferred to the Conciergerie, whence they were to go before the revolutionary tribunal. On reading this act, full of atrocious falsehoods, Camille became furious. Presently recovering his composure, he said, with affliction, "I am going to the scaffold for having

* "Danton's friends had more than once warned him of his danger, and implored him to rouse himself; but to all their entreaties he merely replied, 'I would rather be guillotined than guillotine. Besides, my life is not worth the trouble, and I am weary of humanity. The members of the committee seek my death; well, if they effect their purpose, they will be execrated as tyrants; their houses will be rased; salt will be sown there; and upon the same spot a gibbet dedicated to the punishment of crime will be planted. But my friends will say of me that I have been a good father, a good friend, a good citizen. They will not forget me. No; I would rather be guillotined than guillotine.'"—*Mignet*. E.

† "On entering the prison, the first words uttered by Danton were, 'At length I perceive that, in revolutions, the supreme power ultimately rests with the most abandoned.'"—*Riouffe*. E.

shed a few tears over the fate of so many unfortunate persons. My only regret in dying is, that I had not the power to serve them." All the prisoners, whatever might be their rank or their opinion, felt a deep interest for him, and formed ardent wishes in his behalf. Philipeaux said a few words about his wife, and remained calm and serene. Herault-Sechelles retained that gracefulness of mind and manners which distinguished him even among persons of his own rank: he embraced his faithful attendant, who had accompanied him to the Luxembourg, but was not allowed to follow him to the Conciergerie; he cheered him, and revived his courage. To the latter prison were transferred, at the same time, Fabre, Chabot, Bazire, and Delaunay, who were to be tried conjointly with Danton, in order to throw odium upon him by this association with forgery. Fabre was ill and almost dying. Chabot, who, during his imprisonment, had never ceased writing to Robespierre, to implore his good offices, and to lavish on him the basest flatteries, but without moving him, saw that death was inevitable, and that disgrace must as certainly be his lot as the scaffold. He resolved, therefore, to poison himself. He swallowed corrosive sublimate, but the agony which he suffered having forced him to cry out, he confessed what he had done, accepted medical aid, and was conveyed, as ill as Fabre, to the Conciergerie. A sentiment somewhat more noble seemed to animate him amidst his torments, namely, a deep regret for having compromised his friend Bazire, who had no hand in the crime. "Bazire," he exclaimed, "my poor Bazire, what hast thou done?"

At the Conciergerie, the accused excited the same curiosity as at the Luxembourg. They were put into the room that the Girondins had occupied. Danton spoke with the same energy. "It was on this very day," said he, "that I caused the revolutionary tribunal to be instituted. I beg pardon for it of God and of men. My object was to prevent a new September, and not to let loose a scourge upon mankind." Then, giving way to contempt for his colleagues who were murdering him, "These brother Cains," said he, "know nothing about government. I leave everything in frightful disorder." To characterize the impotence of the paralytic Couthon and the cowardly Robespierre, he then employed some obscene but original expressions, which indicated an extraordinary gaiety of mind. For a single moment he showed a slight regret at having taken part in the Revolution, saying that it was much better to be a poor fisherman than to govern men. This was the only expression of the kind that he uttered.

Lacroix appeared astonished at the number and the wretched state of the prisoners. "What!" said one of them to him, "did not cart-loads of victims teach you what was passing in Paris?" The astonishment of Lacroix was sincere; and it is a lesson for men who, pursuing a political object, have no conception of the individual sufferings of the victims, and seem not to believe because they do not see them.

On the following day, 13th of Ventose, the accused were taken away to the number of fifteen. The committee had associated together the five moderate chiefs, Danton, Herault-Sechelles, Camille, Philipeaux, and Lacroix; the four persons accused of forgery, Chabot, Bazire, Delaunay, and Fabre d'Eglantine; Chabot's two brothers-in-law, Julius and Emanuel Frey; d'Espagnac, the contractor; the unfortunate Westermann, charged with having participated in the corruption and plots of Danton; lastly, two foreigners, friends of the accused, Gusman, the Spaniard, and Diederichs, the Dane. The object of the committee in making this medley was to confound the moderates with the corrupt deputies and with foreigners, by way

of proving that moderation proceeded at once from the lack of republican virtue and the seduction of foreign gold. The crowd collected to see the accused was immense. A spark of that interest which Danton had once excited was rekindled at sight of him. Fouquier-Tinville, the judges, and the jurors, all subaltern revolutionists raised from nothing by his mighty hand, were embarrassed in his presence. His assurance, his haughtiness, awed them, and he appeared rather to be the accuser than the accused.* Herman, the president, and Fouquier-Tinville, instead of drawing the jurors by lot, as the law required, selected them, and took such as they called *solid men*. The accused were then examined. When Danton was asked the usual questions as to his age and his place of abode, he proudly replied that he was thirty-four years old, and that his name would soon be in the Pantheon, and himself nothing. Camille replied that he was thirty-three, the age of the *sans-culotte Jesus Christ when he died!* Bazire was twenty-nine; Herault-Sechelles and Philipeaux were thirty-four. Thus talents, courage, patriotism, youth, were all again included in this new holocaust, as in that of the Girondins.

Danton, Camille, Herault-Sechelles and the others, complained on finding their cause blended with that of several forgers. The proceedings, however, went on. The accusation preferred against Chabot, Bazire, Delaunay, and d'Eglantine, was first examined. Chabot persisted in his statement, and asserted that, if he had taken part in the conspiracy of the stockjobbers, it was merely for the purpose of revealing it. He convinced nobody; for it appeared extraordinary that, if he had entered into it with such a motive, he should not have secretly forewarned some member of the committees, that he should have revealed it so late, and that he should have kept the money in his hands. Delaunay was convicted; Fabre, notwithstanding his clever defence, in which he alleged that, in making the erasures and interlineations in the copy of the decree, he conceived that it was but the rough draft (*projet*) which they had before them, was convicted by Cambon, whose frank and disinterested deposition was overwhelming. He proved in fact to Fabre that the *projets* of decrees were never signed, that the copy which he had altered was signed by all the members of the commission of five, and that consequently he could not have supposed that he was altering a mere *projet*. Bazire, whose connivance consisted in non-revelation, was scarcely heard in his defence, and was assimilated to the others by the tribunal. It then passed to d'Espagnac, who was accused of having bribed Julien of Toulouse to support his contracts, and of having had a hand in the intrigue of the India Company. In this case, letters proved the facts, and against this evidence all d'Espagnac's acuteness was of no avail. Herault-Sechelles was then examined. Bazire was declared guilty as a friend of Chabot; Herault for having been a friend of Bazire; for having had some knowledge through him of the intrigue of the stockjobbers; for having favoured a female emigrant: for having been a friend of the moderates; and for having caused it to be supposed by his mildness, his elegance, his fortune, his ill-disguised regrets, that he was himself a moderate. After Herault came Danton's turn. Profound silence pervaded the Assembly when he rose to speak. "Danton," said the president to him, "the Convention accuses you of having conspired with Mira beau, with Dumouriez, with Orleans, with the Girondins, with foreigners, and with the faction which wants to reinstate Louis XVII."—"My voice,"

* "Danton, calm and indifferent, amused himself during his trial by throwing little paper pellets at his judges."—*Hazlitt*. E.

replied Danton with his powerful organ, "my voice which has so often been raised for the cause of the people, will have no difficulty to repel that calumny. Let the cowards who accuse me show their faces, and I will cover them with infamy. Let the committees come forward; I will not answer but in their presence: I need them for accusers and for witnesses. Let them appear. For the rest, I care little for you and your judgment. I have already told you that nothingness will be soon my asylum. Life is a burden; take it from me. I long to be delivered from it." Danton uttered these words burning with indignation. His heart revolted at having to answer such men. His demand to be confronted with the committees, and his declared determination not to reply but in their presence, had intimidated the tribunal and caused great agitation. Such a confronting would in fact have been cruel for them; they would have been covered with confusion, and condemnation would perhaps have been rendered impossible. "Danton," said the president, "audacity is the quality of guilt, calmness that of innocence." At this expression, Danton exclaimed: "Individual audacity ought, no doubt, to be repressed; but that national audacity of which I have so often set the example, which I have so often shown in the cause of liberty, is the most meritorious of all the virtues. That audacity is mine. It is that which I have employed for the republic against the cowards who accuse me. When I find that I am so basely calumniated, how can I contain myself? It is not from such a revolutionist as I, that you may expect a cold defence. Men of my temper are inappreciable in revolutions. Upon their brow is impressed the spirit of liberty." As he uttered these words, Danton shook his head and defied the tribunal. His formidable countenance produced a profound impression. A murmur of approbation escaped from the people, whom energy always touches. "I," continued Danton, "I accused of having conspired with Mirabeau, with Dumouriez, with Orleans, of having crawled at the feet of vile despots!* I that am summoned to reply to *inevitable, inflexible justice*!† And thou, cowardly St. Just, wilt have to answer to posterity for thy accusation against the firmest supporter of liberty! In going through this catalogue of horrors," added Danton, holding up the act of accusation, "I feel my whole frame shudder." The president again exhorted him to be calm, and reminded him of the example of Marat, who replied respectfully to the tribunal. Danton resumed, and said that, since it was desired, he would relate the history of his life. He then related what

* The following anecdote, which is related by M. Bonnet in his work entitled "*L'Art de rendre les Révolutions utiles*," proves that the suspicions of the committee were not without some foundation, and that Danton, notwithstanding his incessant boast of patriotism, was no better than a mere mercenary intriguer: "Soon after the imprisonment of the King, Danton, wearied of his connexion with Robespierre, came to the resolution of saving the life of Louis on certain conditions. With this view, he sent a confidential emissary into England with propositions for the King's deliverance; but they were not listened to. His agents then contrived to communicate his instructions in a more indirect manner to a certain French nobleman, whom the King had always considered, with justness, as one of those who were most attached to him. Those who were to save the King would, of course, forfeit all influence in France, and be obliged to leave the country. As the price of this double sacrifice, Danton proposed that a sum of money, sufficient to secure the necessary votes, should be deposited in the hands of a banker in London, payable to the persons whom he should specify, under this express condition, that no part of it should be exigible till the King was in safety in a neutral territory. The nobleman to whom this plan was communicated was bound in honour to give it his countenance and support, and, accordingly he corresponded with several of his friends, with the view of recommending it to the belligerent powers. All, however, was in vain." E.

† Expressions of the act of accusation.

difficulty he had had in attaining to the municipal functions, the efforts made by the Constituents to prevent him, the resistance which he opposed to the designs of Mirabeau, and above all, what he did on that famous day, when, surrounding the royal carriage with an immense concourse of people, he prevented the journey to St. Cloud. He then referred to his conduct when he led the people to the Champ de Mars to sign a petition against royalty, and the motive of that celebrated petition; to the boldness with which he first proposed the overthrow of the throne in 92; to the courage with which he proclaimed the insurrection on the evening of the 9th of August; and to the firmness which he displayed during the twelve hours of that insurrection. Choked with indignation at the thought of the allegation that he had hid himself on the 10th of August, "Where," he exclaimed, "are the men who had occasion to urge Danton to show himself on that day? Where are the privileged beings from whom he borrowed energy? Let my accusers stand forward! I am in my sober senses when I call for them. I will expose the three downright knaves who have surrounded and ruined Robespierre. Let them come forward here, and I will plunge them into that nothingness from which they ought never to have emerged." The president would have again interrupted him, and rang his bell. Danton drowned the sound of it with his terrible voice. "Do you not hear me?" asked the president. "The voice of a man who is defending his honour and his life," replied Danton, "must overpower the sound of thy bell." Wearied, however, from indignation, his voice began to falter. The president then begged him respectfully to rest himself, that he might resume his defence with more calmness and tranquillity.

Danton was silent, and the tribunal passed on to Camille, whose *Vieux Cordelier* was read, and who remonstrated in vain against the interpretation put upon his writings. Lacroix was next brought forward. His conduct in Belgium was severely animadverted on. Lacroix, after the example of Danton, demanded the appearance of several members of the Convention, and made a formal application to obtain it.

This first sitting had excited a general sensation. The concourse of people surrounding the Palace of Justice and extending to the bridges had manifested extraordinary emotion. The judges were frightened. Vadier,* Vouland, and Amar, the most malignant members of the committee of general safety, had watched the proceedings, concealed in the printing-office contiguous to the hall of the tribunal, communicating with it by means of a small loop-hole. There they had witnessed with alarm the boldness of Danton and the dispositions of the public. They began to doubt whether condemnation was possible. Herman and Fouquier had repaired, as soon as the court broke up, to the committee of public welfare, and communicated to it the application of the accused, who demanded the appearance of several members of the Convention. The committee began to hesitate. Robespierre had gone home. Billaud and St. Just alone were present. They forbade Fouquier to reply, enjoined him to prolong the proceedings, to let the three days elapse without coming to any explanation, and then to make the jurors declare themselves sufficiently informed.

* "Vadier, a lawyer, was an ardent Jacobin, but without abilities, and ridiculous on account of his accent. In 1792 he was appointed deputy to the Convention, where he voted for the King's death. In 1794 he successively defended and abandoned the party of Hebert and Danton. After the fall of Robespierre, whom he denounced with severity, Vadier was condemned to transportation, but contrived to make his escape. In 1799 the consular government restored him to his rights as a citizen."—*Biographie Moderne*. E.

While these things were passing at the tribunal, at the committee, and in Paris, there was not less commotion in the prisons, where a deep interest was felt for the accused, and where no hopes were seen for any one if such revolutionists were sacrificed. In the Luxembourg was confined the unfortunate Dillon, the friend of Desmoulins, and defended by him. He had learned from Chaumette, who, involved in the same danger, made common cause with the moderates, what had passed at the tribunal. Chaumette had heard it from his wife. Dillon, a hot-headed man, and who, like an old soldier, sometimes sought in wine a relief under his troubles, talked inconsiderately to a man named Laflotte, who was confined in the same prison. He said that it was high time for the good republicans to raise their heads against vile oppressors; that the people seemed to be awaking; that Danton insisted on replying before the committees; that his condemnation was far from being insured; that the wife of Camille-Desmoulins might raise the people by distributing assignats: and that, if he himself should contrive to escape, he would collect resolute men enough to save the republicans who were on the point of being sacrificed by the tribunal. These were but empty words, uttered under the influence of wine and vexation. There appears, however, to have been an intention to send a thousand crowns and a letter to Camille's wife. The base Laflotte, thinking to obtain his life and liberty by denouncing the plot, hastened to the keeper of the Luxembourg, and made a declaration in which he alleged that a conspiracy was ready to break out within and without the prisons, for the purpose of liberating the accused and murdering the members of the two committees. We shall presently see what use was made of this fatal deposition.

On the following day, the concourse at the tribunal was as great as before. Danton and his colleagues, equally firm and obstinate, still insisted on the appearance of several members of the Convention and of the two committees. Fouquier, pressed to reply, said that he did not oppose the summoning of necessary witnesses. But, added the accused, it was not sufficient that he threw no obstacle in the way, he ought himself to summon them. He replied that he would summon all who should be pointed out to him, excepting those who belonged to the Convention, as it was for that assembly to decide whether its members could be cited. The accused again complained that they were refused the means of defending themselves. The tumult was at its height. The president examined some more of the accused—Westermann, the two Freys, and Gusman, and hastened to put an end to the sitting.

Fouquier immediately wrote to the committee, to inform it of what had passed, and to inquire in what way he was to reply to the demands of the accused. The situation was difficult, and every one began to hesitate. Robespierre affected not to give any opinion. St. Just alone, more bold and more decided, thought that they ought not to recede; that they ought to stop the mouths of the accused, and send them to death. At this moment he received the deposition of the prisoner Laflotte, addressed to the police by the keeper of the Luxembourg. St. Just found in it the germ of a conspiracy hatched by the accused, and a pretext for a decree that should put an end to the struggle between them and the tribunal. Accordingly, on the following morning, he addressed the Convention, and declared that a great danger threatened the country, but that this was the last, and, if boldly met, it would soon be surmounted. "The accused," said he, "now before the revolutionary tribunal, are in open revolt; they threaten the tribunal; they carry their insolence so far as to throw balls made of crumbs of bread in the faces of the judges.

they excite and may even mislead the people. But this is not all. They have framed a conspiracy in the prisons. Camille's wife has been furnished with money to provoke an insurrection; General Dillon is to break out of the Luxembourg, to put himself at the head of a number of conspirators, to slaughter the two committees, and to liberate the culprits." At this hypocritical and false statement, the complaisant portion of the Assembly cried out that it was horrible, and the Convention unanimously voted the decree proposed by St. Just. By virtue of this decree, the tribunal was to continue, without breaking up, the trial of Danton and his accomplices; and it was authorized to deny the privilege of pleading to such of the accused as should show any disrespect to the court, or endeavour to excite disturbance. A copy of the decree was immediately despatched. Vouland and Vadier carried it to the tribunal, where the third sitting had begun, and where the redoubled boldness of the accused threw Fouquier into the greatest embarrassment.

On the third day, in fact, the accused had resolved to renew their application for summonses. They all rose at once, and urged Fouquier to send for the witnesses whom they had demanded. They required more. They insisted that the Convention should appoint a commission to receive the denunciations which they had to make against the scheme of dictatorship which manifested itself in the committees. Fouquier, perplexed, knew not what answer to give. At that moment a messenger came to call him out. On stepping into the adjoining room, he found Amar and Vouland, who still quite out of breath, said to him, "We have the villains fast. Here is what will relieve you from your embarrassment." With these words, they put into his hands the decree just passed at the instigation of St. Just. Fouquier took it with joy, returned to the court, begged permission to speak, and read the decree. Danton indignantly rose. "I call this audience to witness," said he, "that we have not insulted the tribunal."—"That is true," cried several voices in the hall. The whole assembly was astonished, nay even indignant, at the denial of justice to the accused. The emotion was general. The tribunal was intimidated. "The truth," added Danton, "will one day be known.—I see great calamities ready to burst upon France.—There is the dictatorship. It exhibits itself without veil or disguise." Camille, on hearing what was said concerning the Luxembourg, Dillon, and his wife, exclaimed in despair, "The villains! not content with murdering me, they are determined to murder my wife!" Danton perceived at the farther end of the hall and in the corridor, Amar and Vouland, who were lurking about, to judge of the effect produced by the decree. He shook his fist at them. "Look," said he, "at those cowardly assassins; they follow us; they will not leave us so long as we are alive!" Vadier and Vouland sneaked off in affright. The tribunal, instead of replying, put an end to the sitting.

The next was the fourth day, and the jury was empowered to put an end to the pleadings by declaring itself sufficiently informed. Accordingly, without giving the accused time to defend themselves, the jury demanded the closing of the proceedings. Camille was furious. He declared to the jury that they were murderers, and called the people to witness this iniquity. He and his companions in misfortune were then taken out of the hall. He resisted, and was dragged away by force. Meanwhile, Vadier and Vouland talked warmly to the jurors, who, however, needed no exciting. Herman, the president, and Fouquier followed them into their hall. Herman had the audacity to tell them that a letter going abroad had been intercepted, proving that Danton was implicated with the coalition. Three or four of the jurors.

only durst support the accused, but they were overborne by the majority. Trinchard, the foreman of the jury, returned full of a ferocious joy, and, with an exulting air, pronounced the unjust condemnation.

The court would not run the risk of a new explosion of the condemned by bringing them back from the prison to the hall of the tribunal to hear their sentence: a clerk, therefore, went down to read it to them. They sent him away without suffering him to finish, desiring to be led to death immediately. When the sentence was once passed, Danton, before boiling with indignation, became calm, and displayed all his former contempt for his adversaries. Camille, soon appeased, shed a few tears for his wife, and, in his happy providence, never conceived that she, too, was threatened with death, an idea that would have rendered his last moments insupportable. Herault was gay, as usual. All the accused were firm, and Westermann proved himself worthy of the high reputation which he had acquired for intrepidity.

They were executed on the 16th of Germinal (5th of April.)* The infamous rabble, paid to insult the victims, followed the carts. At the sight, Camille, filled with indignation, addressed the multitude, and poured forth a torrent of the most vehement imprecations against the cowardly and hypocritical Robespierre. The wretches employed to insult him replied by gross abuse. In the violence of his action he had torn his shirt, so that his shoulders were bare. Danton, casting a calm and contemptuous look on the mob, said to Camille, "Be quiet; take no notice of this vile rabble." On reaching the foot of the scaffold, Danton was going to embrace Herault-Sechelles, who extended his arms towards him, but was prevented by the executioner, to whom he addressed, with a smile, these terrible expressions: "What! canst thou then be more cruel than death? At any rate, thou canst not prevent our heads from embracing presently at the bottom of the basket."

Such was the end of Danton who had shed so great a lustre upon the Revolution, and been so serviceable to it. Bold, ardent, greedy of excitement and pleasure, he had eagerly thrown himself into the career of disturbance, and he was more especially qualified to shine in the days of terror.† Prompt and decisive, not to be staggered either by the difficulty or by the novelty of an extraordinary situation, he was capable of judging of the necessary means, and had neither fear nor scruple about any. He conceived that it had become necessary to put an end to the struggle between the monarchy and the revolution, and he effected the 10th of August. In presence of the Prussians, he deemed it necessary to overawe France, and to engage her in the system of the revolution. He, therefore, it is said,

* "Thus perished the tardy but last defenders of humanity, of moderation; the last who wished for peace between the conquerors of the Revolution, and mercy to the vanquished. After them, no voice was heard for some time against the Dictatorship of Terror. It struck its silent and reiterated blows from one end of France to the other. The Girondins had wished to prevent this violent reign, the Dantonists to stop it; all perished; and the more enemies the rulers counted, the more victims they had to despatch."—*Mignet*. E.

† "Danton's revolutionary principles were well known. To abstain from a crime, necessary or barely useful, he reputed weakness; but to prolong crimes beyond necessity, never to enjoy the reward, and ever to continue their slave, excited equally his contempt and indignation. Terror, indeed, was his system; but he thought of securing its effects with a sword suspended, not incessantly plunged into the breast of a victim. He preferred a massacre to a long succession of executions."—*Lacretelle*. E.

brought about the horrible days of September,* and, in so doing, saved a great number of victims. At the beginning of the great year 1793, when the Convention was alarmed at the sight of all Europe in arms, he uttered these remarkable words, with a full comprehension of all their depth: "A nation in revolution is more likely to conquer its neighbours than to be conquered by them." He was aware that twenty-five millions of men, whom the government should dare to set in motion, would have nothing to fear from the few hundred thousand armed by the thrones. He proposed to raise the whole population, and to make the rich pay. He devised, in short, all the revolutionary measures which left such terrible mementoes, but which saved France. This man, so mighty in action, fell in the interval between dangers into indolence and dissipation, which he had always been fond of. He sought, too, the most innocent pleasures, such pleasures as the country, an adored wife, and friends, afforded. He then forgot the vanquished, he ceased to hate them, he could even do them justice, pity, and defend them. But, during these intervals of repose, necessary for his ardent spirit, his rivals won by assiduity the renown and the influence which he had gained in the day of peril. The fanatics reproached him with his mildness and his good nature, forgetting that, in point of political cruelty, he had equalled them all in the days of September. While he trusted to his renown, while he delayed acting from indolence, and was meditating noble plans for restoring mild laws, for limiting the days of violence to the days of danger, for separating the exterminators irrevocably steeped in blood from the men who had only yielded to circumstances; finally, for organizing France and reconciling her with Europe, he was surprised by his colleagues to whom he had relinquished the government. The latter, in striking a blow at the ultra-revolutionists, deemed it incumbent on them, that they might not appear to retrograde, to aim another at the moderates. Policy demanded victims; envy selected them, and sacrificed the most celebrated and the most dreaded man of the day. Danton fell, with his reputation and his services, before the formidable government which he had contributed to organize; but, at least, by his boldness, he rendered his fall for a moment doubtful.

Danton had a mind uncultivated, indeed, but great, profound, and, above all, simple and solid. It was for emergencies only that he employed it, and never for the purpose of shining: he therefore spoke little, and disdained to write. According to a contemporary, he had no pretension, not even that of guessing what he was ignorant of—a pretension so common with men of his metal. He listened to Fabre d'Eglantine, and was never tired of hearing his young and interesting friend, Camille-Desmoulins, in whose wit he delighted, and whom he had the pain to bear down in his fall. He died with his wonted fortitude, and communicated it to his young companion. Like Mirabeau, he expired proud of himself, and considering his faults and his life sufficiently covered by his great services and his last projects.

The leaders of the two parties had now been sacrificed. The remnant of these parties soon shared the same fate; and men of the most opposite sentiments were mingled and tried together, to give greater currency to the notion that they were accomplices in one and the same plot. Chaumette and Gobel appeared by the side of Arthur Dillon and Simon. The Grammonts, father and son, the Lapallus, and other members of the revolutionary

* Mercier, in his "New Picture of Paris," accuses Danton of having prepared the massacres of September, and Prudhomme devotes twenty pages of his "History of Crimes" to conversations and papers, which prove with what frightful unconcern this terrible demagogue arranged everything for those unparalleled murders. E.

army, were tried with General Beysser; lastly, Hebert's wife, formerly a nun, appeared beside the young wife of Camille-Desmoulins, scarcely twenty-three years of age, resplendent with beauty, grace, and youth. Chaumette, whom we have seen so docile and so submissive, was accused of having conspired at the commune against the government, of having starved the people, and endeavoured to urge it to insurrection by his extravagant requisitions. Gobel was considered as the accomplice of Anacharsis Clootz and of Chaumette. Arthur Dillon meant, it was said, to open the prisons of Paris, and then to slaughter the Convention and the tribunal, in order to save his friends. The members of the revolutionary army were condemned as agents of Ronsin. General Beysser, who had so powerfully contributed to save Nantes along with Canclaux, and who was suspected of federalism, was regarded as an accomplice of the ultra-revolutionists. We well know what approximation could exist between the staff of Nantes and that of Saumur. Hebert's wife was condemned as an accomplice of her husband. Seated on the same bench with the wife of Camille, she said to the latter, "You, at least, are fortunate; against you there is no charge. You will be saved." In fact, all that could be alleged against this young woman was, that she had been passionately fond of her husband, that she had hovered incessantly with her children about the prison to see their father, and to point him out to them. Both were, nevertheless, condemned, and the wives of Hebert and Camille perished as implicated in the same conspiracy. The unfortunate Desmoulins died with a courage worthy of her husband and of her virtue.* No victim since Charlotte Corday and Madame Roland had excited deeper sympathy and more painful regret.

* "The widow of Camille-Desmoulins, young, amiable, and well-informed, during the mock process which condemned her to death as an accomplice of her husband, loathing life, and anxious to follow him, displayed a firmness of mind that was seen with admiration, even by her judges. When she heard the sentence pronounced, she exclaimed, 'I shall then, in a few hours, again meet my husband!' and then, turning to her judges, she added, 'In departing from this world, in which nothing now remains to engage my affections, I am far less the object of pity than you are.' Previous to going to the scaffold she dressed herself with uncommon attention and taste. Her head-dress was peculiarly elegant; a white gauze handkerchief, partly covering her beautiful black hair, added to the clearness and brilliancy of her complexion. Being come to the foot of the scaffold, she ascended the steps with resignation and even unaffected pleasure. She received the fatal blow without appearing to have regarded what the executioner was doing."—*Du Broca*. E.

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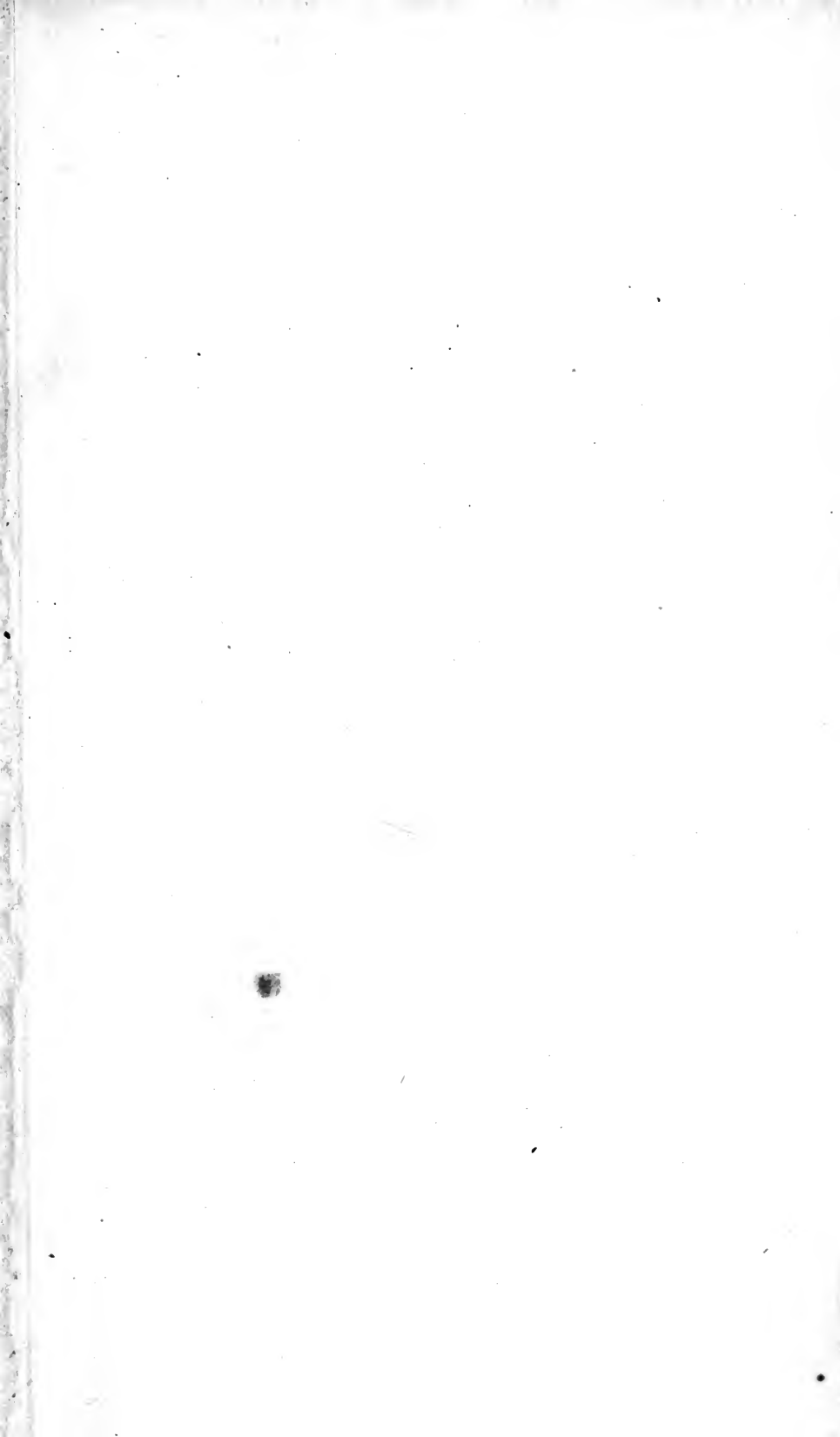
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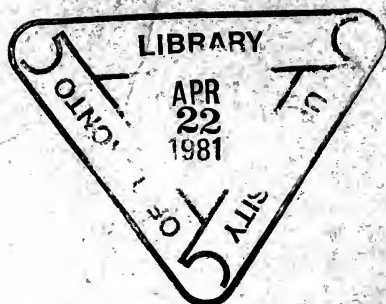
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